Gladys Lindo's Legacy in Letters:

Reuniting the Women of Caribbean Literary and Broadcasting History with Their Achievements

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For my family

(I know who you are)

and for Gladys'

ABSTRACT

Very little is known about women's agency in creating the literary ecosystem between the Caribbean and the UK which began in the mid-twentieth century and continues to thrive. In terms of record keeping, research and publications, attention has tended to focus on the contribution of men in the UK in relation to both broadcasting and publishing. This thesis examines how women in the Caribbean have contributed to the development of the region's literary cultures and the creation of the transnational networks that sustain these. It also investigates why these contributions by women have remained largely unacknowledged.

At its centre, this thesis recovers Gladys Lindo, a prominent and as yet unacknowledged ambassador for Caribbean writing. Born and settled in Jamaica, Gladys Lindo worked as the BBC literary representative in the 1940s and 1950s, a critical moment in the emergence of Anglophone Caribbean literature partly due to the renowned *Caribbean Voices* radio programme. Restoring Gladys Lindo to Caribbean literary history involves a major revision of existing archival scholarship and offers a theoretical contribution about how literary history can sustain exclusions as it intersects with social hierarchies and norms.

Through archival traces from Birmingham, England, to Gladys Lindo's home in Kingston, Jamaica, and varied oral histories, her literary legacy is restored. Extensive original and unpublished materials gathered from private and institutional archives worldwide are presented and reviewed. Analysis of her unpublished letters demonstrates how Gladys Lindo's written correspondence wielded influence over a male-dominated, London-centric literary environment from her home in Jamaica, challenging current understanding of how this transnational literary network operated and was shaped and sustained at such a formative period.

The thesis evidences how Gladys Lindo played a key editorial role in and made a more significant contribution to the development of Caribbean literature in the mid-twentieth century than she has been given credit for, complicates and contests the strongly established narrative that BBC producer Henry Swanzy singlehandedly supported and curated the 1950s generation of breakthrough Caribbean writers, and illuminates the political, social, and power processes by which women go missing from the narrative. It is argued that the overlooking of a figure as significant as Gladys Lindo illustrates how blind spots are created and preserved in literary history, by demonstrating how the methodological approach which enabled her fullest recovery yielded new information about other women. Gladys Lindo's recovery is understood and presented in relation to the literary women working in the Caribbean from the mid-twentieth century until the present day.

In this way, the thesis provides a model for restoring other important unacknowledged contributions, reveals how this new understanding of mid-twentieth century women's agency in Caribbean literary development has parallels with women's contemporary experience, and suggests how it can benefit those working to promote and support Caribbean writers and their work today.

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Throughout this text I refer to Gladys Lindo by her first and surname. This is to distinguish between Gladys Lindo and her husband, Cedric Lindo. While unconventional, this distinction mirrors a core aim of the thesis, which is to provide clarity on the distinct contributions made by each and clarify the confusion about their BBC roles.

The key repositories mentioned in this thesis are the Papers of Henry Valentine L. Swanzy held at the Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections, University of Birmingham, the *Caribbean Voices* correspondence held at the BBC Written Archives, Caversham, and *Caribbean Voices* Correspondence, which are duplicated copies of the BBC's files, at The Alma Jordan Library, The University of the West Indies at St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago.

I consulted a range of other materials from public and private archives, the full list is available in the bibliography.

FOREWORD

I began this research project in October 2017 with funding from the Leverhulme Trust via the Caribbean Literary Heritage project. My academic background in Literature and Migration Studies formed important questions about the reasons for and results of writers 'creatively migrating', a theory I developed and define as the decision to relocate in order to be safe and supported enough to be heard, published, and read.

My professional role at the Commonwealth Foundation working on the Commonwealth Writers Prize first brought me into contact with writers from the Caribbean in 2011. I noticed that the Caribbean writers who entered the prizes were being mistakenly allocated in the prize entry forms as citizens of countries outside of the Caribbean such as the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand where they had migrated in order to find financial and professional support and publishers for their books. I addressed this pattern with literary professionals in the Caribbean and worked with them to set up Peekash Press, a publishing house based in Port of Spain, Trinidad focused on enabling writers to access high-level editorial and marketing support in the region. The press began to address the issue, and changes were made in the design of the Commonwealth Prize to ensure that Caribbean heritage was not overwritten for those who migrated, and prize processes were interrogated and adapted to support writers who wished to make a profession of writing at home, that is, in the Caribbean.

Considering this inequity led me to question what had happened previously to writers who had not been able to migrate or communicate easily beyond their home Caribbean countries. It seemed likely that significant writers had been lost or never come to light and that a dedicated research period could bring important information about them to the fore. I

set out to look specifically for the people whose narratives were missing from the story of Caribbean literature during the mid-twentieth century because of the period's status as an important and accelerated time in the development of the field and about which much has been written with regard to those who migrated from the Caribbean, often male writers. I wanted to look specifically for the women and those who had remained in the Caribbean.

Instead of writers and new writing, I found the letters and work of an altogether more significant individual, Gladys Lindo. The discovery of her reshaped my project entirely to centre her voice and achievements and reinstate her substantial literary legacy as the BBC literary representative in Jamaica on behalf of the landmark programme *Caribbean Voices* at its most celebrated period in history during the mid-twentieth century. What follows is a representation of this discovery, the necessary methods to uncover it, analysis of my findings, and recommendations for change based on the implications of this recovery.

CHAPTER ONE

The past is more infinite than the future.
It's avoiding it, deceiving ourselves about it, that paralyses growth.
–Toni Morrison

Introduction

This thesis examines the innovative work of mid-twentieth century women in the Caribbean working in publishing and broadcasting and the necessary recovery of their legacies, which have been concealed until now behind the reputations of their male counterparts. The significant archival discovery at the heart of my thesis is that of Gladys Lindo, a Jamaican woman who held a prominent gatekeeping position as an editor at the BBC in the 1940s and 1950s and as BBC literary representative for the Caribbean and for the acclaimed *Caribbean Voices* radio programme, which broadcasted writers and writing by Caribbean writers between 1943 and 1960. The *Caribbean Voices* programme was initially conceived of by another Jamaican woman, Una Marson, 'whose interest in poetry soon led her to develop *Caribbean Voices*, a weekly feature within the Calling the West Indies series, which started towards the end of the War. It included poems and short stories by Caribbean authors, many of whom were either completely unknown or only just beginning to establish an international reputation'.[1] Gladys Lindo's identity and agency have been completely obscured by the reputations of the men who were given credit for her work, her husband Cedric Lindo and BBC producer Henry Swanzy, prompting questions about what has been lost by overlooking Gladys Lindo, who and what else we are missing, and what can be done to reinstate women's lost literary legacies.

[1] David Hendy, 'Caribbean Voices', History of the BBC. n.d. https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/100-voices/people-nation-empire/caribbean-voices. Accessed 20 January 2023.

These questions pertain to the issue of how literary value is ascribed and literary legacies are made or lost. While recovering the work of Gladys Lindo through formal and informal archival research I critique the processes by which this information is sorted and captured, from the practical role of editors, anthologisers, publishers, reviewers, academics, archives creators, and literary executors to personal influences, such as the personality and lifestyle of the individual, their understanding and promotion of themselves, their position in society, their freedom to relocate, and the records, relationships, and rifts that can limit or make a reputation.

Focusing exclusively on the role of Henry Swanzy, celebrated producer of the BBC *Caribbean Voices* programme, and relying on the explanation that Gladys Lindo's husband Cedric was the real BBC representative has caused scholars not to ask certain questions of the archives, and this gap in enquiry has since been perpetuated in the critical literature pertaining to the programme and field of Caribbean literary history.

In this thesis I pay close attention to the erasure of Gladys Lindo, and it is important to note that this occurred within the context of a burgeoning critical scholarship that has been expanding our understanding of how literary and broadcasting cultures were produced, circulated, and received. The growing field of research of literary networks, twentieth-century Caribbean letters, literary magazines such as *BIM*, *Focus*, *Kyk-over-al* in particular, the work of Edward Baugh on Frank Collymore, and recent work of scholars such as James Procter, Claire Irving, and Chris Campbell provide context and new insight into lesser-known aspects of the processes by which the literary culture of the Caribbean developed [2]

Asking what Gladys Lindo's role was and looking for answers in archives and beyond has been the central focus of my doctoral project and has shaped the manner in which I have

[2] Edward Baugh, *Frank Collymore: A Biography* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Press, 2009); Claire Irving, 'Periodical Culture', in *Caribbean Literature in Transition, 1920–1970*, Raphael Dalleo and Curdella Forbes, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2021): 131–144. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108850087.011.

approached this research. The initial field of enquiry was rerouted from the recovery of writers' lost legacies to the restoration of this significant literary gatekeeper, redefining my research questions and the necessary methodological approach to discover information relating to her that could not be found in the critical literature beyond several dismissive references or a few acknowledgements that were overwritten by renowned scholars.

This thesis will outline and contribute the methodological model that enabled the recovery of Gladys Lindo's lost legacy by providing answers to the following research questions:

1. How did Gladys Lindo contribute to the development of Caribbean literature?
2. Who was she and why was her legacy lost?
3. What are the implications of this recovery for today?

My Background

My interest in the preservation and promotion of Caribbean literature began while working on the Commonwealth Writers Prize in 2011–2013. The prize results from the book and short story prizes led me to begin a dedicated research project of the experiences of contemporary Anglophone writers from the Caribbean. I was simultaneously working on an MA in Migration at the University of Sussex and the two roles informed each other. I began forming a theory about the concept of 'creative migration' and directed my studies towards a deeper exploration of the term. I took a permanent post as programme officer at the Commonwealth Foundation to develop a research project based on early findings relating to the causes and effects of creative migration for Caribbean writers.

The key discovery from my research of the entry patterns of contemporary Caribbean authors to the Commonwealth Book Prize and the Commonwealth Short Story Prize related to migration. In 2011 the prize received over six hundred entries from the Caribbean for the

unpublished short story prize, but fewer than ten books were entered for the published book prize. The team behind the prize, Lucy Hannah, Emma D'Costa, and I, questioned these figures, wondering if it was the novel form that was a bad fit for the region or whether promotional methods weren't reaching Caribbean novelist networks. I examined the data at the back end of the prize entry website to look for clues.

Data from the prize entry forms showed the names of writers from the Caribbean who had entered the short story prize as a citizen of a Caribbean country in the past but had been entered as a citizen of another country when entering their first book. We were receiving novels from Caribbean writers but from non-Caribbean countries. There appeared to be a correlation between the publication of a writer's first book in a non-Caribbean country and their relocation permanently or temporarily to that country.

The prize regions to which the Caribbean writers moved almost always possessed an established publishing infrastructure. Books were being entered by Caribbean authors who were now living in the UK, Canada, Australia, or New Zealand from houses such as Random House, Peepal Tree Press, Akashic Books, and Penguin. Publicists entering books on behalf of their authors selected their citizenship from a dropdown list where just one option was available; by choosing the current country of residence, they were overwriting the writer's past association with the Caribbean at the exact moment when a level of professional recognition and acclaim was achieved.

Following a presentation of these findings to colleagues and partners worldwide, the decision was taken to establish a Caribbean Literature Action Group (CALAG, which became CaribLit when led by Kellie Magnus in Kingston, Jamaica) to better understand how the lack of opportunities for editorial and promotional support in the region were contributing to these patterns of migration and misrepresentation. We launched the initiative at the BOCAS Lit Festival, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, in 2013 in partnership with the

British Council, and it was during this time that I established strong working relationships with several individuals and organisations in the Anglophone Caribbean with whom I have remained in dialogue.

I offer the above explanation as the context for my involvement in the Caribbean literary scene. The information I received about, and the insight gained into, the current Anglophone literary scene in the Caribbean were an important prompt to question the circumstances that preceded this situation and affected literary success and acknowledgement in the last century. Knowing what might have continued to happen without this and similar interventions in the twenty-first century, such as the establishment of Peekash Press, it seemed clear to me that there must have been Caribbean writers in the twentieth century who were overlooked because they were unable to develop relationships with literary gatekeepers and editors by migrating or engaging in the ways necessary to build a writer's reputation. The realisation that the majority of these individuals would likely have been women or writers of lower means less likely or unable to migrate because of the social structures of the time led me to commit to a doctoral research project whose original aim was to bring neglected women writers and their works to light. I thus began my research journey.

Context of Study

When I began this research, I was therefore asking whether there were (m)any women writers from the Caribbean at the time of the great boom in Anglophone Caribbean literature in the mid-twentieth century in order to discover the extent to which they were involved, lost, ignored, or not involved at all, and try to understand why.

The decision to look for the women writers' side of the Caribbean literary narrative came about by considering a number of threads simultaneously. Firstly, women were not usually the ones to migrate to the UK, so many may have stayed in the Caribbean and their

voices been lost due to UK centricity of publishing and broadcasting at the time. Secondly, women, Black, working class, and LGBTQI people, for example, were likely those telling different stories than the ones that we had heard. The likelihood that the writers who had been overlooked were rare and different than the Caribbean canon that we are familiar with is an important motivation for their recovery. Finally, an understanding of the imbalance of power between the empire and its colonial countries led directly to the conclusion that injustice, gaps, and a failure to give credit where it was due inevitably occurred, and the exclusions were meaningful, unjust, and in need of attention.

The dominant critical narrative suggested that few women writers were involved or central to the development of Caribbean literature in the mid-twentieth century, but before I accepted that women hadn't been published or critiqued since, I decided to check whether they had in fact existed but had not reached the mainstream or our contemporary awareness. This led me to begin archival research at a key nexus of the development of Caribbean literary development at this time. The BBC's *Caribbean Voices* programme seemed like the best place to begin. I wanted to see if women writers had been stopped at the gate or if they had never knocked.

The BBC and *Caribbean Voices*

The BBC *Caribbean Voices* programme was broadcast to the Anglophone Caribbean on Sundays between 1943 and 1958 from Bush House, London, having evolved from the BBC's first programme for Caribbean listeners, *Calling the West Indies*, which launched in 1939 to give West Indian soldiers in the British army an opportunity to connect with family at home during the Second World War by reading letters on air to family at home in the Caribbean.

Una Marson, a Jamaican activist and writer, had been employed in 1941 by Cecil

Madden, who was the producer of the popular magazine programme *Picture Page* at this time, to work on the original programme and a year later had become the producer for the West Indies, reshaping and renaming the programme to centre literary work and creating the first forum of its kind for Anglophone Caribbean writing to be shared on this scale. Marson experienced institutional racism at the BBC. As an example, Marson's BBC colleague, Joan Gilbert, who had worked on the famous pre-war TV programme *Picture Page*, wrote to her bosses, claiming that Marson 'seems to have got an exaggerated idea of her own position and her own authority'. 'Quite frankly', she added, 'I wouldn't let anybody speak to me in the way Una does, and certainly not a coloured woman'.[3] Marson returned to Jamaica in 1946 and the programme was handed over to Henry Swanzy to produce. Swanzy's obituary, co-written by the Caribbean literary scholars Anne Walmsley and Philip Nanton, demonstrates how Swanzy's taste and success became synonymous with the successful developmental direction of Caribbean writing.

> Under his editorship, *Caribbean Voices* took the form of a creative workshop around the craft of writing, in which writers were offered encouragement and informed criticism. He made it known that he wanted the programme to be filled with 'authenticity' and 'local colour', reflecting the diversity of the region.[4]

By the time Swanzy left the role in 1955 he was publicly recognised and lauded for the success of the endeavour, with Marson receiving no such acclaim. For example, *The Times Literary Supplement* published a piece that attributed the programme's impact all to Swanzy: 'West Indian writers freely acknowledge their debt to the BBC for its encouragement, financial and aesthetic. Without that encouragement the birth of a Caribbean

[3] Hendy, 'Caribbean.
[4] Philip Nanton and Anne Walmsley, 'Henry Swanzy', *The Guardian*, March 20, 2004. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2004/mar/20/guardianobituaries.

literature would have been slower and even more painful than it has been'.[5]

Swanzy's story contributed to the erasure of other individuals involved by becoming the central story, one which defined and confined the workings and achievements of a transnational network of people to a single person in a position of power in London.

Caribbean Voices aired '400 stories and poems, along with plays and literary criticism, from some 372 contributors, of whom 71 were women' during the course of its existence.[6] It was an important and effective vehicle for the advancement of Caribbean writers for which Swanzy alone has been seen as responsible. However, as David Hendy writes about Marson's removal from the BBC and *Caribbean Voices*, it is clear that Marson was instrumental in its creation, form, and relevance to Caribbean writers and listeners, and yet her removal from the BBC and the country resulted in her legacy being overwritten, a situation that would last for decades:

> By the end of 1945, Marson was apparently exhausted and wanting to travel to Jamaica for some badly needed rest. But her state of mind was deteriorating fast, taking matters out of her control. Within months she was in hospital, being treated, apparently, for 'delusions' of persecution. By May 1946 she had been certified as suffering from schizophrenia and detained. The BBC, which had granted her an exceptional period of sick leave, decided to assist her passage back to Jamaica, so that she could benefit from what one manager called 'her home environment'.[7]

It is evident that Marson's legacy in the shaping and success of this programme was replaced by the work and reputation of her successor. This dominance of Swanzy's story has been far reaching, contributing to the erasure of other individuals worthy of

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[5] Marina Salandy-Brown, 'Swanzy Meets La Rose', *Trinidad and Tobago Newsday*, April 18, 2013, cited in 'Caribbean Voices', Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caribbean_Voices.
[6] Philip Nanton, 'Caribbean Voices', in David Dabydeen, John Gilmore, and Cecily Jones (Eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Black British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 94–5, cited in 'Caribbean Voices', Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caribbean_Voices.
[7] Hendy, 'Caribbean Voices'.

acknowledgement for their contribution to the BBC's literary successes in relation to the Caribbean, such as the Head of Colonial Service, John Grenfell Williams, as I will identify and analyse throughout the course of this thesis.

Process of my Research

Due to the significant and singular focus on Swanzy as the nexus for Caribbean writers' development at the BBC, I began my initial search for lost Caribbean women writers in the Papers of Henry Valentine Swanzy at the University of Birmingham with the intention of looking for the names of women writers and evidence of their writings being submitted. The intention was to look into the process of the programme's creation to understand the output and how representative it was of the attempts of women to be included on air.

In Swanzy's papers, I found something different: references to writings by women that were in the BBC archives and in related archives. More significant than this, though, I found that women were working in the literary and broadcasting sphere as enablers, gatekeepers, literary producers, editors, secretaries, and unofficial agents, using the medium of written correspondence as their main method, in part because it was the obtainable medium of the time (telephone and internet being not yet available) and in part because letter writing and journaling were the two acceptable forms of writing for women at the time;[8] few women conceived of themselves as writers, at least in the first instance. The prompt for this finding was the surprising discovery that the BBC literary representative for the Caribbean had been a woman, Gladys Lindo, who has been overlooked and almost completely obfuscated in her role. I had found a female literary representative, agent, and editor working in Jamaica and corresponding with Swanzy for a period of ten years, to find, select, and advocate for Caribbean writers and send their work to London.

[8] Rebecca Earle, *Epistolary Selves, Letters and Letter Writers, 1600–1945* (London: Routledge, 2019).

Here it is useful to delineate a definition of what is meant by a cultural gatekeeper with reference to Gladys' role. Engagement with Pierre Bourdieu's *The Logic of Practice* and more recently Abram Foley's *The Editor Function*, which have helped to establish perimeters for how and why scholars should attend to the processes of literary labour, offers a framework on which to build an understanding of the work of Gladys Lindo.[9] The work that Gladys did means that we should see her as an editor with significant agency regardless of the specifics of her contracts of employment.

While Gladys Lindo was not a writer, the story of how we don't know about her is a missing story; hers is a voice like no other in the world of Caribbean writing. The extent and nature of Gladys Lindo's involvement with and influence over this programme is of such significance as to shift our entire understanding of who was responsible for the Caribbean writers we know about today from the mid-twentieth century. My findings are shared in detail in Chapter Three in which I analyse extensive unpublished material from Gladys Lindo's correspondence with the BBC and Caribbean writers, and the impact of these findings is revealed and examined in Chapters Four and Five.

By beginning my search in Swanzy's papers, I unwittingly limited myself to viewing literary life through his lens. The influence of this first choice was exacerbated by the global pandemic, which left me mainly reliant on this single source for longer than I had intended as archives closed and international travel became impossible. When I discovered that Swanzy's correspondence about *Caribbean Voices* had been a long-term, detailed exchange with a woman in Jamaica called Gladys Lindo, I began to question the completeness and accuracy of our contemporary critical understanding of how the BBC, *Caribbean Voices*, and Swanzy shaped Caribbean literary development.

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[9] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Abram Foley, *The Editor Function: Literary Publishing in Postwar America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2021).

In order not to limit the scope of Gladys Lindo's role to one that could be fitted inside Swanzy's story, I expanded my research to the BBC Written Archives Centre in Caversham. This decision was in response to a realisation that Gladys Lindo's role and influence was greater than what was displayed in Swanzy's papers where some of her letters were held and went beyond her work in correspondence with him on behalf of *Caribbean Voices.*

This access was delayed and restricted due to the impact of closures throughout the pandemic, but with the support of the archivists I was able to view the folders and contracts.

Recovering the extent of Gladys Lindo's literary and broadcasting legacy, and in doing so revealing the methods and processes she used to develop the literary career she held in Jamaica for more than a decade, led me to wonder if other women's contributions as enablers and gatekeepers were hidden and, indeed, how many literary aspirations had been concealed behind careers that enabled other writers rather than their own literary works.

This thesis is, therefore, in part the answer to a question I could never have set out or known to ask when I began: who was Mrs. Gladys Lindo?

Instead of asking about women writers from the mid-twentieth century, my research questions were generated by the loss and my discovery of Gladys Lindo in such a significant role. A chain of connected questions began to take shape, which developed throughout my research: Who was Gladys Lindo? Why don't we know anything about her? Was she acknowledged in her time and since lost, or never acknowledged? How have archival practices contributed to the invisibility of Gladys Lindo's work? How have individuals contributed to her being unacknowledged for her important role? Why has the critical literature continued to omit an exploration of her legacy? With these questions in mind, I set about to understand how they related to existing literature, knowledge, and theory, which will be explored in Chapters 2 and 4 where I provide the intellectual and social context for Gladys Lindo and an analysis of how she has been overlooked. The research questions and answers

are outlined here to introduce the topics that will be explored throughout the thesis.

First, the question 'how did Gladys Lindo contribute to the development of Caribbean literature?' sits at the heart of this thesis. I will answer this core question in Chapter Three using archival materials to centre Gladys' voice. The methods by which Gladys Lindo contributed to Caribbean literature are many and complex, but the core of her achievement was that without Gladys Lindo in her role the writers from the Caribbean would not have been featured on *Caribbean Voices*, meaning that the central vehicle for the development of Caribbean writers would not have featured any non-migrating writers, just those in the UK. The impact of this limitation on the development of Caribbean literature would have been immeasurable. Furthermore, without Gladys Lindo's contribution in shaping the programme's processes and content, decisions about what constituted 'Caribbean' literature would have been based on the understanding and preferences of Swanzy and BBC colleagues in the UK after Marson's departure in 1946. Also, without Gladys Lindo's Jamaican view the BBC would not have been able to effectively assess and adapt to the needs of their listeners in the Caribbean. This would have adversely affected the success of the Caribbean writers in the UK who relied on the programme being listened to in the Caribbean for their work to be heard and reputations built.

Once Gladys Lindo's sizeable contribution is understood, an enquiry into who she was and why her legacy has been lost becomes urgent. This is articulated in Chapters 2 and 4, with context and findings combining to reveal how Gladys Lindo's identity as a Black, Jamaican, married woman who worked in Jamaica on behalf of Caribbean writers who remained in the region combined to create the circumstances for her loss. Further to this, in Chapter Four I explore how Gladys Lindo's contribution has been lost because of a widely held belief that it could not have been her doing the work that she had signed off on for more than a decade. To understand how and why Gladys Lindo was lost and remained hidden for

so long I identify how the records and research methods (Chapter Two) and cycles of record keeping, recovery research and critical literature (Chapter Four) have conspired to make it difficult to find and establish her role once the narrative that omitted her had begun.

In Chapter Five I provide answers to the question that arises from the first two discoveries about what Gladys Lindo did and why her considerable legacy was lost: 'What are the implications of her recovery now?' The chapter is arranged to provide evidence and analysis of the implications of the recovery process and the recovery of Gladys Lindo in particular. Importantly and overarchingly, articulating how Gladys Lindo's role changes the understanding of Caribbean literary development at this crucial juncture—shifting from a white, male-focused, UK-centric view to a transnational endeavour created by an agentive, Black, Caribbean female.

Then, the far-reaching implications of recovering this legacy, in terms of uncovering links with other women from the mid-twentieth century and parallels with the contemporary situation of women in literary roles in the Caribbean. Specifically, bringing to light how process is not valued in the same way as artistic work or hierarchical power positions and the UK-centric privilege that persists through the work of publishing, broadcasting, prizes, and book distribution.

The process of recovering Gladys Lindo's legacy also demonstrates how we can find more women's hidden legacies using alternative approaches, letters, private archives, and oral histories, and by letting women start the story rather than fitting them into the gaps of a story already written by and about men.

Another implication of Gladys Lindo's loss and recovery is that record keeping practices need to be altered to ensure that women's achievements are not hidden from view by their married surnames or the tradition of children being named for their paternal lineage.

The chapter concludes with suggested applications, recommendations and future possibilities for research.

Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical perspectives that frame this research centre around issues of archival theory, women's history, migration, and voice viewed through the lens of the Caribbean experience. This is connected with Alison Donnell's definition of four critical moments at which 'the paradigms of Caribbean literary criticism have become normalised around a cluster of issues—anti-colonialism, nationalism; migration and diaspora; the centrality of African Caribbean ethnicity; the concept of women as doubly colonised and the marginalisation of sexuality and homosexuality'.[10] Donnell seeks to revisit what she has termed 'crucial problem spaces' that have been influential in the emergence of Caribbean literary criticism, and it is these spaces in which Caribbean literary women's legacies are likely to exist and be recoverable. An awareness of the paradigms of Caribbean literary criticism which have become normalised provides a useful way of navigating the critical material in order to find those whose narratives have been considered abnormal and excluded on these grounds.

In the mid-twentieth century, women weren't well-known for their work in the Caribbean literary world. It is important to understand what they were doing and what they were not. A century earlier, Black women were expected to perform the same physical labour as men while wealthy white women were not expected to work at all. By the mid-twentieth century, more women were working, and some had achieved paid positions in the cultural sector but were more often to be found in administrative roles in broadcasting and publishing,

[10] Alison Donnell, *Twentieth-Century Caribbean Literature: Critical Moments in Anglophone Literary History* (1st ed.) (London: Routledge, 2005). https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203962633, 1.

prompting questions about whether they lacked the interest, talent, or opportunity. Or, more complexly, did they lack the capacity to conceive of their work as valuable literary endeavour given that the circumstances in which they lived and worked did not include these identities as women's? Women's abilities were not recognised officially during this period, which may have led them not value themselves. This distortion is particularly vivid in hindsight. Throughout the thesis evidence is presented from women's words which suggests that they did not feel it to be outlandish that they were supporting actors as this was an advancement when previously they had not been allowed to work at all.

This context is important in illuminating Gladys Lindo's contribution. Given that she was not an author, it is important to understand that her role as a literary professional with autonomy was not in keeping with the general practice of women's work being grouped together in secretary pools and labelled assistive work to recognised, named male individuals. Gladys Lindo may not have been recognised for her literary status, but in holding the position that she did she challenged the (in)visibility of Caribbean women by using her voice to influence the direction of Caribbean literary development, and by speaking up for and selecting writers and writing who were not being recognised by BBC colleagues in the UK, through her representation to BBC colleagues on behalf of women writers, of writing that did not conform with Swanzy's preference for 'local colour' and many other culturally specific insights and interventions. Only a few twentieth century women writers from the Caribbean are known, but there was also an even more invisible class of women working in editorial and administrative roles.

The purpose of this research is therefore to critically examine these issues in more detail. Within the overarching framework of the recovery of Gladys Lindo, the following questions are explored:

1. What vital work did women in publishing and broadcasting perform in the Caribbean that have been overlooked to date?
2. What processes helped to keep women's contributions hidden?
3. What can this research tell us about the value of work being done by women and how marginalised women can be brought back into the mainstream narrative?

Historical and Social Context

The mid-twentieth century was an important juncture for Anglophone Caribbean cultural development, and those involved in supporting it were innovative and determined in their methods. Gladys Lindo ought to be named as one of the individuals who used literary culture as a means to help Caribbean people navigate away from colonial rule and towards independence, by shaping a narrative based on the experience and expression of people who lived in the Caribbean and the language, themes, and stories that represented their concerns.

Prior to the 1930s, there was very little migration from the Caribbean to the UK. In the early 1900s when Gladys was growing up in Jamaica, culture was becoming a replacement for lack of political voice for Caribbean people living in the empire. In the 1930s to 1950s, migration for educational and literary purposes from Anglophone Caribbean countries to the UK increased. It was during this period that Gladys Lindo was BBC literary representative in Jamaica, with the records showing her earliest contract with the BBC as dated 1943 and lasting until 1956. During this period, a number of significant events occurred. In 1949, at the peak of *Caribbean Voices*' popularity, the University of West Indies was founded. This enabled some literary and intellectual individuals to remain in the region. It also brought some of the emigrants home from the UK to contribute to the establishment of this institution. Gladys Lindo's role in Jamaica during this period was therefore crucial to the representation of Caribbean writers in the region who wished to develop a far-reaching

literary reputation. Her work was also crucial in shaping the content of the programme and the career prospects of many Caribbean writers during a time of transformation. This period was particularly significant because it preceded independence for Jamaica which came in 1962. It would not be until the 1960s when the canonisation of Caribbean literature began with anthologising and collecting the literature of the region. The work of Gladys Lindo in the 1940s and 1950s provided a singular means of collecting the work of writers across the Caribbean and in doing so created a supportive space for the narrative to shift. Gladys Lindo's work helped to create a bridge from the modes of cultural expression of dependence towards one of independence of voice and narrative.

Gladys Lindo's role was positioned in a significant time and place. Her work supporting the development of a Caribbean literary field comprising the voices of a changing Caribbean culture was an important contribution to the construction of a Caribbean literary network representative of the region as it wished to describe itself, not as the BBC, empire, or metropole defined it.

As well as understanding the context of Jamaica at the mid-twentieth century, it is necessary to acknowledge the influence of the UK at this time. The founders of New Beacon Books articulate the circumstances in the UK in the mid-twentieth century, which led to their decision to publish Black writing. When asked about this decision, founders John La Rose and Sarah White wrote:

> To answer this question, a fuller understanding of black writing in the post-war book market in Britain and the Caribbean is necessary. As has been well-documented, a number of foundational figures in Caribbean literature published their first books in Britain in the late 1940s and 1950s. The decline of the British empire, the rise of anti-colonial independence movements, and the 'Windrush' generation of migration from the Caribbean to Britain in the late 1940s, was accompanied by a rise in interest in

> cultural expression from the colonised regions.[11]

At this time, the UK was considered the centre of the Anglophone publishing world. Foundational figures from the Caribbean published their first books in Britain in the 1940s and 1950s, setting a standard of expectation and aspiration for those who came after them. This was at the height of *Caribbean Voices*' success and during Gladys Lindo's period of professional employment. UK audiences' appetite for Caribbean writing was increasing, which led to an increase in writing from the Caribbean being made available in the UK. This supports the hypothesis that those who bridged the gap between the Caribbean and the UK were needed in order to discover new writing. But as White and La Rose explain, interest in Caribbean writing was filtered through the gatekeepers of UK institutions:

> Such interest continued, to a large extent, to be filtered through metropolitan institutions that selected, produced, distributed and funded literature in the post-war period. These included commercial, scholarly, and established literary publishing houses: Oxford University Press, Longman, Heinemann, Hutchinson, André Deutsch, Jonathan Cape, Faber & Faber and others.[12]

The UK, through its institutions, extended its colonial influence by gatekeeping the voices of writers from colonial countries. Gail Low describes this unprecedented interest on the part of British publishers and their readership in Caribbean writing as a combination of 'curiosity, concern, exoticism and opportunism'.[13]

Of the major authors who were published in the UK and whose works constituted this so called 'boom' in Anglophone Caribbean literature almost all were men: Sam Selvon, George Lamming, Andrew Salkey, Wilson Harris, Derek Walcott, John Hearne, Edgar

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[11] Sarah White and John La Rose, 'Why Publish Independently?' https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/the-pioneering-years/new-beacon-books-early-history/why-publish-independently.
[12] White and La Rose, 'Why Publish Independently?'
[13] Gail Low, '"Finding the Centre?" Publishing Commonwealth Writing in London: The Case of Anglophone Caribbean Writing 1950–65'. *Journal of Commonwealth Literatur*e 37 (2002): 21–38. 10.1177/002198940203700203.

Mittelholzer, and V.S. Naipaul. Of these, only Derek Walcott did not relocate to London in this period.

The importance of Gladys Lindo's role is further revealed by social, historical, and cultural circumstances. Based in Jamaica, both Black and female, Gladys Lindo provided a bridge for writers, particularly women, who remained in the Caribbean to connect and further their work beyond their local environment. Her Jamaica-based role resulted in writers in the region being read or heard more widely, as well as ensuring that Caribbean literature written by those who did not relocate to the UK was broadcast and could reach the ears of publishers. This influenced the type of writers who told the story of the region at a vital moment in history.

The Caribbean writers in the UK who came to define the Caribbean literary boom were mostly men, and the major gatekeeper recognised for finding and promoting them, Swanzy. Therefore, it is not only Gladys' position in Jamaica that influenced the course of Caribbean literary development and the emerging canon, but also her being a woman. It is significant that the person shaping, selecting, and supporting Caribbean writers who remained in the Caribbean was a woman. During the same mid-twentieth century period, Anne Walmsley, a young English secretary with editorial ambitions, was struggling to accept the limitations placed on women in her position as one of many secretaries known only at Faber in the 1950s. While the UK continued to privilege male writers and male gatekeepers in their major literary and cultural institutions, talented women such as Walmsley sought new routes to autonomy and meaningful, recognised literary work, in Walmsley's case this led to her decision to travel to Jamaica to teach and further her interest in Caribbean literature. Literary operations in the Caribbean developed at a distance from the colonial traditions firmly in place in London and in their own way, enabled women such as Gladys Lindo and Anne Walmsley to fashion for themselves unusually senior, independent, and influential roles, the

reasons for and the ensuing effects of which will be explored in the following chapters.

Rationale for Situating Gladys Lindo's Recovery Alongside Other Women's Legacies

Women such as *Caribbean Voices* founder, Una Marson, Gladys Lindo, and Anne Walmsley have been influencing the literary link between Anglophone Caribbean countries and the UK as cultural bridges for decades. They helped to create and maintain exchanges between these spaces, forging pathways whose beginnings have been obscured as they have become well-trodden by writers moving back and forth between Caribbean countries and, usually, London. Credit hasn't been duly given to the contributions of the women who created the conditions for this literary network to thrive. Their work was often undercompensated, they were misrepresented as assistants to recognised male counterparts, and acclaim for their achievements was assigned to men, often relatives or colleagues, already recognised in the field.

Examination of archives collections of the institutions and individuals at the centre of the formation of the field of Caribbean literature in the 1940s and 1950s such as the *Caribbean Voices* collection in the BBC Written Archives, Henry Swanzy's papers, and publishing house archives has revealed the less acknowledged contributions from female editors, producers, agents, and writers. The Anglo-Caribbean literary network has long been scaffolded by an international network of friendship, support, correspondence, and space-making by women who created platforms where others could be heard.

In her essay 'The Master's Tools will Never Dismantle the Master's House', Audre Lorde suggests that 'For women, the need and desire to nurture each other is not pathological but redemptive, and it is within that knowledge that our real power is discovered. It is this real connection which is so feared by a patriarchal world. Only within a patriarchal structure is maternity the only social power open to women.

Interdependency between women is the way to a freedom which allows the I to be, not in order to be used but in order to be creative. This is a difference between the passive be and the active being'.[14]

In general, the recovered legacies of women from mid-twentieth-century Caribbean literary history such as the aforementioned Una Marson, Louise Bennett Coverley, the Jamaican poet, folklorist, writer, and educator known as 'Miss Lou', and the novelist Jean Rhys, who was born and grew up in Dominica, have been recovered and situated individually, prized for their singularity, and depicted as exceptions to the rule. This has not acknowledged or explored the patterns of connection, the nature of women's exchanges, or the potential of understanding women in relation to each other. Jacqueline Bishop, a writer, academic, and visual artist, has sought to do the opposite of this by collating the voices of Jamaican women writers and adopting the pattern of their connections to each other as the framework for her recent publication.[15] In the opening to her book, Bishop includes the transcript of her own responses from an interview with Sharon Leach, who asks her about her decision to frame the book in these connected terms:

> SL: Why did you choose to use the framing of 'Creating a Cultural Imagination'; 'Explaining Ourselves to Ourselves' and 'Writing a New Jamaican Story' that you used in putting together this book of interviews?
>
> JB: I think the framing came from the women in the book and the interviews themselves much more so than they came from me. I think, more than anything else, I was just lucky enough to spot the framing among the interviews. While the framing device did help in organising the interviews— in so far as I think where I placed the women is where I see them operating within their writing - the borders among the

[14] Audre Lorde, *The Master's Tools will Never Dismantle the Master's House* (Penguin Modern, 2018), 17.
[15] Jacqueline Bishop, *The Gift of Music and Song: Interviews with Jamaican Women Writers* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 2021).

> framing devices are quite porous, and, in fact, what I first did in organising the book was to arrange women based on when they started publishing....But what I started to notice, as well, is that some interviews just seem to be in conversation with other interviews. For example, based on when she started publishing, Opal Palmer Adisa, should be in the section 'Creating A Cultural Imagination', but what her interview was largely about – speaking clearly and directly about menstruation and female sexuality—was more in keeping with the work of Tanya Shirley and you work, Sharon Leach, and so she ended up in the section 'Writing A New Jamaican Story'.[16]

On reading Bishop's explanation of the way women and their interviews are naturally in dialogue with each other, I recognised the potential and importance of understanding women in terms of other women, potentially in the case of women from the mid-twentieth century, for the first time. This prompted me to shape my research methods and my interpretations of women's work and words from the past and present in this way, allowing the connections to reveal themselves across time and place. Viewing Gladys Lindo's work, lost legacy, and recovery in relation to Marson, Walmsley, and contemporary women in Caribbean literature became a priority and guiding principle for my research.

Restoring Women in Books and Broadcasting to Their Rightful Roles

The role of Una Marson, who began *Caribbean Voices* (previously *Calling the West Indies*), provided the chronological starting point for this research project. A considerable amount of recovery work has been done to acknowledge Marson's important contribution in creating a connection between the Caribbean and the UK. This recognition is partly due to Marson holding a significant role at the BBC, the quality of her writing, her activism, and her location in the UK, which meant her work was in the purview of people with a voice in

[16] Bishop, *The Gift of Music and Song*, 19.

academic and career-defining spheres.

Findings in the archives challenge the received notion that Henry Swanzy was the brains behind the project after Una Marson returned to Jamaica. Gladys Lindo was the BBC literary representative in Jamaica from as early as 1943, and there are hundreds of letters written by her demonstrating in detail how her taste, contacts, diplomacy, and hard work shaped the success and content of the pivotal programme. Despite her significant role, there is no obituary to be found for Gladys Lindo, no image of her online or in print, and no Wikipedia entry. Unlike Marson, Gladys Lindo's legacy has remained buried.

This thesis examines the extent to which women's agency has been overlooked in the creation of the unique transnational Caribbean literary network that continues to thrive. In Chapter Five I connect the work and recovery of Marson and Gladys Lindo with other twentieth century women Anne Walmsley (UK/Jamaica) and Hilda McDonald (Antigua), and contrast these with their contemporary counterparts, charting the ongoing development of a women's literary ecosystem between the Caribbean and the UK in order to surface and share a unique, effective, and unacknowledged model with the potential to become a network of exchange.

It is anticipated that in recovering the methods and the detailed processes with which women have created the systems for writers of Caribbean literature to develop, a greater understanding can be gained of the value of the work that they have done. It is important that we understand the nature of these lost contributions in order to improve current practices and pass on representative knowledge to the next generation of literary men and women.

It is my contention that labelling women as 'pioneering' is to perceive them as isolated individuals, exceptions to the rule which assumes usual standard is male, when, in fact, many women were involved in meaningful literary and broadcasting work and can be understood as a pattern when considered as such. Women worked in a different way to their

male peers because of social and cultural conditions, lack of visibility and networks, and the absence of a culture of connection for professional women whose position in society and in the home didn't place them within networks occupied by men.

This thesis is, therefore, not just concerned with one woman's influence on literary development in the Caribbean; despite Gladys Lindo's significance, it should and cannot be understood in isolation. As the recovery of Marson has demonstrated, the isolation of recovered women does not lead to a disruption of a narrative that does not make space for women but continues to assume that the field of Caribbean literary development is a male-influenced realm. Only by examining the legacies of the men alongside the legacies of the women and allowing them to change the existing narrative do we really get a picture of how this incredible transnational network of literary exchange was created and functioned.

Further to this, the issues raised in this archival research have contemporary relevance. This was revealed through oral history interviews conducted with contemporary literary Caribbean women which were necessary to provide the context and knowledge that critical literature and the mainstream narrative lacked. Conversations with Marina Salandy Brown (Trinidad and Tobago, BOCAS Lit Festival founder), Margaret Busby (Publisher, Allison and Busby), Justine Henzell (Jamaica, Calabash co-founder), Olive Senior (Author and Jamaican Poet Laureate, Jamaica/Canada) Tanya Batson Savage (Jamaica, Blue Banyan Books founder), Kellie Magnus (Jamaica, CaribLit lead), and Jherane Patmore (Jamaica, Rebel Women Lit) revealed that the contemporary literary situation for women working in the Caribbean is not that different than in the twentieth century, where women were frequently doing less visible, enabling work in the background, in part, because they were unaware of the legacy of the women who came before them who had also worked invisibly, or because information about the work of Caribbean literary women who might have inspired them was lost or buried. It is necessary to restore these legacies in order to inform

contemporary literary practices and the place and choices of women in them.

Significance of Research

It is well documented by scholars such as Donnell, Fulani, and Bishop that some Caribbean voices have been recognised and lauded while others have not.

Indeed, in place of a literary history, Caribbean writing often seems to generate an extraordinary myth of a doubled spontaneous genesis. The first is London in the 1950s with the 'boom' of male writers (Lamming, Naipaul, Selvon) and the second is the 1970s, or even 1980s, usually centred on Jamaica, with a sudden 'explosion' of women's writing.[17]

Until now, the narrative about the Caribbean-UK literary ecosystem has centred around particular men. My research reveals that this story was far from the reality, fundamentally changing our understanding of place, gender, and agency in this ecosystem. My thesis makes an archival contribution to the body of knowledge by recuperating Gladys Lindo—centring her voice using material from her hundreds of unpublished letters held in institutional and private archives around the world—providing new evidence that alters the established understanding of this period and restoring much of the history that shaped Caribbean literature at a crucial juncture in its development.

The thesis also makes a theoretical contribution about how literary history works and how it intersects with social hierarchies. My research has revealed that Gladys Lindo made a more important contribution to the development of Caribbean literature than she has been given credit for, and I argue that overlooking her illustrates how blind spots are created and preserved in literary history, specifically relating to how we lose the stories of women.

This research has particular resonance for the Windrush generation and anyone

[17] Alison Donnell, *Twentieth-Century Caribbean Literature: Critical Moments in Anglophone Literary History* (1st ed.) (London: Routledge, 2005), 11.

committed to listening to women's and Black voices. My findings are of interest to both academic and public audiences as the thesis, and associated publications, and radio broadcasts, and activities restore marginalised women whose words and work have been persistently devalued as unworthy of inclusion in the mainstream narrative by those with critical influence and institutional power.

Outline of Thesis

Having presented the background and rationale for embarking upon this research project in Chapter One, the rest of the thesis is organised as follows. Chapter Two focuses on the methodological approach necessary to answer the research questions and highlight new voices and sources relating to women. The socio-cultural setting in which Gladys Lindo worked is also examined. This chapter also includes a case study of the recovery of the legacy of Una Marson, as an illustration of the critical context in which Gladys Lindo has remained hidden. Building upon this methodological approach and the social and historical context, Chapter Three focuses on answering research question number 1, 'How did Gladys Lindo contribute to the development of Caribbean literature?' It details Gladys Lindo's professional contribution to the development of Caribbean literature in the mid-twentieth century. Drawing upon the BBC *Caribbean Voices* archival collection, the significance and extent of her influence and agency is highlighted by centring her voice, methods, interventions, and the significant difference that she made.

Chapter Four addresses research question number 2, 'how did we lose her?' by first restoring Gladys Lindo's personal history from personal archives and interviews with her relatives. This is necessary to her fullest recovery and in order to acknowledge how Gladys' identity influenced her position and impacted its invisibility and loss. The chapter then examines the process by which she was 'lost', through analysis of the attitudes, events,

institutions, individuals and cultural norms which led to Gladys Lindo's invisibility at the time, and an examination of the record keeping practices, research methods, and a review of the literature that has perpetuated the invisibility of Gladys Lindo since. In Chapter Five, I ask 'What are the implications of Gladys Lindo's recovery for today?' I examine the implications of her recovery for our understanding of the value of literary women's work and discuss the relevance of my findings in relation to the contemporary literary landscape. The chapter offers new answers for how we understand Caribbean literary history. It challenges the labelling of each woman we recover as a pioneer rather than expanding the definitions and changing the rules so that women are no longer considered the exception. I situate Gladys Lindo alongside two other literary women working in the Caribbean in the mid-twentieth century: Anne Walmsley and Hilda McDonald, gesturing towards the importance of the work of Anne Walmsley drawn from multiple archives to advocate for this connected way of situating and framing new female 'finds' and provide further answers to research question number 1. My discovery of a new perspective on Anne Walmsley's literary career will feature in a forthcoming chapter with Edinburgh University Press dedicated to the analysis of how Anne Walmsley's career and significant editorial influence began when she left Faber and went to Jamaica to follow her interest in Caribbean literature and find a way to escape the limitations placed on female secretaries in 1950s England. Walmsley's story provides a counter-narrative to Gladys Lindo's, as she was a woman from the UK who worked in Jamaica in the 1950s. This chapter also features a brief introduction to Hilda McDonald, a largely unacknowledged woman writer from Antigua who I was able to recover using the methodology I developed to recover Gladys Lindo's legacy, demonstrating that a different research approach to recovery elicits rewards. Furthermore, I articulate the important of the recovery of Gladys Lindo in terms of the work and legacies of contemporary women in Caribbean literature.

The thesis concludes with details of a proposed model for bringing women back into the mainstream narrative and recommendations for applications and further research ideas.

CHAPTER TWO:

INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

> *Because the past is already in debt to the mismanaged present. And besides, contrary to what you may have heard or learned, the past is not done and it is not over, it's still in process, which is another way of saying that when it's critiqued, analyzed, it yields new information about itself. The past is already changing as it is being re-examined, as it is being listened to for deeper resonances. Actually, it can be more liberating than any imagined future if you are willing to identify its evasions, its distortions, its lies, and are willing to unleash its secrets.*
>
> –Toni Morrison, 2004, Wellesley Commencement Address

Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological approach I have devised to recuperate women's contributions to Caribbean literary history and reassess Gladys Lindo's legacy by working first within and then beyond official and institutional archival records. It introduces theorists whose work has helped frame my own approach and situates this approach against the socio-cultural context of the BBC's working practices of its Caribbean services, in both the Caribbean and the UK during the mid-twentieth century. Particular attention is paid to the role of two significant figures connected with the BBC's work in the Caribbean through *Caribbean Voices*, Una Marson and Henry Swanzy, exploring how Marson's and Swanzy's legacies shed light on Gladys Lindo's role and reputation as BBC literary representative during the 1940s and 1950s. Swanzy's legacy has both materially harboured and critically concealed Lindo's, while the restoration of Marson's legacy provides an important context for the loss of Lindo's legacy and offers a model for its recovery.

This methodological approach is situated ahead of a more traditional review of the critical literature in this field in Chapter Four as part of the exploration of why Gladys Lindo's legacy was lost. My decision to give primary focus to original source materials is

because critical cycles of archival recovery research in this field have repeatedly failed to focus on women as central to their lines of enquiry and have followed earlier, established narratives in secondary literature that assume female absence rather than returning to original source materials to reconsider initial assumptions about who the central literary figures were. For example, the works of Philip Nanton and Glyne Griffith, key scholars in this field, overlooks the significance of Gladys Lindo and continues to articulate a narrative that excludes her even after clear interventions have been made about her significance by scholars such as Ann Spry Rush and Sandra Courtman.[18] Further to this failure to allow Gladys Lindo's recovery to change the existing narrative, even where original archival materials have been used, the naming and labelling practices and presentation of these materials have directed attention away from Gladys Lindo's contribution in ways that the later chapters examine. This invisibility initiated by record-keeping practices and the resulting available archival materials has partly been caused because women were not publicly acknowledged for their professional achievements in the mid-twentieth century; they were neither named nor recognised appropriately in institutional archives and were not usually recognised through obituaries focusing on their professional lives. Such acts of oversight highlight issues about power in the production of literary histories.

In his classic work of decolonial historiography, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, the Haitian critic Michel-Rolph Trouillot proposes that there are four crucial moments when silence enters the process of historical production, providing the structure on which I map the loss of Gladys Lindo and other literary women's legacies in this

[18] Philip Nanton, 'What Does Mr. Swanzy Want—Shaping or Reflecting? An Assessment of Henry Swanzy's Contribution to the Development of Caribbean Literature'. *Caribbean Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (2000); Glyne Griffith, *The BBC and the Development of Anglophone Caribbean Literature, 1943–1958* (Cham: Springer, 2016); Anne Spry Rush, *Bonds of Empire: West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Sandra Courtman, *'Lost Years': West Indian Women Writing and Publishing in Britain c. 1960 to 1979*. University of Bristol, PhD dissertation, 1998. https://research-information.bris.ac.uk/en/studentTheses/lost-years-west-indian-women-writing-and-publishing-in-britain-c1. Accessed 2 June 2018.

thesis. Trouillot suggests

> [s]ilences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of sources); the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance).[19]

Yet Trouillot is also attentive to the particularity with which these moments occur and how 'any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences…and the operation required to deconstruct these silences will vary accordingly'.[20] As Hazel Carby highlights in her foreword to the 2015 edition of Trouillot's work, a key strength of his text is that it insists that archival researchers 'think across the problems of "the field", "the archive", and "the text"…to enable them to understand the politics of representation, the complexities and subtleties of the relation between what they were reading and seeing, and to comprehend the nature of that relation as a relation of power'.[21]

This thesis attempts to disrupt the processes by which a UK-focused, male-centred literary history of the mid-twentieth century Anglophone Caribbean is privileged over a more comprehensive and complicating history by bringing Gladys Lindo's female, Jamaican contribution back into central focus and connecting her experience with other Caribbean literary women at the time and in the contemporary moment. It examines the silencing that takes place across all four moments in the consolidation of a history of the BBC's *Caribbean Voices* radio programme and it takes a different methodological approach in order to explore and expose the power relations that have produced and reproduced particular critical narratives while silencing others.

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[19] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995), 26.
[20] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past,* 27.
[21] Hazel Carby, 'Foreword', in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Michael-Rolph Trouillot (ed.) (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995), xii.

As the literature review in Chapter Four further attests, critical attention has rarely deviated from centring men and ignoring women in this history. Even when female-focused threads have been discovered and shared by scholars such as Spry Rush and Courtman they have not been woven into or changed the mainstream narrative but have been held apart so as not to alter the main story, the surrounding literature, or the public understanding of the period. These interventions are identified and amplified in detail in Chapter Four as part of the analysis of the processes that concealed Gladys Lindo's work and legacy.

Socio-cultural Context

Restoring Gladys Lindo's role in this story signifies a considerable shift in critical attention: moving away from the long-held focus on BBC producer Henry Swanzy to a perspective that includes women's agency and challenges the spatial model of colonial centre/periphery relations in favour of a model of a (decentred) network of transnational exchange. This lens foregrounds new information and methods for renegotiating established forms, ideas, and assumptions. Gaining a fuller understanding of the multifaceted structure that enabled *Caribbean Voices* to thrive through Gladys Lindo's correspondence from Jamaica will yield considerable new insights in the field.

Situating this recovery against the growing number of publications focused on transnational literature and its relationship with the postcolonial highlights the significance of Gladys Lindo's lost legacy, not as an exceptional individual, although she is no doubt remarkable for her achievement, but as one of a number of representatives who, when acknowledged, show a much larger pattern of people in colonised countries from whom agency has been stripped and their contributions repeatedly assumed by and misattributed to a colonial centre. Particularly relevant to a reinterpretation of the development of Caribbean literary history through the BBC is the way in which taking a transnational view

> has productively complicated the nationalist paradigm long dominant in these fields, transformed the nature of the locations we study, and focused our attention on forms of cultural production that take place in the liminal spaces between real and imagined borders. This transformation has exploded under the forces of globalization, but it has its roots in political movements outside of the academic.[22]

The liminal space Paul describes exists between the Caribbean and the UK and is made manifest by the acknowledgement of Gladys Lindo as an affective agent of the BBC in Jamaica. By restoring and recognising the significance of the work she did in the Caribbean, a new space is opened up in which the development of Caribbean literary history has truly taken place, one that must be recognised as the real centre of creation and exchange, where the work of *Caribbean Voices* was conducted via written correspondence and from which a transnational literary network has been woven over time between the two geographical locations. Recognising that this liminal space exists and has been created by forces acting from both sides of the Atlantic is vital to our understanding of the development of Anglophone Caribbean literary culture and to correcting the imbalance that has been sustained for so long: the UK is privileged by overlooking the agency of individuals in the Caribbean and the need for a meaningful web of connection between the two locales.

In Jean Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea*, her 1966 novel re-writing *Jane Eyre* that explores the Caribbean experience, two different narratives are delivered by the Jane and Rochester figures, positioned as they are across the divides of gender, race, and social power. One line stands out, 'there is always the other side, always'.[23] This is pertinent when drawing attention to the transnational nature of Caribbean literary history and specifically to the lived reality of Gladys Lindo and the absence of her legacy. The danger is having a story in place about how

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[22] Paul, 2010, 1.
[23] Jean Rhys, *Wide Sargasso Sea* (London: Penguin, 1997 [1966]), 82.

something happened that obstructs the possibility of a new one developing. The acceptance of the known story conceals the gap in our knowledge and research, and publications build upon the known story, all the while further obscuring the gap in our knowledge and the likelihood of it being filled. Gladys Lindo is so integral to the story of the BBC, *Caribbean Voices*, and the development of Caribbean literature, that without her presence it is incomplete. In her TED Talk 'The Danger of a Single Story', Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie explains the problem of beginning the story of colonialism with the invaders and highlights what a different story it would be if it began with the lives of the people before they were rebranded as peripheral characters in another's narrative: 'The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they aren't true, but they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story'.[24] In her article 'Caribbean Women Writers and the Politics of Style: A Case for Literary Anancyism', Ifeona Fulani describes her approach 'as a Caribbean writer and scholar concerned about the practice of "unhearing" by influential individuals in the U.S. publishing industry'.[25] She refers to Carole Boyce Davies and Elaine Savory Fido's introduction to their 1990 critical anthology *Out of the Kumbla: Caribbean Women and Literature*, in which they 'invoke the concept of *voicelessness* to explore the historical absence of critical and creative texts written by Caribbean women, and the consequent absence of specifically female perspectives on major social and political issues'.[26] The editors interpret voicelessness to signify textual non-representation as well as silence. They define silence as both the inability of women to articulate their position and the negation of the opinions and positions they express. Silence, in other words, can be an imposed condition, a

[24] Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, 'The Danger of a Single Story', 2009 [TED Talk]. https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_ngozi_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.
[25] Ifeona Fulani, 'Caribbean Women Writers and the Politics of Style: A Case for Literary Anancyism', *Small Axe* 9, no. 1 (2005): 65. https://doi.org/10.1353/smx.2005.0005.
[26] Fulani, 'Caribbean Women Writers', 64; emphasis in original.

consequence of 'articulation that goes unheard', or is ignored in the 'master discourses'.[27]

The position articulated by Davies and Fido resonates with Fulani's in the contemporary context of Caribbean women writers, but it is also relevant to the loss of Gladys Lindo's voice as well as how clear articulations by women working within literary cultures, such as Gladys Lindo, Anne Walmsley, and Courtman and Spry Rush who offer critical foregrounding work to these contributions, have not influenced the mainstream, male-focused accounts. Fulani quotes the French feminist Hélène Cixous, who argues that silence provides a universal refuge for women from the 'double anguish': the risk of public speech and the painful knowledge that the masculine ear hears only its own language.[28] The silence that still shrouds Gladys Lindo is composed of unhearing and—whether intentional or not—has applied to her during her life and for more than forty years following her death. The risk of speaking out and claiming her power or demanding appropriate acknowledgement for her work may have resulted in the loss of her position of influence. Pertinent here is the painful knowledge that were she to have spoken out as a woman, she would not have been heard. As I explore in more detail in later chapters, it may even be that in order to have Henry Swanzy take her interventions seriously, he had to believe that he was corresponding with a man. As I discuss in Chapter Four when analysing Gladys Lindo's lost legacy, by Swanzy's own admission, after his first meeting with Gladys Lindo in Jamaica in 1952, he could not make sense of her in the role of correspondent and so did not believe it was her writing the letters to him. He chose, instead, to believe that it was her husband Cedric who had corresponded with him for the six years they worked together.[29] Fulani explains that for Caribbean women,

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[27] Carol Boyce Davies and Elaine Savory Fido (Eds.), *Out of the Kumbla: Caribbean Women and Literature* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World, 1990).
[28] Hélène Cixous, 'Sorties: Out and Out; Attacks/Ways Out/Forays', *The Feminist Reader*, Catherine Belsey and Jane Moore Macmillan (ed.) (London: Red Globe Press, 1989), 101–116, quoted in Fulani, 'Caribbean Women Writers', 101.
[29] Recorded in his private *Ichabod* diaries, as referenced in Chris Campbell, 'Mr. Swanzy Goes to Jamaica: BBC Radio and the End of Empire', University of Exeter, forthcoming.

> the unhearing ear is not only masculine but also Eurocentric and colonial/neocolonial: its owner may be the European/American critic, the gatekeeper and defender of the 'standards' of the Western literary canon; he may also be the Caribbean or African American critic who unmindfully or deliberately mimics the standards and exclusions of the Western literary tradition. He may be the editor or publisher who also serves this tradition; and in this latter capacity especially, he may actually be a she.[30]

Fulani's 'unhearing ear' is variously applicable to the characters integral to the story of *Caribbean Voices*, where Swanzy can be cast in both the masculine and colonial unhearing ear as the gatekeeper defending the standards, as can Gladys' husband Cedric, falling recognisably into step with Swanzy, though for different reasons, which will be explored in later chapters.

Gladys Lindo challenged the unhearing ear with considerable success, but the price she paid was her own recognition. She made a significant and lasting difference to the development of Caribbean literature, but she has not been remembered or given credit for it. This thesis illustrates that there are enormous gains to be made by restoring her Jamaican, female decision-making voice to this partial history of the BBC's work in the Caribbean, highlighting the fact that there are many voices that have spoken but have not yet been heard.

Una Marson: A Comparative Case Study with Gladys Lindo

As described in the previous chapter, Una Marson offers vital context for the recovery of Gladys Lindo's legacy. Conducting a comparative study of Marson and Lindo provides important insights that cannot be found by considering Gladys Lindo in isolation, or in the archival records or critical literature, which do not connect the two women despite numerous significant associations.

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[30] Fulani, 'Caribbean Women Writers', 64–65.

The restoration of Una Marson's legacy in relation to her roles as broadcaster, publisher, pan-Africanist, anti-racist, and writer of significance by Donnell (1995, 1997, 2003, 2011)[31] has led to further critical attention to Marson's career to this day, as well as the republication of her work. Delia-Jarrett Macauley's biography of Marson[32] and a recent BBC documentary[33] dedicated to her legacy restore her life story to the public, literary, and mainstream narratives. The positive reception, analysis and promotion of Marson's life and work demonstrates that there is an appetite for information about the lives of innovative Jamaican women who sustained professional literary and broadcasting positions at the BBC against all odds but were disrespected or forgotten. It also offers a model of recovery that provides a starting point for this thesis. In order to understand Gladys Lindo's experience, I have created a comparative case study to identify the ways in which Una Marson's and Gladys Lindo's experiences when considered in relation to each other tell us more than their own individual stories, creating instead a bigger story about the lived experience and hidden legacies of Caribbean women working to further the interests of Caribbean writing in the literary and broadcasting field in the mid-twentieth century. This comparison is multifaceted.

1. A shared context of working for *Caribbean Voices* in the mid-twentieth century. Marson was the first Black producer at the BBC, and she transformed *Calling the West Indies* into the renowned literary-focused *Caribbean Voices*, instrumental in Caribbean writer's literary development. Without Marson, *Caribbean Voices*' literary focus would not have existed. Further to this, Marson's breakdown because

[31] Alison Donnell, 'Sentimental Subversions: The Poetics and Politics of Devotion in The Poetry of Una Marson', in *Kicking Daffodils: Essays on Twentieth-Century Women's Poetry*, Vicki Bertram (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 113–124; 'Una Marson: Anti-colonialism, Feminism and a Forgotten Struggle', in *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain*, Bill Schwarz (ed.) (Manchester University Press, 2003), 114–131; 'Contradictory (W)omens? Gender Consciousness in the Poetry of Una Marson' *Kunapipi* 17, no. 3 (1995): 43–58; 'Una Marson and the Fractured Subjects of Modernity: Writing across the Black Atlantic', *Women: A Cultural Review* (Special issue) 22, no. 4 (2011): 345–69.

[32] See Delia Jarrett-Macauley, *The Life of Una Marson, 1905–1965* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

[33] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*, directed by Topher Campbell and Avril R. Russell, BBC, 2022.

of racial discrimination resulting in her departure from the BBC in 1945 meant that someone with Caribbean expertise and connections to continue Marson's work was needed. The role of BBC literary representative in Jamaica, which Gladys Lindo started in 1946, was a product of Marson's innovations and her struggle.

2. Living in Jamaica versus the UK. Lindo and Marson were alike in significant ways, most notably both were Black women born in Jamaica at the turn of the twentieth century who held significant roles in the BBC supporting Caribbean literary voices. The key differences between them are that Lindo's lifelong home was Jamaica and Marson lived and worked in the UK and internationally, and their familial experiences in terms of their heritage, inheritance, marital status, and children. The different choices they made in their personal and professional lives provide us with illuminating comparisons with which to measure the effects of their divergences.
3. How Marson and Lindo are related: While the women did not seem to have connected, the similarities between Marson's and Lindo's experiences, and the very fact of their disconnection from each other, reveals much about a context broader than the individual cases that conspired to conceal and isolate them.
4. How Marson and Lindo were forgotten: They were both to some extent forgotten or under acknowledged for their influence during their tenure at the BBC as well as for a period after their deaths.
5. How Marson and Lindo were recovered: Marson's recovery provides a model for Lindo's, but further to this, it is clear from the struggle to recover them both that a new approach is required for the recovery of women's legacies, not least because it has taken so long for Lindo's work to be acknowledged despite its proximity and relation to Marson's. It doesn't necessarily follow that finding one influential woman contributes to an increased belief and understanding that there are more of

them to discover. Why is this the case? Marson's legacy could have provided a pathway to other women's recoveries if it had not been interpreted and framed as an exception to the rule. Why weren't these two women's similar and significant experiences connected at the time or since? What can this disconnect tell us about women's isolated experiences, lack of networks, and invisibility when working to develop Caribbean literature in the twentieth century? These questions will be explored further in Chapters 4 and 5 in relation to the loss and recovery of women working in this field.

A Shared Context: The BBC and *Caribbean Voices*

A documentary dedicated to the recovery of Una Marson's legacy aired in October 2022 as part of the BBC centenary celebrations in which 'her story is told through her own words, dramatized re-imaginings of her life, and the rare archive of her that survives'.[34] As described in the documentary, '[t]hrough the BBC'S Empire Service, Una was the first to bring Caribbean ideas, voices, and culture to a global audience accustomed to hearing only English accents'.[35]

Without Marson's influence, the programme *Calling the West Indies* would not have developed in the direction that it did by becoming *Caribbean Voices*. This becomes especially significant when we consider that Marson's departure from the BBC in 1946 left the programme without a Caribbean cultural representative. This was also the year that Gladys Lindo's correspondence with Swanzy about *Caribbean Voices* began. It cannot be underestimated how vital the substantive recovery of Marson's and Lindo's legacies are to a representative understanding of Caribbean literary development in the mid-twentieth century.

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[34] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.
[35] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.

Anton Phillips, theatre director, explains that during Marson's time, '[l]istening to the BBC in the West Indies was a huge part of life', a point supported by Matthew J. Smith, Director of the Centre for Study of the Legacies of British Slavery at UCL

This was a major landmark for Jamaica, that programme, it was a space of representation of West Indian talent and not just for Jamaicans here in London but for Jamaicans who would hear those messages back home.[36]

Marson was central to the development of Caribbean literature through her work for the BBC, and her skill and experience contributed much to the success of the BBC's work in broadcasting about and to the Caribbean. Marson was key. This is made clear by the timing and reasons for the offer of work for the BBC's Empire Service made to her by producer Cecil Madden. The BBC needed her expertise to make relevant content for Caribbean listeners and provide the authenticity that would inspire them to tune in and listen to voices and ideas that were representative of their experience. However, it is notable that her significance was not rewarded with suitable status or financial recompense, as evidenced by an internal memo from Madden, dated 4 February 1941, about her appointment:

> You need have no fear about Una Marson being offered an extravagant salary. I am arranging that she should be engaged as a General Programme Assistant and that her duties will include appearances in front of the microphone, and also script writing. We shall in fact have as wide a use of her services as we want without additional payment.[37]

Marson would eventually be promoted to producer, but her authority was still regularly undermined, with reports now surfacing about racism against her that contributed to her return to Jamaica and her stay in Belle Vue Mental Asylum. David Hendy writes,

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[36] *The Jamaica Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, Diana Paton and Matthew J. Smith (ed.) (Durham, SC: Duke University Press, 2021), 536.
[37] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice.*

> [b]y the end of 1945, Marson was apparently exhausted and wanting to travel to Jamaica for some badly needed rest. But her state of mind was deteriorating fast, taking matters out of her control. Within months she was in hospital, being treated, apparently, for 'delusions' of persecution. By May 1946 she had been certified as suffering from schizophrenia and detained. The BBC, which had granted her an exceptional period of sick leave, decided to assist her passage back to Jamaica, so that she could benefit from what one manager called 'her home environment'.[38]

In Chapters 3 and 4 I draw detailed attention to Gladys Lindo's experience of her context, how it shaped her work, and how it relates to the experiences of Una Marson identified above.

Living in Jamaica versus the UK

The similarities between Marson and Lindo are many. Both were Black Jamaican women born at the start of the twentieth century. They worked for the BBC to promote Caribbean writing and voices, for which they were both employed in positions which were beneath the skill and responsibility level of the work, at least initially, and underpaid. They both shaped and represented Caribbean culture from within the BBC during the critical period of its growth in the mid-twentieth century. According to personal and professional accounts, they were both independent, had a strong sense of agency, were confident in their own abilities, and had an aptitude for navigating long-term inequality with wit and determination. They possessed skills, contacts, and cultural associations that the BBC needed to ensure the accuracy and success of their work in the Caribbean at an important time as the colonial influence was increasingly questioned and colonised countries fought for autonomy and increased independence. Marson wanted to do things that she was not assumed to be able

[38] Hendy, 'Caribbean Voices'.

to do. A friend and colleague of Marson, Dawn Penso, a retired Economist for the Commonwealth Secretariat, stated that '[t]he word feminist didn't exist in those days, but she wanted to do things that women didn't do'.[39] As for Lindo, she also did the work she wanted to do seemingly regardless of whether she would be credited or be officially allowed to do it.

The differences between Marson and Lindo are arguably more revealing than their similarities. Lindo remained in Jamaica while Marson worked in the UK and globally. Lindo wasn't a writer, whereas Marson was successful writing in many literary forms. Lindo married twice and had a life shaped in large part by her role as a wife, mother, and grandmother. Marson married late in life, but her life was in the main not shaped by family relations, having no children and dying at the relatively young age of 65. Lindo had means, inherited property, money, and land from her wealthy father in line with the inheritance of her two brothers, while Marson was from a rural, relatively poor family and one of several siblings, which may have motivated her to seek her fortune beyond Jamaica. Lindo was not motivated by recognition whereas Marson was keen to be known for her words, voice and name. Marson spoke on the radio and was heard globally, whereas Lindo expressed herself only in writing and was known locally in Jamaica, the Anglophone Caribbean, and by a few BBC colleagues. In a letter to a friend from London during the Second World War, Marson wrote: 'Here I can get a better idea of things as a whole, than I can from my own little corner of the globe',[40] whereas Lindo did not articulate her reasons for her work in public. There were several similarities in their backgrounds, and the 'why' behind the work they chose to do was similar, but their 'how' was different and the result was Marson's greater recognisability. The reasons for Marson's greater recognisability reveal why some women's legacies are invisible or lost and some are acknowledged and recovered.

[39] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice.*
[40] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.

How Marson and Lindo Are Related

Given Marson's significance and the timing of her departure from the BBC, the importance of Lindo to the BBC in 1946 is clearer. While Swanzy replaced Marson as producer of *Caribbean Voice*, by comparing Marson's and Lindo's situations in detail it is clear that it was Lindo who performed and indeed extended significant elements of the role that Marson had performed and which Swanzy was not equipped to fulfil. This provides a framework for understanding the scale and influence of Lindo's contribution and hints at potential reasons for her lack of acknowledgement. What she brought to the BBC was at least equal to what the BBC lost when Marson left. Swanzy may have been a skilled producer and commendably committed to including new voices from beyond the UK, but he had little knowledge of the Caribbean and would not visit until 1952, six years into his role as producer of *Caribbean Voices*. By understanding the unacknowledged contribution Marson made to the BBC, it is evident how her situation was replicated and outsourced by relocating it to Jamaica where it was inherited by Lindo. The lack of acknowledgement of the importance of both women's contributions to the success of Caribbean programming at the BBC is a throughline that connects their legacies and one of the contributing factors to their legacies being lost.

Marson and Lindo tackled similar challenges. As Marson explains in the documentary, '[t]here was pressure like you wouldn't believe. Be acceptable to white audiences, be sure not to alienate them, but of course feel comfortable to represent where I come from'.[41] This description mirrors what is evident in Lindo's extensive correspondence with the BBC, throughout which she carefully balanced the needs of those in the UK with her understanding of and desire to represent the Caribbean. Both women worked to bridge two culturally complex groups in a way that felt morally acceptable to them.

[41] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.

Further illumination is provided by considering how Marson's and Lindo's professional roles compared. Marson was '[e]mployed as an assistant at the Overseas Service, Una in fact ran the once neglected West Indian section, its previous job being to report test match scores and the odd special occasion'.[42] Lindo too was formally employed, though on a contract basis. Between 1943 and 1956, Lindo's contract was renewed on an annual basis, often when BBC colleagues were reminded by Lindo that it was close to expiring. However, its scope and her recognised remit understated the reality of her responsibility and agency. This will be explored further in Chapter Four where the disparity between the BBC's comprehension of Lindo's role and Lindo's role in practice is identified as a contributing factor to the loss of Lindo's legacy. By noting that the two women were similarly treated in terms of the formal definition of their roles at the BBC, it is possible to extrapolate more meaning from the circumstances of Lindo's experience and how the understating of her role contributed to the loss of her significance and legacy. It also emphasizes the likelihood that this happened to other women as well.

Professor Jean Seaton notes that for Marson '[b]eing the first came at a personal cost'. She asks, '[h]ow to be a woman of colour in England then, how to be a woman of any colour in England then. How to be a professional woman? Those are all terrible lonelinesses'.[43] This experience undoubtedly had a negative effect on Marson, but it also draws attention to what may have been a more positive experience for Lindo. Living in Jamaica resulted in a huge disparity between Lindo's work and the comprehension of her work by UK colleagues, but she avoided the loneliness and disempowerment that Marson was forced to put energy into navigating due to racism and isolation in the UK. Lindo was able to keep her working life entirely separate from her personal one, and both were substantial and sustaining to her.

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[42] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.
[43] Jean Seaton, 'Being Objective: Changing the World', in *Global Voice: Britain's Future in International Broadcasting*, R. Sambrook (ed.) (London: Premium Publishing, 2007), 40–56.

Marson, by comparison, was largely defined by her professional endeavours, for which she gained meagre recognition during her lifetime and suffered greatly. Lindo may have been able to make the sustained contribution that she made at this time because she remained in Jamaica at a distance from the othering Marson suffered; she was grounded in a sense of belonging.

Seaton notes that Marson was behind a suite of BBC programmes directed at local populations trying to connect Britain to the Caribbean and the Caribbean to Britain. A challenge and an opportunity:

> The BBC's broadcasting abroad in the Empire Service was originally constituted to, as it were, speak to white colonialists. Then, as the war approaches, Una becomes part of this suite of programmes who were really talking to local populations. So, you're trying to say things about what's happening in Britain, things about what's happening there, you're trying to relate them to here, and us to them.[44]

Both Marson and Lindo worked with the knowledge and effects of this longstanding colonial imbalance. Both born in a changing Jamaica that was moving towards independence politically and through cultural self-determination. In the mid-twentieth century, as educational opportunities were available for an expanding population, people in the Caribbean were able to write their own stories, which were no longer being told through a foreign lens based on an English interpretation, in large part thanks to Una Marson and Gladys Lindo. As Smith explains,

> One thing that is significant I think in terms of what Una Marson's prospects would be then would be the emergence of a culture of writing that had always existed in Jamaica and Jamaica had always had a very, very strong tradition of writing but most often that earlier tradition was the province of white men, especially white Jamaican

[44] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.

> men or white men from England or Britain. What was changing in the early twentieth century was this idea that people who were educated could write their own stories, and not stories based on England or based on foreign lenses but trying to look locally and internally.[45]

Lindo selected and submitted the stories of writers from Jamaica and the wider Anglophone Caribbean to the BBC in London. In this way, Lindo furthered the early aims of *Caribbean Voices* to look locally and internally in a way that Marson could not have done based in London. Marson, on the other hand, chose to fight and speak out for radical change for women in particular. For example, her statement at the age of 23 in 1928 demonstrates her public commitment to equality: 'This is the age of woman. What man has done, women may do'.[46]

While Lindo was doing work that was assumed to be the remit of men, she did not fight as openly for women's rights as Marson had. This difference in motivations and methods also contributed to an awareness of Marson and the relative invisibility of Lindo at the time, Marson being an outward facing activist and Lindo being a behind-the-scenes ambassador.

How Marson and Lindo Were Forgotten

It is surprising that someone of Marson's status should have been forgotten and worth noting that archival and critical practices have contributed greatly to her loss as opposed to aiding her recovery. Delia Jarrett MacCauley, interviewed about Marson's lost legacy, states, '[a]t the peak of her career Una Marson was famous around the world. Now she is all but forgotten'.[47] How Marson was forgotten differs from the way in which Lindo was forgotten.

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[45] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.
[46] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.
[47] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.

Trouillot's model of the four moments when silence enters history provides a framework for comparing the two women. Marson was acknowledged to some extent for her contribution to the BBC during her employment, but the reasons for her departure also contributed to her contribution being undervalued. Marson was a notable figure as the first Black producer at the BBC, but the lack of recognition of her skills by those around her curtailed the dissemination of her story. Marson expressed her frustration in a letter to a friend: 'I am bringing some of the finest audiences and some of the finest guests, and still, they treat me as something that was on the bottom of their shoe. I will never be good enough. Heart and soul, Una'.[48] This is Trouillot's first moment of fact creation, 'the making of sources'.[49]

This first moment shapes the second moment of fact assembly, the 'making of archives', which are compiled from the available sources to be drawn on in order to assess who and what is important and worth signposting for future researchers. The third moment of fact retrieval is when narratives are made. Marson's lack of status in the first two moments reduce her place in the narrative because the records and accounts do not accurately reflect her position or privilege her papers, in contrast to the dedicated collections assigned to Henry Swanzy. Only in the fourth moment of what Trouillot calls 'retrospective significance', the making of history in the final instance, is Marson restored in the fullness of her achievements. The pattern of overlooking and forgetting is set in motion and then embedded, and this pattern has to be actively queried, interrupted, and rejected to make room for new characters to take central roles, new stories to arise, different interpretations to form, and disappearances to be reversed. In Chapter Four I interpret the loss of Gladys Lindo in terms of how they map on to these four moments of silence. The paths of Marson and Lindo being forgotten differ, but the act of identifying how they relate offers insights into the cause of, and avoiding the

[48] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.
[49] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26.

creation of more, forgotten legacies.

Jarrett-Macauley, Marson's biographer, asks in the documentary, '[h]ow could we have someone of Una Marson's calibre just sort of disappear?'[50] In response to this question, I draw on Audre Lorde's description of power in her essay 'Uses of the Erotic'. Power is a vital component in the creation of legacies; the power to decide who is important and which stories are given voice determines what makes history, and therefore a consideration of the influence of power is necessary to understand how significant life stories are repeatedly overlooked and forgotten. Lorde begins by explaining that '[t]here are many kinds of power, used and unused, acknowledged or otherwise'.[51] This draws attention to a key factor in the forgotten legacy of Marson: the different types of power involved in shaping or diminishing her reputation. Marson possessed power because of her skills, contacts, and knowledge, but it was undermined until her breakdown and departure from the BBC, where much of her legacy was created and evidenced. Marson's power went unacknowledged and eventually unused in the context of her work for the BBC when she was replaced by Swanzy, while others were able to use their power but off the back of Marson's contribution. Acknowledgment by those in power at the BBC of Marson's significance could have resulted in the requirement to remunerate her. It is possible that the lack of recognition of Marson's contribution engendered gains for the institution. Lorde depicts how and why power can be taken away from women in patriarchal systems:

> As women we have come to distrust that power which rises from our deepest and non-rational knowledge. We have been warned against it all our lives by the male world, which values this depth of feeling enough to keep women around in order to exercise it in the service of men, but which fears this same depth too much to examine the

[50] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.
[51] Lorde, 'Uses of the Erotic', 6.

> possibilities of it within themselves. So, women are maintained at a distant/inferior position to be psychically milked, much the same way ants maintain colonies of aphids to provide a life-giving substance for their masters.[52]

Lindo's experience can be understood in Lorde's terms: 'maintained at a distant/inferior position to be psychically milked'. The benefits of this arrangement being partly responsible for why her legacy was lost. A close analysis of this theory is featured in Chapter Four.

How Marson and Lindo Were Recovered

Marson's legacy as a person of literary and professional significance has been restored through dedicated publications, and radio and TV broadcasts. At the BBC Written Archives there is now a meeting room named after her featuring a wall-sized image of her face. While this commitment to her restoration is deserved, it also brings to light an important issue relating to the way in which women's 'lost' legacies are often recovered—in isolation. It is my contention, and one that I will articulate and evidence throughout this thesis, that 'lost' women are restored as individual exceptions. On a wider scale, this method of recovery fails to acknowledge that overlooking a woman as significant as Marson suggests that we are unable to see and acknowledge the contributions of even the most successful women and encompass their roles in the narrative of literary history.

The restoration of Marson's legacy could have provided a signpost for retrieving Lindo's lost legacy but that it didn't is itself important to query. This will be explored further in Chapter Five in relation to the implications of Lindo's recovery for other women.

Interestingly, there is no evidence in the letters of Lindo of her and Marson interacting. This would be an interesting area of research to develop. Despite working for the same institution on the same landmark programme, their shared Jamaican home, and their

[52] Lorde, 'Uses of the Erotic', 6–7.

parallel roles in the same cultural field at the same time, there is a notable lack of acknowledgement or connection between the two women. This silence speaks loudly and poses an intriguing line of questioning concerning the collaboration of these two women whose work, geographies, and ambitions aligned so closely. As Sara Ahmed writes, '[w]omen in different nation spaces, within a globalised economy of difference, cannot not encounter each other, what is at stake is how, rather than whether, the encounters take place'.[53] Ahmed's contention that women encounter each other prompted an exploration, featured in Chapter Five, as part of a wider consideration of the implications of Lindo's recovery. Marson's experiences and methods are comparable to those of other literary women working in the Caribbean, and by situating Lindo's recovery among them I challenge the usefulness of the tradition of labelling every recovered woman a pioneer, which I believe results in their recoveries not having an impact on the critical narrative shaped according to the privileged UK-centric, male perspective.

What unites Lindo and Marson is their confidence in what they were doing and their capacity to do it well. Dawn Penso says of Marson: 'She firmly believed in what she was doing, and I think that probably gave her the confidence that exuded from her'.[54]

Lindo also exuded confidence not constituted by her cultural context, drawn from her position and the support she gained from the inheritance of land and money, and the freedoms they provided. Interviews with Lindo's grandchildren featured in Chapter Four reveal that Lindo did not have to do any of the work she was doing for financial recompense and given that she did not receive acknowledgement or accolades for doing it; she chose to do it and committed to doing it well. This gave her a measure of freedom and agency unusual for women of her time, but in line with what her relatives recall about her personal nature and

[53] Sara Ahmed, S*trange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2000).
[54] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.

motivations. While it is important that we do not look at women's recovered legacies in isolation, the contribution of Marson's and Lindo's independent and distinct identities should be factored in when considering what enabled their contributions.

To close this case study of Marson in relation to Lindo, I include an excerpt from a letter sent by Marson to George Orwell, who had become a confidante during their time together at the BBC. Marson had returned to Jamaica and continued to correspond with Orwell from there. Marson took Orwell's advice to put 'it all' on the page and acknowledge that she had been replaced at the BBC which she says, 'was to be expected'.

> My dearest, kindest George,
>
> I have received and read your letters with great appreciation. I understand that I have been replaced. It is of no surprise. I suppose it was to be expected. I am pleased to hear that our dear little show is enjoying good audiences, and that the writers from the colonies are finally being heard. I am following your advice, dearest George, I am putting it all on the page.
>
> My heart as well as my soul, signing off for now, your friend and admirer,
>
> Una Maud Victoria Marson.[55]

Marson knew she has been replaced at the BBC officially by Swanzy as producer of *Caribbean Voices*, but in Jamaica she has also been replaced by Gladys Lindo. The women may have been unaware of this replacement, or it could have been a contributing factor in their lack of interaction.

Reading for Gladys Lindo Against the Archival Grain

Caribbean Voices has attracted significant academic interest, with the prevailing contemporary narrative being shaped by Philip Nanton's 'What Does Mr. Swanzy Want?—

[55] *Una Marson: Our Lost Caribbean Voice*.

Shaping or Reflecting? An Assessment of Henry Swanzy's Contribution to the Development of Caribbean Literature', James Procter's 'From War to "Windrush": The National, the Colonial and the BBC, 1940–1960', and Glyne Griffith's detailed work on this subject, most recently his book-length study *The BBC and the Development of Anglophone Caribbean Literature, 1943–1958*. Chris Campbell's 'Mr. Swanzy Goes to Jamaica: BBC Radio and the End of Empire' (forthcoming) which takes as its starting point Swanzy's visit to Jamaica in 1952, during which he meets Gladys Lindo in person, offers important evidence of the relationship between the Lindos and Swanzy from Swanzy's perspective, written as it was in his ego book *Ichabod*.[56] While these scholars have all undertaken valuable research on the programme's history and impact, none have explored the significance of Gladys Lindo's contribution. Indeed, as I show in Chapter Four, both Swanzy and Lindo's husband Cedric repeatedly received credit for her work. Given how pivotal *Caribbean Voices* was in developing Caribbean literary voices, countering the omission of Gladys Lindo from stories associated with the BBC and this foundational programme is a major contribution to the literary history of the region.

In seeking to restore Gladys Lindo and break the scholarly inheritance of an 'unhearing' narrative of *Caribbean Voices*, I have consciously engaged with and privileged sources beyond academic publications, giving primacy to women's voices and narratives that have been ignored or overwritten in the dominant critical literature of Caribbean literary culture. This has meant adopting a methodology of speaking to women and letting women speak. For this reason, a substantial portion of the critical context is derived from interviews I conducted with contemporary women working in the literary world in Jamaica, Trinidad and the UK.

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[56] Nanton, 'What Does Mr. Swanzy Want?'; James Procter, 'From War to "Windrush": The National, the Colonial and the BBC, 1940–1960', 2016; Griffith, *The BBC*; Campbell, 'Mr. Swanzy Goes to Jamaica'.

In addition to the literature review in Chapter Four, which draws attention to the times when Gladys Lindo could have been mentioned or her influence excavated, I have chosen to privilege analysis of the insights from important female figures in the field of Caribbean literature whose voices, stories, and experiences provide relevant background and insight into how Gladys Lindo lived and worked and the process that resulted in the loss of her legacy.

Alternative Context from Literary Women in the Caribbean

In June 2021, during a month-long research trip to Jamaica, I interviewed a series of women in the literary sector. Among them, Justine Henzell, co-founder of Calabash International Literary Festival in Jamaica; Olive Senior, Jamaican poet laureate; Jherane Patmore, founder of Rebel Women Lit; Kellie Magnus, CaribLit initiative lead; and Tanya Batson-Savage, publisher at Blue Banyan Books. Prior to this, I had written, interviewed, or spoken to women in Trinidad and the UK whose working lives linked with Gladys Lindo's legacy and its loss: Marina Salandy-Brown, founder of BOCAS Lit Fest, Trinidad and Tobago; Dr Anne Walmsley, editor, Caribbean Artists Movement; Dr Sarah White, co-founder, George Padmore Institute, New Beacon Books; Dr Anthony (Vahni) Capildeo, Trinidadian writer in the UK; and Margaret Busby, Publisher, Allison and Busby in the UK. Discovering an under acknowledged twentieth century Antiguan poet, Hilda McDonald, which came about through the application of my methodological approach to alternative archives, led me to interview her granddaughter, Robin McDonald, whose insights provided a useful context for the experience of literary women in the Caribbean in the mid-twentieth century.

My decision to divert from the critical literature that conspired to conceal Gladys Lindo shaped and enabled her fullest recovery. Limiting ourselves to an understanding of what Gladys Lindo did, who she was, and how and why her legacy has been lost that can be

found in the critical texts would only further confine her story to a thin strand of an already established narrative. By re-establishing the context in which Lindo made her contribution, this thesis provides an alternative model to repeatedly returning to the same critical texts when conducting recovery research about women.

The richest discoveries have come from letting women tell the story of Caribbean literature through their own experiences, and this has been the basis on which it has been possible to understand the extent of Gladys Lindo's work and the rediscovery of it today. The content and significance of these interviews will be discussed in Chapter Five as well as the work and methods of Bishop (2021) which have been instrumental in shaping this theoretical direction. In *The Gift of Music and Song: Interviews with Jamaican Women Writers*, Bishop includes in-depth interviews conducted over many years presented in terms of how they relate and connect to each other, that is, the interviews are sorted in terms of the way they connect to each other thematically with the women themselves often being aware of each other in reality but not having their work and words connected or understood in terms of one another. Bishop's resulting book is testament to the effectiveness of a methodology that lets women speak about their experiences unconfined by the framework of a history that has been written and shaped without them.[57]

In this chapter, I detail the extensive and complex methodological approach I devised to find and reunite Gladys Lindo with her literary legacy by way of her unpublished letters, interviews with relations, and an archival treasure hunt from Birmingham and Caversham, UK, to Lindo's home in Kingston, Jamaica. Retracing her contribution at the BBC during the mid-twentieth century boom in Caribbean literature in these locations has revealed that Gladys Lindo made a much more important contribution to the development of Caribbean

[57] Jacqueline Bishop, *The Gift of Music and Song: Interviews with Jamaican Women Writers* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press Ltd., 2021).

literature than she has been given credit for. Following the scholarly inheritance has proved to be a limited approach because existing sources focus almost exclusively on Swanzy and rely on the assumption that Cedric Lindo was the Jamaican-based representative behind *Caribbean Voices*. It is precisely these accounts that have caused scholars not to ask certain questions of the wider archival collections.

The focus of the rest of this chapter is on the process undertaken to ask these questions and to piece together what Gladys Lindo's role was—looking for answers in archives and beyond. The main objective of my thesis is to restore Gladys Lindo to her rightful place in Anglophone Caribbean literary history, but by situating this the methodology in a literature review of feminist archival recuperation, I also show that her story is not exceptional but part of a wider pattern of 'unhearing' women that is complicated by the particular intersection of colonial relations of power and the 'bundles of silence' these create.

By detailing the steps to discovering Gladys Lindo, while also critically reviewing the moments at which her silence was produced in the historical record, I not only demonstrate how she was overlooked but also how blind spots were created and preserved in literary history, with specific attention given to the processes by which women go missing from the narrative. From this I articulate how we can improve our approach to recovering lost women from literary history and 'how silences can be made to speak for themselves to confront inequalities of power in the production of sources, archives, and narratives'.[58] Restoring Gladys Lindo's role is necessary in order to paint a fuller and more equitable picture of the processes leading to the broadcast of literary works and of the people *Caribbean Voices* relied upon to promote the work of Anglophone Caribbean writers. Such restoration offers not just a hearing of women from the past but an exposure of their previous 'unhearing'. As Trouillot states, 'The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility; the ultimate challenge,

[58] Carby, 'Foreword', xiii.

the exposition of its roots'.[59] The context necessary for this recovery cannot be found in established critical texts about Anglophone Caribbean literature in the mid-twentieth century, any more than it can be found in the partial engagement with archives and records on which those texts are based. Instead, as explained in this chapter, it has been necessary to expand and rearrange the sources from which it is possible to draw information about this period to record and recognise women's work, words, and legacies.

Methodological Approach

My approach to this research is a combined practice. It is primarily archival, but also interdisciplinary, while drawing on historical-contextual practices, focusing on the processes and conditions by which historical narratives are produced. As Trouillot states, it is only through analysis of historical practices and their role in the production of historical knowledge, that the power processes that promote some narratives while silencing others are to be revealed.[60] In order to investigate what role women played in mid-twentieth century literary cultures, I examine two key questions that have shaped my intellectual commitments. The first is about the moment when silences were produced. Did these women not exist, were they unacknowledged at the time, or have they been lost since? The second is about the veracity and reliability of existing historical and critical accounts. Why don't we know of (m)any literary women at the time of the great boom in Caribbean literature in the mid-twentieth century? Pursuing these questions meant that I was required to draw on a range of established sources: publications in the field, institutional archives, personal archives, and oral history sound recordings. But it was also necessary to create new sources through open-ended interviews.

[59] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, xxiii.
[60] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, xii.

As Antoinette Burton notes in the introduction to her 2005 edited collection, *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, 'archives—that is, traces of the past collected either intentionally or haphazardly, as "evidence"—are by no means limited to official spaces or state repositories. They have been housed in a variety of unofficial sites since time immemorial'.[61] This research journey took me to a wide variety of archival sources that deviated from the official path. It is acknowledged that some sources may not be considered legitimate by historians in the positivist tradition, with the danger that 'everything might be an archive'.[62] Nevertheless, I concur with Burton when she states that 'all archives come to being in and as history as a result of specific political, cultural and socioeconomic pressures—pressures which leave traces and which render archives themselves as artifacts of history'.[63] For example, archives comprising oral history sources have slowly grown in respectability over the last quarter of a century, illustrating how the subjective voice has gained weight in the political and cultural processes that frame the spaces and conventions of archival research.[64]

My own hiatus when prevented from accessing BBC and university archives due to the global pandemic restrictions which began in 2020 led to a period of reflection, which redirected my research. As well as providing frustrating limitations on the sources I could refer to this interruption accelerated my intention to examine other sources that told a wholly different story. These were online archives of Jamaican newspapers, travel records held in the National Archives, biographical records via Ancestry.com, written correspondence with carefully selected individuals from the Caribbean literary sector around the world, and domestic archives held in the homes of relatives and writers around the world connected to

[61] Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 3.
[62] Burton, *Archive Stories*, 5.
[63] Burton, *Archive Stories*, 6.
[64] Burton, *Archive Stories*, 6.

the Caribbean literary scene of the mid-twentieth century.

When I eventually returned to the official archives, I did so with a new confidence in my scepticism that they could reveal the whole story about Gladys Lindo. I consciously relied less on these archives as sources of truth and moved towards a critical understanding of the narrative they had shaped of the institutionally powerful that did not include the work and life of this significant and influential woman. In this way, as reflected in Craig Robertson's work on the mechanisms of exclusion, I became 'cognizant of [the archive's] horizons, wary of its distortions, sceptical of its truth claims and critical of its collaboration with state apparatuses', recognising Durba Ghosh's interpretation of archives as national institutions that control scholarly access tend to influence the information that researchers can obtain from them.[65]

By not restricting my research sources to traditionally accepted ones, I was able to uncover the practices and power relations that contributed to the omission of Gladys Lindo from the prevailing historical narrative of *Caribbean Voices* and Caribbean literary history. Discovering both tangible and intangible evidence of Gladys Lindo's legacy in the form of her letters and others' memories of her enabled an evaluation of the extent of her significance and put her at the heart of my recovery research. This, in turn, led to the requirement for more refined research questions that moved away from the initial search for women writers to centre Lindo's legacy in a way that enabled her story to be heard as well as the previous silence about it to be understood. The key research questions for the thesis were therefore refined through this process and pursuing these research questions structured my methodological journey.

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[65] Craig Robertson, 'Mechanisms of Exclusion: Historicizing the Archive and the Passport', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, Antoinette Burton (ed.) (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 70; Durba Ghosh, **'**National Narratives and the Politics of Miscegenation: Britain and India**'**, in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, Antoinette Burton (ed.) (New York: Duke University Press, 2005), 27.

Summary of Methodological Journey

Due to the lack of records dedicated to the work of Caribbean literary women in the mid-twentieth century, it was necessary to begin my search for women in the records of the men whose papers are kept in institutional archives. Beginning in the well-known collection of Henry Valentine Swanzy, producer of *Caribbean Voices* who is widely lauded for bringing Anglophone Caribbean writers to prominence in the mid-twentieth century. Swanzy is associated with the success of this endeavour, and by association, with writers, in both scholarly and popular platforms. A prize in Henry Swanzy's name is awarded annually at the BOCAS Lit Festival in Trinidad and held as the gold standard for contributions to the development of Caribbean literature. Swanzy also has multiple collections dedicated to his legacy, with the Special Collections at the University of Birmingham being the most relevant to his time with *Caribbean Voices*.

It was in Swanzy's correspondence that I first found evidence of a Jamaican woman, Mrs. Gladys R. Lindo, whose extensive epistolary exchange with Swanzy in the 1940s and 1950s detailing entries for *Caribbean Voices* evidence her significant contribution to the development of writers and the type and reputation of programmes being broadcast to the Caribbean by the BBC. However, as I discuss in more detail in Chapter Four, on examining the critical literature associated with the programme and the period, Mrs. Gladys R. Lindo was never acknowledged, or her contribution explored. Instead, she is referenced as support staff or secretary, or even a fill-in for her husband Cedric. Cedric Lindo is regularly referenced as having been the main contact in Jamaica for the BBC during the mid-twentieth century, in critical literature and academic discussion about the period. The provenance and perpetuation of this misconception is investigated in detail in the chapters that follow. The letters from Gladys in the Swanzy collection clearly proved this wrong and led to an

important adaptation to my methodological approach to this research.

On realising that a woman in a significant professional role at the BBC had been denied her legacy and was relegated to a section in someone else's papers, I made the decision to expand my sources and move beyond the search of Swanzy's papers so as not to read Gladys Lindo only in terms of Swanzy's record. This took me first to the BBC Written Archives at Caversham, to view correspondence preserved about *Caribbean Voices* beyond Swanzy's remit and time with the programme. On discovering that Gladys Lindo did indeed have a contracted period with the BBC for Caribbean-specific work beyond the remit of *Caribbean Voices* that outlasted Swanzy, the likely rewards of searching other sources relating to her life and work seemed high.

For this reason, I expanded my research to look at her employment contracts in the *Caribbean Voices* collection in the Special Collections library at the University of the West Indies in St Augustine, Trinidad. Travel records in the National Archives in London revealed what Gladys Lindo had done independently outside of her professional work. I searched newspaper and online archives in Jamaica to discover her in her context and found obituaries of family members. I created a family tree tracing her heritage on Ancestry.com to find out about her background and to identify living relatives.

Having undertaken research via these resources, I travelled to Jamaica in June 2021 to speak to women working in the literary sector today and in hope of finding people who had known Gladys. I was led by the women I interviewed and shared Gladys' story with her surviving granddaughter, Maxine Williams, who welcomed the discovery of her grandmother's letters and news of her significant role at the BBC. Williams agreed to an interview about her grandmother, offered me full access to her family archives, which provided the first photograph of Gladys, and showed me locations relevant to Gladys' work and personal life. I interviewed other relatives for their recollections of Gladys and to

correlate familial records with archival ones.

Development of Methodology: Sources and Methods

As the producer of *Caribbean Voices* from 1946 - 1954, the correspondence of Swanzy promised to offer a good starting point for understanding the context and content in which the programme, and concurrently, a Caribbean writer's name, had been made. This was also a rich resource to support the work of Griffith and Nanton in their research of *Caribbean Voices*.

Using the male-focused critical narratives as a starting point, I navigated the well-worn paths in the archives away from the usual direction of travel recommended by scholars in an effort to find and pay attention to any traces of women. Intrigued by both the visible voicing of Gladys and her critical silencing, I was keen to expand my archival research to ensure that I did not inadvertently confine Lindo's legacy to the remit of what can be known about her in terms of her relationship with Swanzy. There was a great deal of material written by Lindo to Swanzy, which was vital in my initial understanding of the significant role that Gladys played, but it soon became apparent that her role could not be presumed to fit within Swanzy's given that Gladys preceded him in working in a Caribbean-focused role at the BBC by three years and continued beyond his remit as producer of the programme to work with a number of other producers and in furthering other BBC interests in the Caribbean beyond *Caribbean Voices*. Swanzy was an Anglo-Irish radio producer in the BBC General Overseas Service who took over the role of producer of *Caribbean Voices* in 1946 following Una Marson's return to Jamaica. He had little grounding in Caribbean literary culture and no experience of living in the region, and although he became extremely committed to supporting Caribbean writing he was not specifically dedicated to the interests of the Caribbean. In 1954 he was seconded as head of programmes to the Gold Coast Broadcasting

System (GCBS; later the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation)'[66], and his professional interests continued to develop in the direction of his African interests for the remainder of his career. For this reason, in Chapter Three, which provides the analysis of the core correspondence from Lindo, I mainly cite material from the BBC archives as opposed to the Swanzy papers, and focus on letters from the later years that best demonstrate the extent of Gladys' independent contribution and the sum of her cumulative impact, and in Chapter Four I focus on letters from the period between 1953 and 1956 which best demonstrate the reasons for her lost legacy by detailing the machinations leading up to Gladys' departure from her role in 1956.

I strategically moved from viewing Gladys Lindo through the lens of Swanzy's papers, in order to make more room for her reputation to expand beyond what she was in relation to him. This decision was made in order to expand my range of sources, rather than following a one-way line from the Swanzy collection to other sources. Having read the collection thoroughly, I do not feel I overlooked valuable material by not citing later documents from Swanzy's papers although there is much in them that would benefit from further study.

All research must have boundaries in order to come to a form of completion, and I decided to centre Gladys by collecting her correspondence from multiple scattered sources. My intention has been to use the method to mirror the findings and lift Lindo beyond the lens of a male-focused gaze.

Moving from Swanzy's papers in Birmingham to the BBC Written Archives in Caversham provided an expansion of the view of Lindo, also yielding materials that demonstrated her importance outside *Caribbean Voices*, and importantly, her close

[66] Victoria Ellen Smith, ed., *Voices of Ghana: Literary Contributions to the Ghana Broadcasting System 1955–57* (2nd ed.) (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2018), x–xi.

professional relationship and correspondence with Swanzy's BBC superior, Head of the Colonial Service, John Grenfell Williams. Their correspondence, contractual records, internal memos, and publicity folders provided new information that demonstrated how important Gladys Lindo was to the BBC's interests in Caribbean literary development and provided a mappable route of the events, oversights, and articulations that accumulated throughout her working life from 1943–1956 which contributed to her being overlooked and eventually lost. These details are provided in Chapters Three and Four, which depict Gladys' contribution to Caribbean literary development and analyse why it has remained hidden.

Newspaper Archives

Having established a sense of who Gladys Lindo was from extensive correspondence by and about her and contractual information at the BBC, I widened the scope of my search by seeking biographical information about the Lindos from the *Jamaica Gleaner*'s online newspaper archive, with support via email from archivist Ahon Gray. This ongoing search has not yet returned a photograph or obituary of Gladys Lindo, but other documents have come to light that provide information about her. Gladys' husband Cedric's obituary confirmed 1940 as the date of Gladys and Cedric's marriage and 1981 as the date of Gladys' death, clearly demonstrating how women's legacies are often embedded in the records of the men they are associated with. Cedric's obituary provided links to Gladys and led to the discovery that her children and grandchildren had her first husband's surname of Williams, but it also named Cedric as 'the local agent for the BBC', promoting an exclusionary narrative that has proved highly believable and closed the door on any further interpretation of what was an altogether different and more complex arrangement (see Fig. 2.1).[67]

[67] Obituary of Cedric Lindo, *Sunday Gleaner*, 25 July 1993.

PAGE 12A OBITUARIES Sunday Gleaner, July 25, 1993

Writer, 'devout christians' laid to rest

MRS. BERYL GRAY

MRS BERYL GRAY, who taught at Alverma Preparatory School for some 20 years after her retirement, was described by Sister Alma Robert Glenn, Principal of the School as "a very conscientious teacher who took a great interest in the children. She was a disciplinarian whose first priority was the children."

Prior to the long years she spent at Alverma, Mrs. Grey, who was trained at St. Joseph's Teacher's College, taught at St. Anne's Primary School and St. Aloysius Primary School.

Mrs. Gray was born 85 years ago in the Cross Key's/Chantilly area of Manchester. As a youngster she attended the Local Elementary School then went on to St Joseph's Teachers College.

Her dedication to teaching was matched only by her active participation in the Credit Union Movement, in St. Elizabeth's Church at 5 Ransford Avenue and the St. Vincent De

the Lyndhurst Credit Union and served in the capacity of Secretary/Treasurer for many years.

One of her outstanding achievements was her election as the first female president in Jamaica of the St. Vincent De Paul Society. Her commitment and caring for needy, elderly and neglected persons in the society led her to adopt a number of poor children and to assist the Ozanam Home to make life more comfortable for the aged people who live there.

"She was a wonderful caring woman who saw something beautiful in everyone she met," a close friend of hers commented.

Beryl Gray, widow of George Henry Gray, died peacefully at her home on Wednesday, July 14. A thanksgiving service for her life was held on Tuesday, July 20, at St. Elizabeth's Church. Contributions were taken at the service for the St. Vincent De Paul Society.

MR CEDRIC LINDO

scribed his late wife Zelpha who passed away on July 13.

She was born at Hamilton Mountain in the parish and attended Jack's River School as a youngster.

Later she moved to Port Maria to live with her father Emmanuel Pink and while there began her working career as an ac-

in Port Maria and they were married in 1961. "It was a good marriage," her Husband said. "We lived like Isaac and Rebecca — always together."

They had five children and one step-daughter, all of whom have done well in life.

Mrs. Martin was an ardent Anglican. She sang on the choir of the St. Mary's Parish Church, Port Maria, and was a member of the Mother's Union and the Woman's Auxillary.

A thanksgiving service for her life was held on Saturday, July 24 at St. Mary's Parish Church. Donations were collected for the Church Hall Fund.

MR. CEDRIC LINDO

Mr. Cedric Lindo wrote for **The Daily Gleaner** for many years using the **non-de-plume** Colin Gregory. He also wrote for the **Star** newspaper and was the local agent for the BBC. He also contributed to the publication **Gemini**.

His prowess as a journalist was eclipsed only by his exemplary christian life and the deep concern he had for other people. "He was a remarkable man, a devout christian who went out of his way to help people," Mr. Henri Hendricks, who knew him well, commented.

Cedric was one of the three sons — Lawrence, Cedric and Cameron — born to his parents. He was born in January 1913 and was quite a sportsman in his youth at Jamaica College. He began his working life as an accountant with the United Fruit Company and some years later worked as a Registrar with the University of the West Indies.

He married Gladys Williams in 1940. Cedric was devoted to his wife and cared for her until she passed on in 1981. As a committed christian Cedric served as lay preacher at St. Jude's Church for many years.

In 1987 he moved down to Kingston and lived at Abbey Court until he p sed away peacefully on July 21 [illegible]

Cedric Lindo has been described as "a remarkable man who was the epitome of a christian." He attended the St. Andrew Parish Church and never failed to demonstrate the precepts and tenets of true christianity in his dealings with other people.

He leaves brother Cameron, stepson Ronald Williams, grandchildren Maxine and Gregory and many friends.

There will be a service of thanksgiving at St. Andrew Parish Church at 1.30 p.m. on Wednesday, July 28.

Figure 2.1. Obituary of Cedric Lindo

Moving from institutional archives to online newspaper archives yielded important results in expanding Gladys' work beyond her association with Swanzy and the BBC, but the affirmation and recovery were balanced with the claims that her work was done by others. Furthermore, the search revealed an imbalance in the attention given to recording Gladys' legacy in local media in Jamaica compared with that of her male relatives. In addition to Cedric's obituary, the *Gleaner* archives revealed multiple articles about Gladys' eldest son, David, referring to his achievements in Dublin where he ran a successful art gallery and relating to his death in Ireland in 1983, which was two years after Gladys' death in Jamaica in 1981. Finding records and articles about David's life and death was an important part of Gladys' recovery, but it also highlighted the gap in the acknowledgement of Gladys' role, achievements, and death.

Given the limitations of these archives in privileging male achievements, it became clear that it would be beneficial to identify different kinds of knowledge sources in order to find women's stories and achievements being foregrounded. A vital element of the success of this methodological approach was the search for personal archives held by family members. It became apparent that women's papers were largely kept in the domestic space, for example

in the homes of relatives, in the case of Gladys, in the bedroom of her granddaughter, Maxine's home in Jamaica, seeming to somehow 'belong' there, whereas men's papers were more often identified by the man's name in institutional archives, or at least in official records. Gladys' papers are in the Swanzy collection but there is no dedicated collection of her papers. Multiple folders dedicated to Gladys in the BBC archives have been misconstrued as Cedric's work, and despite hopes that archives in Gladys' home country would recognise her significance, it is clear that knowledge of Gladys in official archives has only been in terms of others.

Since both Gladys and Cedric Lindo have passed away, it was crucial to contact those who had known and worked with them to see if living memory disputed or supported the available critical interpretations and archival documents. I approached relatives of the Caribbean writers involved with *Caribbean Voices* during Gladys Lindo's time at the BBC. I wrote to John Aarons, an eminent archivist in Jamaica, who recalled his father receiving a response from Gladys Lindo when a contribution he made to *Caribbean Voices* in 1949 was rejected. This demonstrates how domestic archival practices hold new information that are not included in the mainstream narrative. Details of what this approach generated are shared in Chapter Four to illustrate how the prioritisation of institutional records has contributed to the loss of Gladys Lindo's legacy and demonstrate the effectiveness of direct interaction with individuals referenced in or responsible for the critical narratives where possible.

While it is regrettable that Gladys Lindo has no named collection in an institution, it is not surprising. Women's papers are often considered to be of a domestic in nature and are therefore kept or passed down in the domestic space following their deaths, based on my experiences with women I've interviewed during this research project, women's papers are looked after by female relatives, I am thinking particularly of Hilda McDonald's daughter, Robin (Canada), and Gladys' granddaughter, Maxine (Jamaica) who both shared papers,

letters, and fold-out family trees of their female lineage. Whereas men's papers have routinely been assumed to belong in the public with their papers most suitably belonging in public archives and records. The mid-century project 'World Center for Women's Archives' was constituted in recognition of this particular vulnerability of women to historical invisibility.

> In 1935, Rosika Schwimmer, a pacifist suffragist, proposed to historian Mary Ritter Beard an idea to establish an archive to preserve the records of influential women. In Schwimmer's letter to Beard, she expressed her desire to create a repository for her personal archives, as well as leaders in the feminist and pacifist movements. Lamenting the lack of scholarship on women's history, she noted that while some noted women's records had been preserved, they were scattered, making it difficult to create an accurate or complete accounting of historic people and events.[68]

Approaching the search for Gladys Lindo's personal and family connections threw up a lot of challenges. Gladys Lindo was so called because of her marriage to Cedric Lindo, but her own heritage was concealed and difficult to uncover. These papers are harder to find as they have not been indexed or accounted for, but further to this, female relatives are also harder to find because of naming practices where women commonly give up their names when they marry and do not continue their family names or pass them on to their children. Women's legacies are therefore limited to the span of their lifetime, with the lineage regularly being interrupted and erased when they marry or give birth to children.

Indeed, the privileging of male lineage and legacy with regard to the passing on or losing of names is an important consideration in researching women whose legacies are more prone to become invisible and their achievements 'unheard' after their lifetime, as the visibility of their lineage is overwritten when they change their surname and don't pass it on

[68] Anne Kimbell Relph, 'The World Center for Women's Archives, 1935–1940', *Signs* 4, no. 3 (1979): 597.

to their children. In the case of Gladys, from the moment when she appears in official records at the BBC in 1943 she is named with her second husband's surname 'Lindo'. Prior to this she had been Gladys Williams because of her first marriage to Victor Williams. Their sons David and Ronald were also named Williams. As a consequence, her surviving relatives cannot easily be linked or located in relation to the professional name Gladys is recorded under.

In Gladys' case this loss has proven especially significant, as she was born Gladys Ritchie Hendriks, which would have been an early clue to her literary associations because of the success of the writer A.L. Hendriks (known as Micky), who was her nephew. It is crucial to notice how women's legacies are lost at multiple points in their lives due to naming processes embedded in patriarchal systems. With the repeated dissolution of the associations and reputation that gather around a name, we systematically set ourselves up to lose lifetimes of women's knowledge, work, and innovation when it can no longer be understood as an accumulation of actions around an individual.

Gladys' middle name Ritchie was her mother's maiden name, and she retained the 'R' throughout her life. Gladys signed herself Gladys R. Lindo in many of her letters to the BBC, and on her gravestone she is listed in the same way. Not much is known about Lillian Ritchie, Gladys' mother, but her decision to pass her name to her children is worth noting in its effect and Gladys' decision to keep it while her surname changed three times in her life. The consistent element was the 'R' and her first name. Interestingly, when researching Gladys Lindo's sons, David and Ronald, David also made some significant choices about his name, choosing to drop his father's surname of Williams and reinstating 'Ritchie Hendriks' in 1956 as the official name of his art gallery in Dublin.[69]

[69] *Ritchie Hendriks Gallery*, https://www.artbiogs.co.uk/2/galleries/ritchie-hendriks-gallery, 1956.

Given that Gladys Lindo had a number of names throughout her life, recovering her life history offered a means to map her professional journeys and to understand how these two elements of her life impacted each other. While the scattered nature of the records, the transnational space of this research project, and the impact of the pandemic during the research period made it necessary to rely for a long period of time on internet research, these sources also yielded valuable information. Jamaican newspaper archives, Ancestry.com, and the National Archives online passenger records enabled my research of Gladys to encompass a holistic view of her life story. This revealed that Gladys' ability and motivation to do what she did professionally were shaped by both personal and professional factors as well as by her heritage, family relations, and social and political events during her lifetime. For example, by viewing the passenger records of Gladys throughout her life, I was able to identify and chart where her familiarity with the UK originated. First, as a child visiting the UK with her parents, followed by trips with her first husband to bring and then collect their sons from school in England when the Second World War broke out, then later her solo visit in 1938 to London, which demonstrated her independent association with the country. These discoveries all offered vital context for the trip in 1956 when Gladys and Cedric visited the BBC on their first official visit. Cedric's first visit to the UK in 1956 stands in stark contrast to Gladys' familiarity forged over a lifetime of visits. Furthermore, the information passenger records offer as to the 'occupation or calling' and 'marital status' of passengers yielded important evidence about how Gladys was defined and defined herself professionally and relationally at different times in her life. This was useful to compare with archival records and the critical narratives about her.

The type of information returned by Ancestry.com and Jamaican newspaper archives provided vital leads to surviving relatives who would have been impossible to locate through

official archives. Due to this information, particularly the surnames and names of her sons, I was able to connect with one of the most crucial sources for this research.

Local Networks and Family Archives

Having located the names of Gladys Lindo's family members through online sources, I visited Jamaica and relied on local networks to guide me into a new realm of Gladys' story. I was immediately immersed in the context of Gladys' life and work, and this act of positioning myself in Jamaica was crucial to the recentring of the story of literary development in the mid-twentieth century through *Caribbean Voices*. The route to discovering Lindo's granddaughter, Maxine Williams, offered insights of its own. Word of mouth among Jamaican communities was responsible for making the connection between Gladys' maiden surname Hendriks, drawing attention to the role of communities in shaping and sustaining reputations. In the UK, Gladys was untraceable. In Jamaica, mention of her maiden name brought me quickly to her nephew Tony Hendriks, who immediately introduced me to his cousin, Maxine Williams. Jamaican networks are smaller and contain more memory and connections to Gladys than UK networks, and it was there that Gladys' image was waiting.

The Wider Context of Women's Historical Loss

The challenges that I faced in seeking to restore Gladys Lindo to the literary historical record are not unique; the same conditions of scattered traces and private family archives apply to other important women on the Caribbean literary scene from the mid-twentieth century. In conjunction with my research on Gladys Lindo, I was drawn and it was necessary to explore the lives and practices of other literary women related to the Caribbean to discover information about women and to situate Gladys' experience in relation to the lives of Una

Marson from Jamaica, who I have already considered in this chapter, Anne Walmsley from the UK, and Hilda McDonald of Antigua, who will be introduced in Chapter Five.

As I have already argued, women in this period, if mentioned by name at all, are rarely listed in the archival catalogue, so it soon became apparent that I would need to ask different questions and explore different sources to find out about the extent of their work. This led me to draw on oral history sound recordings and full transcripts from interviews with and by Anne Walmsley. My main sources for this work were held respectively at the British Library Sound Archive, which holds a 26-hour oral history interview with Anne Walmsley recorded on both sides of 13 very old cassette tapes, which was conducted as part of 'Book Trade Lives' which recorded the personal recollections of people who worked in the UK publishing industry between the 1920s and the present day'[70] and The George Padmore Institute[71] where Walmsley has deposited the interview transcripts from her doctoral interviews with Caribbean writers and literary figures. I wanted to listen to all the sound recordings and read the full written transcripts of interviews to identify exactly which material had been selected by Walmsley and other scholars for the major publications about the development of Caribbean literature. I undertook this lengthy process echoing Trouillot's model devised to measure and map moments where silences and omissions are forged in an effort to make the silences and act of unhearing of women's words and work tangible and measurable. In a recovery project such as this, which seeks to draw attention to invisibility and its causes, it is a continuous challenge to find ways to talk about what isn't there and demonstrate what wasn't done with proof or through the identification of patterns.

I selected two uses for oral history interview materials and methods. First, I used existing long-form interviews and transcripts to find stories of women that had not been

[70] 'National Life Stories', https://www.bl.uk/projects/national-life-stories-authors-lives, June 2022.
[71] https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/archive.

prioritised for publication, and second, using oral history interviews to create the conditions for contemporary women working in Caribbean literature to provide a new context.

I used full-length transcripts of oral history interviews by Anne Walmsley located at the George Padmore Institute. These interviews were conducted by Walmsley as part of her research for her book *The Caribbean Artists Movement, 1966–1972: A Literary and Cultural History*, but much of the material in the interviews did not make it into the final publication.[72] While this is understandable due to the need for discernment when publishing, it was important to look at which information was omitted and which was circulated as the official version of events that a book of this kind represents. There is, for example, very little mention of Gladys Lindo in the book, and yet Walmsley is clearly aware that it was Gladys Lindo not Cedric Lindo who was employed by the BBC. This is discoverable by reading the full transcript of an interview conducted by Sandra Courtman with Anne Walmsley, which I first encountered in an appendix to Courtman's doctoral work. In this interview transcript, which is held at The Keep at the University of Sussex in the Anne Walmsley Archive, Walmsley states that it was 'really Gladys' and calls it 'a whole lot of rather scummy literary history' that has not yet come to light.[73] Despite this awareness, the information was not featured in Walmsley's publication. It is useful to know that this understanding of Gladys in a significant role existed and was recorded in 1992 but never changed the mainstream narrative about who was involved in *Caribbean Voices*' success. It provides a means of charting how legacies are constructed and how they are reduced to nothing by the act of selection.

Working methodically through transcripts in archives in the Caribbean and UK and listening to 26 hours of interviews with women in publishing on cassette in a booth in the basement of the British Library enabled me to demonstrate that information about women's

[72] Anne Walmsley, *The Caribbean Artists Movement, 1966–1972: A Literary and Cultural History* (London: New Beacon Books, 1992).
[73] Courtman, *'Lost Years'*.

work from the mid-twentieth century has often been available alongside information about men's work. The difference is that repeatedly references to women have not been selected for publication. This has gradually eroded both traces and very clear markers of women's influence to a state of near invisibility and led to the contemporary view of Caribbean women as silent, marginal, or non-existent in the mid-twentieth century.

By shifting my methodological approach to prioritise oral history techniques and revisit interview transcripts and sound archives, I discovered new information about literary women in the Caribbean. But perhaps more importantly I learned that this information had existed but had not been selected to shape the narratives about this period. This process contributed to shaping the key duality at the heart of this thesis, not only to recover lost women's stories but also to understand what brought about these losses and how it can be altered.

On realising how women's stories, statements, and voices were regularly not selected for inclusion even when they clearly spoke, I decided to adapt my contemporary methodology to directly challenge this practice and its effects. My decision to gather information directly from the mouths of contemporary Caribbean literary women grew from this approach, a methodological intervention that shifts the source of the stories. I decided to write directly to women to ask them for their insights and to meet them in person. I analyse the importance and outcomes of this approach in Chapter Five where women's responses play a vital role in the construction of a context that enables the fullest comprehension of the implications of Lindo's loss and recovery in its most connected terms.

Oral History Techniques: Interviews

I opted to use oral history methods in order to draw out the voices of women and to build the kind of archive that is missing for Gladys Lindo. Oral history techniques have long

been used as a means to bring marginalised perspectives to the fore as a corrective to the persistent privileging of those with centralised power and position. As Jane Cholmeley and Penny Mountain argue, '[o]ral history is the most effective way of capturing and preserving social history and giving voice to the women themselves'.[74] Oral history is understood to have the potential to 'change the focus of history':

> Oral history is not necessarily an instrument for change; it depends upon the spirit in which it is used. Nevertheless, oral history certainly can be a means for transforming both the content and purpose of history. It can be used to change the focus of history itself, and open up new areas of inquiry; it can break down barriers between teachers and students, between generations, between educational institutions and the world outside; and in the writing of history…it can give back to the people who made and experienced history, through their own words, a central place.[75]

The spirit in which I employed oral history methods at this stage of the research journey was intended to enable the possibility of changing history. These methods were necessary as a means to elicit new content and focus as well as to open new areas, break down barriers, and recentre the people who experienced and made this history, by listening to and amplifying their stories.

My sense from the official archives and the critical accounts was that mid-twentieth century Caribbean literary women had not been listened to, so I wanted to let women speak first. As Hannah Gadsby (2018) states, '[w]e learn from the part of the story we focus on'.[76]

I provided the women I spoke to with an intentionally brief overview of my background and of what might have happened to Gladys Lindo ahead of the interview, then shared a much longer description after the interview – the transcript of which I include later

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[74] Cholmeley and Mountain, 'Women in Publishing: An Oral History', 2017, 2.
[75] Paul Thompson, *Oral History: The Voice of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 2.
[76] Hannah Gadsby, Full Graduation Address, University of Tasmania, 14 August 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5AUeO5nZNLI.

in this section—after I had heard from them about their own experiences, so that they were not unnecessarily influenced by my findings and theories. This document served as a means to connect with other Caribbean women as recommended by the women I interviewed. The text below is the full transcript of a document I created to share with each interviewee after our interview to facilitate their further involvement, eliciting more information, introductions, and parallels with the contemporary experience. The language and content of this document is designed to provide many routes into the research, situating the importance of this work in both an academic sense but more importantly perhaps, in its contemporary, real-world relevance. I was given my first lead to the identity of Gladys' granddaughter, Maxine, by the owner of my accommodation in Treasure Beach based on giving the name 'Maxine Williams' which I had discovered on Ancestry.com, demonstrating yet again that local knowledge of family names is ubiquitous in Jamaica.

Information for Chain Introduction Interview Experiment, Jamaica, June 2021

Jen McDerra (University of East Anglia) is a literary life historian who uses archives and oral histories to reunite twentieth century women with their achievements. She is currently working on a PhD project concerned with restoring the innovative contributions made to publishing and broadcasting by women in the Caribbean and the UK. Her doctoral research is funded by the Leverhulme Trust and is part of the Caribbean Literary Heritage project.

I started this work while working for Commonwealth Writers in 2011 with Lucy Hannah and Emma D'Costa, running the prizes and helping to set up CaribLit and Peekash Press with BOCAS festival and Kellie Magnus in Jamaica.

I've since stayed connected (made friends) with writers and become part of the ever-developing literary network of the anglophone Caribbean at home and overseas. This

research project grew from conversations and realisations with a number of men and women in Trinidad, Jamaica, St Lucia, and the UK. I wanted to look at what had happened for the women and writers who hadn't migrated to the UK, having learnt a lot about this from running the Commonwealth Prize. What I found was an extraordinary Jamaican woman who was secretly running the show from 1946–1955 at least, and everyone still thinks it was her husband, Cedric or her boss, Henry Swanzy. In fact, it was Gladys Lindo working as BBC Literary Representative for Caribbean Voices and her influence and perspective made all the difference to the literature that was chosen and broadcast.

I'll leave it at that, but a little background will be useful as to what led me to want to do this work.

Specifics of Search While in Jamaica, 1–21 June 2021

I'm looking for links to Gladys Lindo, born Gladys Ritchie Hendriks 19 June 1899. Some records say Kingston some say Wisconsin. She died in St Andrew. Her parents were Lillian Ida Ritchie and Arthur Sigismund Hendriks. I've found letters demonstrating that she was the aunt of A.L. (Micky) Hendriks and therefore came from a literary family herself, but her role has always been seen as in service to her husband Cedric Lindo's position and not assumed as having its own agency.

Gladys if known at all was known as the wife of Cedric Lindo. The story goes that Gladys was just the wife and secretary for Cedric who was the BBC Literary Representative at the time of the BBC radio programme Caribbean Voices in the 1940s-1960s. Mervyn Morris and Eddie Baugh have helped me find how that story came to be the story, but through archival research I've found hundreds of letters proving it was Gladys who played this role between 1946 and 1955.

Gladys was the centre point, she connected the writers who stayed in the anglophone

Caribbean countries and passed their entries to London with letters. Without Gladys the only writing on the Caribbean Voices programme would have been by the writers who migrated to the UK and were able to meet with Swanzy and each other in person.

Gladys influenced the editorial shape of the programme and challenged Swanzy's tendency to exoticize what Caribbean literature could and should be. She passed on the concerns of writers in the Caribbean, specifically asking should Caribbean literature have to be both about the Caribbean and the writer be from there, challenging Swanzy to think about the nature for the distinction he was making. She also called him out on how he didn't seem to accept much verse by women. There's a lot more but I'm trying to keep this brief!

Gladys became Gladys Williams on marrying her first husband Victor Williams, with whom she had two children, David and Ronald who have both since passed. Ronald had children with his French wife, Henriette Peter, and I'm trying to find out their names while here. I had hoped to meet Henriette but she died here in Jamaica last year in March 2020.

It would be incredible to be able to contact Gladys' grandchildren to share with them all that Gladys achieved and see if they have anything they would like to add. I've got hundreds of her letters which I've gathered from the BBC archives and Henry Swanzy's archive in the UK - mostly unread and all unpublished - as well as some from individual Caribbean writers and adult children of writers who she corresponded with.

What I'm Doing

I'm writing my thesis about Gladys and connecting her story to other women from the twentieth century to the present day whose work has created the literary network within which writers and writing flourishes.

I hope to publish the book of their stories once my thesis is finished at the end of this year (live in hope) and have just published my first article 'Ending the Radio Silence Around

Gladys Lindo' in the *Journal of West Indian Literature*: https://www.jwilonline.org/downloads/vol-29-no-1-april-2021/

I've just recorded a programme for BBC radio as part of a series with Kei Miller, Sara Collins and Colin Grant which will air in July. I wanted to share Gladys' story via the medium to which she silently contributed so much, and I explore how she was hidden and what finding her now tells us to do.

I'd like to speak to anyone who might know about Gladys and the BBC/Caribbean Voices programme. There's no obituary of Gladys that I can find and I'm yet to find a picture of her.

She died in 1981 at the Nuttall Memorial Hospital aged 82, but the last letter I have from her was 1955. Cedric outlived her and his legacy has been acknowledged, his obituary listed him as the BBC representative in the 90s and that was effectively the end of Gladys being known in the role.

I have appointments to visit NLJ, to look in John Figueroa's archive at UWI, and have found birth, marriage and death certificates to fill out the picture of how Gladys did what she did.

What I'm looking for as is to gain some insight from women in Jamaica about the context of her work, the context in which she has remained hidden, and how she might be recovered in an effective way and her story connected to the work that is happening now. The intention as a positive one, to acknowledge and celebrate a method/model of exchange shaped by women that continues to this day. There is no need to topple any existing characters, Gladys' work speaks for itself and serves as the other side of the story. As Jean Rhys said 'there is always the other side, always'.

Finding Gladys and connecting the discovery with the restoration of Una Marson's legacy led me to realise that when women are recovered from history, they are usually

labelled an exception to 'the rule' which conceals the fact that women working unnamed/unacknowledged was a common pattern for women and we can use that knowledge to help us find and surface the rest of their work.

Prior to the interviews, I gave very little information to the women I interviewed in an attempt to create a space for them to start their story where it began for them and avoid the issue of leading questions. To come to this decision, I attended a training course offered by the Oral History Society where I was able to explore and trial various oral history interview techniques and equipment and contrast possible methodologies with other researchers from a diverse range of academic, personal, and professional projects in mind. My main concern for this research was the avoidance of anything which shifted the agency of the interviewee over to me as interviewer, I designed an experience which avoided leading questions but provided clear interventions to create a safe and secure space and was mindful of the potential influence of uncomfortable power dynamics due to my status as a 'special traveller' permitted to visit Jamaica under strict curfew restrictions due to the global pandemic. The work of Cholmeley and Mountain provided important information about the particular benefits of the oral history approach for discovering women's narratives, and it was this along with the work of Bishop that most influenced me.[77]

I spoke to women and let them define the exchange, offering fixed questions as openers, and moving to open-ended questions as prompts once the interviewee was in flow. Following the example of oral historian Sue Bradley in her interview with Anne Walmsley for Book Trade Lives, and inspired by the responses generated by the interview style of Sharon Leach, a featured columnist for the *Jamaica Observer* who coordinates and edits the weekly literary arts supplement 'Bookends'. Leach's interview with Bishop, Bishop's interviews with Jamaican women writers, and Sandra Courtman and Sue Bradley's interviews

[77] Bishop, *The Gift of Music and Song*.

with Anne Walmsley were successful in unearthing previously hidden aspects or interpretations from women's Caribbean literary experience.

During my visit to Jamaica it was my intention to implement what I had learned from the research methods I had tested and employ new methods to approach the task of interviewing contemporary literary Caribbean women. Conscious of the interviewees' sense of ease being essential to their ability to begin and guide the narrative, I took care to provide a space for them to define on their own terms. This yielded an incredibly fruitful outcome for my research as different women adapted the space according to their needs, creating the conditions for comfort and curiosity to flourish. These carefully considered interviews yielded exciting connections and new information about women's experiences of Caribbean literary work and life that did not follow on from or fit within the limits of existing narratives.

Extract from Justine Henzell Interview

The first interviewee to contribute to the project was Justine Henzell, co-founder and director of the Calabash International Literary Festival held at Jake's Resort, Treasure Beach, Jamaica. We had a two-hour conversation prompted by the recent discovery of Gladys. Henzell welcomed me to Jamaica and in doing so asked me about my reason for visiting. In response, I briefly explained my search for information about Gladys and my related interest in learning about the work of contemporary literary women in Jamaica who weren't known. Henzell's immediate response to this: 'I know something of that'.[78] Henzell's recognition of the topic's relevance to her experience was freely given in association with only limited knowledge of my own purpose and findings. With this understanding between us I asked a simple, open question about the provenance of the Calabash literary festival.

JMc: Why did you start Calabash? Where did it come from?

[78] Interview with Justine Henzell, June 2021.

JH: It came from Colin Channer and Kwame Dawes travelling around on a book tour, a very fraught book tour in England, where everything was going wrong. Mics didn't work and books weren't for sale and there was no publicity so there was no audience and they kept saying someone should, someone should, someone should, make a literary festival that people, authors feel valued. And by the end of it they looked at each other and thought well, we're the somebodies, but neither of them lived in Jamaica and neither of them still live in Jamaica, so they got in touch with me, asked me if I'd be interested in this crazy idea, I said I loved crazy ideas then I reached out to my brother and said 'could we borrow Jake's for a weekend in May in 2001' and he said yes and 20 years later here we are.

JMc: Amazing. Why do you they think they chose you? Why did they reach for you?

JH: Because, erm, given your subject matter (JMc: laughs) many times there will be a great idea, but great ideas are only gonna remain ideas unless they're executed. And so many times in my experience it is women who have to handle the details. And so I was on the ground, which is a big part of it, I'm a producer so I had the skillset to be able to take something from concept to reality. And they could trust me to follow through on their vision which then became a shared vision. But the vision did come initially from Kwame and Colin.

JMc: The execution on the ground is the thing...it doesn't feel like it's changing.

JH: No, I don't think it does change. But maybe, maybe that is because we do have different strengths. I'm not one of those people who think men and women are the same creature. I really think we're very, very different creatures and that's fine by me, we have different strengths and different weaknesses. The challenge is when our strengths are viewed as somehow weaker than their strengths.

JMc: Nice.

JH: That's where my challenge comes in, right. When our strengths aren't as valued as their strengths. So, I do not think, and of course I'm speaking in generalities I'm not saying all men are different to all women, I'm not getting into any of that.

JMc: I don't think we need to.

JH: But that's where my challenge is when our strengths aren't as valued as their strengths.

The value of this method was immediately revealed. It provided a space in which Henzell articulated the story of her own experience, an untainted and rich resource for me as a researcher to identify parallels or differences with my understanding. Henzell's reference to the need for someone 'on the ground' in Jamaica chimed with my growing realisation of the importance of Gladys' work for the same reason, as did her discussion of women's strengths being valued beneath men's strengths. It is clear that as the conversation progressed, the dynamic between interviewer and interviewee began to affect the nature and direction of the offerings. However, this development felt organic, led by associations made by the interviewee not the interviewer. I was offered information I could not have known to ask for, and similarities so close to my own discoveries and about literary women's mid-twentieth century experience arose that would have felt biased had they been given in response to leading or contextualised questions.

This short excerpt represents some of the key effects of this methodological approach, which shaped the progress of my research in important and unexpected ways. Not only did my respondents direct the content of the conversations, but their sense of agency was also carried through into recommendations as to the direction my further conversations should take. Without exception, the women I spoke introduced me to other women who would provide further insight. This had the effect of creating an overarching narrative throughline woven by women's own understanding of the ways in which their work and experiences

connected with other women from their own and earlier times. This rendered an undeclared network of Caribbean literary women visible, a valuable and unplanned for outcome of the research process, and one which has yielded material for further related projects to come. Henzell recommended Jacqueline Bishop's collection of interviews with Jamaican women writers and suggested my next interview should be with Olive Senior, Jamaican poet laureate and acclaimed author, who agreed to meet the following week. Analysis of the illuminating chain and content of the conversations that followed features in Chapter Five and provides a more meaningful and tangible context for the loss and discovery of Gladys than the critical literature or official records were able to provide.

Letters

A crucial factor in the success of the restoration of Gladys Lindo's legacy is the letter form. Letters were vital at two key junctures. Firstly, during Gladys' working life and secondly, in shaping our retrospective ability to revisit and reconstruct her lost legacy by re-reading her.

In her time, the form in which Gladys communicated gave her a private remit separate from usual public social practices for women, providing a sense of freedom from culturally imposed limitations and assumptions. The epistolary nature of her exchanges also offered a degree of protection from Gladys being completely defined by and reduced to such limitations. Written, professional correspondence provided a medium through which Gladys could express her intellectual identity to an extent beyond that which was usual for women in society. During Gladys' years of employment in the 1940s and 1950s married women were not expected or permitted to hold senior roles at the BBC unless they were deemed 'of special importance' writes Kate Murphy, a senior producer at the BBC researching women's history

'The BBC, as a modern organisation, welcomed both men and women, ostensibly offering equal promotion opportunities and equal pay. It was also unusual in its employment of married women. However, in 1932, a Marriage Bar was introduced which meant that only those deemed of special importance to the Corporation were entitled to stay'.[79]

Secondly, because letters were the only form available for regular communication between Jamaica and the UK at the time, they enabled Gladys to carry out her role and created an extensive written record of the endeavour, which can be referred to and re-interpreted with the benefit of hindsight.

Written correspondence offered Gladys some respite from cultural signifiers such as gender, race, and class, as her correspondents at the BBC and across the Caribbean were not faced with the realities of these markers. The medium reduced her to a written voice and gave her an element of control over how she shared herself. At this time, some of Gladys' correspondents were unaware of her race and class as they are not visible or mentioned, and although her gender can be assumed by her name and title, her key correspondent, Swanzy, managed to forget about this until he met her in person in 1952. Popular beliefs about a woman's place in society often clouded interpretations of their abilities and rightful roles, something that Gladys avoided by cultivating an epistolary persona that played to her strengths and allowed her to be defined in the main by what she knew, wrote, and did, as opposed to by assumptions shaped by cultural signifiers of race, class, and gender. At the outset, this separation of Gladys' words from her cultural signifiers had an impact on Swanzy who it seemed was able to correspond with trust, respect, and fluency with Gladys based on the content of what she wrote in her letters, but later, according to references in his Ichabod diary recovered by Campbell which will be analysed in Chapter Four he was unable to

[79] Kate Murphy, *Women Who Made their Mark*, https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/research/women-at-the-bbc.

acknowledge her as the writer of her words when they met in person during his visit to Jamaica in 1952.

Later, from the perspective of a researcher approaching Gladys' letters, she was an unknown quantity beyond her voice, name and gendered marital status. Until June 2021 when Gladys' family shared details of her personal life with me, it was only possible to interpret her work with a mind open to various possibilities of her cultural and racial identity. Both of the identifying factors that were available about Gladys were partly responsible for eclipsing her rather than bringing her into view, her name by concealing her familial heritage and her gendered marital status by automatically demoting her. This clearly demonstrates how a hint of her female, married identity concealed her achievements despite the intricate and extensive professional contributions she made, which are evidence in Swanzy's papers and the *Caribbean Voices* collection.

Due to near complete dependence on the written form to communicate between Jamaica and England during the 1940s and 1950s, Swanzy and Gladys Lindo's epistolary relationship, which began in 1946 and spanned nearly ten years, has created a rich resource from which to gain insights into the social and cultural context of their working relationship. There are hundreds of letters from Lindo to Swanzy accompanying the submissions she selected for *Caribbean Voices*, and hundreds back to Lindo from Swanzy, which demonstrate in detail the professional dialogue between them that shaped the content of the programme. Their correspondence spans their entire working relationship and extends beyond it in a few personal letters and postcards afterwards. The letters reveal an epistolary relationship woven with humour, compromise, challenge, and misunderstanding. Paying close attention to the correspondence enables us to better understand and attribute the achievements of Gladys' work.

Approximately two hundred letters from Gladys to Swanzy are held in the Special Collections of the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham (Papers of Henry Valentine L. Swanzy). Hundreds more letters, contracts, and reports relating to Gladys are held in the *Caribbean Voices* correspondence folders, which have been duplicated in two locations: the BBC Written Archives in Caversham, England, and the Alma Jordan Library of the University of the West Indies (UWI) in Trinidad. The act of mirroring the contents of the *Caribbean Voices* correspondence folders contributes to the creation of equitable politics of transnational Caribbean archival research. It also foregrounds the dual structure I am advocating for in terms of how the critical attention paid to Lindo and Swanzy, Jamaica and the UK, needs to be restored to a balanced representation of their contributions.

Further to this, I discovered that documents and files in the BBC Written Archives relating to Gladys are not restricted to correspondence related only to *Caribbean Voices*. Nor was her sole correspondent Swanzy. In fact, correspondence with Gladys and about her was conducted with and by multiple colleagues and departments of the BBC in relation to her position as literary representative in Jamaica from as early as 1943. As I will reveal in Chapter Four when articulating how her legacy was lost, a major contributing factor was the loss of institutional memory about Gladys after the sudden death of the Head of Colonial Service, John Grenfell Williams, with whom Gladys and Cedric had a close and long-standing working relationship related to the establishment of the Caribbean office in Jamaica, which preceded Swanzy's appointment in 1946. The Swanzy-centric narrative that absorbed Gladys' significance does not span the scope of her story as my analysis of BBC written correspondence in Chapter Four demonstrates.

The distance between the Anglophone Caribbean and the UK could only have been spanned through the medium of correspondence; physical travel between the countries was long and arduous and radio broadcasts were limited to a one-way process from the UK to the

Caribbean. While this transnational relationship was shaped by the times—the technology available determining how the connections could be realised—it is also evident that the means of communication shaped the relationship. The exchange between Swanzy and BBC colleagues in London with Gladys Lindo was slow, due to the time it took for letters to travel and required patience and trust. The two sides relied on each other to fulfil their roles between communications and to report accurately and agree on what was in the best interests of the programme and the BBC.

One of the only forms of writing considered appropriate for women was letter writing and private journaling, so it can be argued that it is likely to be in letters that we will find the voices of women with an inclination towards literary forms of self-expression. As Rebecca Earle explains, '[l]etters and letter writing not only affirmed the authority of the elite, but also provided a means of expression for more marginal members of society'.[80] Earle examines the relationship between gender and the letter form. She introduces the reason for this lens of letters through gender:

> To begin with, we might ask whether there is any special relationship between women and epistolary. A substantial scholarly literature asserts that there is. A number of scholars have argued that a 'feminisation' of letter writing occurred in France in the second half of the seventeenth century; letter writing came to be considered a particular female forte. This view is advocated by Elizabeth Goldsmith's 1989 anthology of essays on epistolary literature, which stresses that by the early eighteenth-century letter writing was widely regarded as a genre in which women excelled.[81]
>
> Earle also suggests that '[a] history of letters and letter writing might thus embrace

[80] Earle, *Epistolary Selves*, 1.
[81] Earle, *Epistolary Selves*, 6.

virtually all of recorded history'.[82] I argue that this is partially the case because it was a format in which women were able to use their voices and develop and share ideas. Letters may contain strains of what women would have said had they been allowed to contribute publicly and professionally on their own behalf, representing their endeavours and beliefs as individuals. Here we begin to see how Gladys achieving a professional role at the BBC and communication by means of written correspondence created the conditions where a woman could wield influence and agency. The idea of a personae emerging through epistolary exchange is relevant to our understanding of the role that the written correspondence played for Gladys, as the form enabled her to utilise and develop her literary skills and tastes over a sustained period, an autonomous personae distinct from her personal life: 'Hartley's study of war letters to and from British women during the war argues that through correspondence, women articulated new and autonomous personae. Such letters are thus a form of fictional and individual creation, as well as serving as more direct historical artefacts of the Second World War'.[83]

Gladys' correspondence is especially useful as records from both sides were kept diligently by the BBC, although sometimes the outgoing letter from Swanzy to Gladys is missing. This serves to level the playing field and prioritise the voice of the lesser-known figure:

> Only occasionally, moreover, do we have access to the letters that were sent to our letter-writers, so we are tuned in to a one-way conversation. Nor can we really account, with any degree of system, for why some individuals' letters survive, while

[82] Earle, *Epistolary Selves*, 1.
[83] Christa Hammerle, 'You Let a Weeping Woman Call You Home?' Private Correspondences during the First World War in Austria and Germany', in *Epistolary Selves, Letters and Letter Writers, 1600–1945,* Rebecca Earle (ed.), 152–182 (London: Routledge, 2019), 9.

doubtless a larger number, written by untold others, have not.[84]

The BBC archival system, which privileges the named person, in this case Swanzy, contains a larger proportion of Gladys' words to him and does not only or mainly contain his expressions. As I acknowledge elsewhere in this chapter and more widely in this thesis, viewing Gladys' expression only as a letter-writer to Swanzy is problematic and limiting, but on a practical level, the system of archival storage offers to us the possibility to utilise the collections of lauded figures to resurrect the legacies of lesser-known letter writers who were writing to them. In Gladys' case, this helps us to see that Swanzy's reputation was fed by input from her, his main correspondent, and we can chart clearly and consistently how the progression of letters from Gladys to Swanzy provided the content from which he built the programme and his reputation.

I argue against Gerber's suggestion that we cannot 'really account, with any degree of system, for why some individuals' letters survive'. It is clear that certain people and institutions were considered worthy of preservation in their own right and Gladys' letters were kept because of their association with Swanzy and not because of her own status. In the course of this research project, it has become apparent that a dedicated, named collection of Gladys' correspondence warrants a place in the BBC Written Archives as well as in Jamaica.

Written correspondence was the vehicle that carried Gladys across many physical and socially constructed boundaries, and after her time the letters have transported her work into the contemporary moment where she can finally be heard and understood for the contribution she has made. As Carolyn Steedman writes, women and their letters are an important matter for critical attention, because

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[84] David Gerber, 'The Immigrant Letter between Positivism and Populism: American Historians' Uses of Personal Correspondence', in *Epistolary Selves, Letters and Letter Writers, 1600–1945,* Rebecca Earle (ed.) (London: Routledge, 2019), 37.

> [t]he epistemological status of the woman writing a letter is complex. She and her letters are matters for historical inquiry because of the force and pressure of theories, structures of explanation, and mythologies that have merged across a number of academic fields. As a figure, she has come to offer a new originary narrative: she accounts for the emergence of modern subjects and modern social structures; of gender relations, and perhaps even of the concept of gender itself; of literary, cultural and feminist theory.[85]

It is important to note that Gladys was a letter-writing woman who has come to offer 'a new originary narrative', accounting for the emergence of new topics, structures, and concepts. The influence of Gladys as a woman writing influential professional letters must be understood in the context of its place in the twentieth century, new directions in Anglophone Caribbean writing were being taken due to her female view guiding decisions and dialogues.

Gayatri Spivak's seminal essay 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' provides important articulations of the questions which arise around women like Gladys Lindo who contribute to a system which has no method of perceiving or understanding her.[86] Steedman's description of Spivak's work highlights its relevance to the questions central to this thesis. Steedan states that 'Spivak's whole career is one of questions. To be more exact, she has asked two important ones, the second of which, posed in 1988, has been a considerable force in moving Western feminism, and literary feminism in particular, into the territory of post-colonial theory'.[87] Steedman continues,

> The answer to the question about the subaltern's (the subaltern woman's) silence, about whether she can speak or not, is still an open one, though Edward Said has said

[85] Carolyn Steedman, 'A Woman Writing a Letter', in *Epistolary Selves, Letters and Letter Writers, 1600–1945,* Rebecca Earle (ed.) (London: Routledge, 2019), 119.
[86] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Cary Nelson and Leonard Grossberg (eds.), 271–313 (Basingstoke: Macmillan); Steedman, 'A Woman Writing a Letter' 123.
[87] Steedman, 'A Woman Writing a Letter', 123.

> very clearly, in his recent assessment of Orientalism, that he (perhaps—it is not clear—she) can, at least politically, 'as the history of liberation movements in the twentieth century eloquently attests'. In Spivak's argument of 1988, where Europe is shown to make itself the very subject of history through the ongoing relationship between the colonial project and global capitalism, the only way in which the colonised woman can speak is through her body. Indeed, it may be the case that Spivak intended to ask if such a woman can ever mean (rather than speak) in a world system where there is no means of perceiving or interpreting her actions. Whatever the significance of the question, it has had vast effect, in the most intense white feminist critical endeavour, to locate and to know the woman on the other side of the border, of race and imperialism.[88]

Finding Gladys in Swanzy's Papers and Consulting the BBC Written Archives

Dedicated and extensive records are available pertaining to Swanzy, including diaries and scrapbooks that he kept privately and correspondence with writers and officials relating to his role at the BBC. These sources provide access to multiple perspectives on Swanzy's work and life. In contrast, to learn more about Gladys Lindo, we are limited to the letters sent to Swanzy preserved as part of his papers about and by Gladys in the wider BBC archives and *Caribbean Voices* folders. Swanzy's story has absorbed Lindo's, as this asymmetry in the records and their reputations and legacies reveal.

The final section of this chapter reflects on the way in which the records in these two archives offered up the possibility of two different interpretations of Gladys Lindo's professional contribution to the shaping of Caribbean literature and the choices I made because of this. I will first highlight the discoveries in the Swanzy papers that illuminated the

[88] Steedman, 'A Woman Writing a Letter, 123.

nature and importance of Gladys' role before moving on to Chapter Three to analyse extensive evidence from the BBC Written Archives that better demonstrates the scope and agency wielded by Gladys Lindo through the specific methods she deployed to create the role of an influential literary individual in Jamaica for the BBC.

Going through Swanzy's paper early in the research process (2017/2018) revealed to me the importance of the transnational, epistolary exchange between Lindo and Swanzy concerning *Caribbean Voices*. Extensive research at the BBC Written Archives confirmed my suspicion that Gladys' contribution extended beyond her being a direct liaison between potential contributors and Swanzy. Records show Lindo working for the BBC in the Caribbean in 1943, three years before Swanzy joined *Caribbean Voices* as producer in 1946. In 1954 he was offered a secondment to Ghana which resulted in Swanzy leaving while Gladys continued in her role until the end of 1956, corresponding with a number of other producers and colleagues after his departure.

Materials held in the Swanzy papers gave the first hint of Gladys' significance, and I will share in this chapter some representative samples from the hundreds of letters that best evidence the way Gladys created and conducted her role and how it shaped Swanzy's editorial choices. Material in the BBC Written Archive that contained information about Gladys beyond her correspondence with Swanzy provide extensive evidence of Gladys' significance. She was more than a character in another person's well-documented story; her contribution stands in its own right.

This is an important point to note with regard to my methodological approach to this work. My rationale for reading across these two archives, amassing evidence from both, and consciously choosing to stop working with Swanzy's papers, is to draw critical attention to the way that record keeping methods and academic research can diminish or elevate certain types of information or contribution. That is to say, that viewing the Swanzy papers in 2017

and 2018 offered only a story of Gladys Lindo that fit within the existing narrative that centres Swanzy. By searching in the BBC Written Archives, I shifted the remit of Lindo's narrative to extend beyond Swanzy's story if it in fact did.

By separately analysing the information gained from the Swanzy papers and the BBC Written Archives as well as the knowledge gained from the other sources I have used, I hope to make a significant archival contribution to the field of Caribbean literary studies by not only recovering Gladys Lindo but by demonstrating how the process of record keeping and archival research can hide or diminish certain types of work and people, eventually removing some names and legacies from history completely.

What Swanzy's Papers Revealed About Gladys Lindo

Swanzy is well-known and widely celebrated for producing *Caribbean Voices* but based as he was in London and with no access to telephone communication, he relied heavily on Gladys Lindo in Jamaica to select and send submissions for the programme of new writing from Caribbean writers and to handle matters on the ground in the Caribbean. What I read in the letters to Swanzy was the voice of a woman working at the heart of the selection and shaping process of the programme, and therefore, the nascent field of Caribbean literature.

Taking note of Gladys' influential role in the Swanzy archival correspondence, I sought further information about her role as the BBC representative to discover that it was generally believed that the letters sent to Swanzy hand-signed 'Mrs. Gladys R. Lindo' were in fact sent by her husband Cedric. This seemed odd given that the letters are signed by Gladys and include details specifically attributable to their author as a woman, and secondly because there seemed to be no cause for this supposition to be made other than an assumption that it would have been a man making these decisions and his wife more likely to have been acting as the secretary or typist. I was shocked to find no exploration of Gladys or this situation in

the critical literature about the BBC, *Caribbean Voices*, or Caribbean literary women. I found an active denial of her in the role.

This set an interesting tone during my first read of her letters; a sense of doubt had been created in my mind by the very lack of critical acknowledgement of the woman and the letters that I deemed significant. I considered that I may have been mistaken and it may not have been Gladys writing the letters at all. However, on close consideration of the letters, I found numerous pieces of evidence that confirmed that Gladys had written them.

In the section below I offer a selection of extracts from the letters that represent key junctures on my journey to confirming Gladys' significance in Swanzy's papers, the first of which is a letter received by Swanzy date stamped on receipt three weeks after it had been sent from Bridgetown, Barbados, to London on 6 October, 1945, by a Mrs. Florence Chabrol Rock. This letter was sadly not representative of the gender balance of writers represented in the correspondence, and initially I wondered if this search for the voices and names of Caribbean literary women would be easier and more fruitful than I'd been lead to believe. I would soon learn that without surviving recordings of *Caribbean Voices* and only scraps of transcripts, it would be hard to get beyond the names of women who enquired after their work as Florence was doing in her letter. She explains:

> Some time ago during the period January—May this year, I heard that some of my poems were read over the air by your Co. in connection with the above program, I was away in Trinidad on a visit at that time and was not a regular listener to Radio at that time as lots of my time was spent outdoors, but since my return to Barbados in early May some friends who heard the poems broadcast and my name read in connection with the verses told me of this. Occasionally I listen in to 'Caribbean Voices' now.[89]

[89] Letter from Chabrol Rock to BBC, MS 42/1/1, 1947.

This letter is an early signifier in the collection of a pattern in much of the correspondence from writers living in the Caribbean, who had to rely on catching their work on the live broadcast to discover it had been successfully accepted. Hints of the distance to be bridged between the UK and the Caribbean and the unequal power dynamics were clear early on in letters to Swanzy. Letters were the only means of communication, and it regularly took more than two weeks for a letter to arrive and another to be returned two weeks later, challenging for correspondence about *Caribbean Voices*, which was broadcast on a weekly schedule, and for Gladys who was also conducting correspondence with writers across the Caribbean and collating their entries and updates to send to London. Many written exchanges between the Caribbean and London, such as Florence Chabrol Rock and Swanzy's, took up to a month, and Gladys' monthly reports and enquiries on behalf of writers in the Caribbean often received no response before the need for action or information had passed.

It is probable that Gladys Lindo's role was in part devised to bridge this distance between writers in the Caribbean wishing to submit their material to London in the hope of hearing it broadcast back to them via the wireless. A letter dated 13 August 1946 to Mrs. Lindo from H.V.L. Swanzy provides a useful explanation of the way in which their roles were inextricably linked from the start. Swanzy dates the beginning of his post as producer of the programme in 1946 when he writes to Mrs. G. R. Lindo at BBC P.O. Box 408, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I.: 'I have produced very few programmes so far, only beginning in July'. Swanzy tells her that he is working his way 'into the stockpile of Caribbean Voices' and now returns 'various manuscripts which I do not think we should like to use'. He goes on to say to Lindo 'I hope you will agree with me that little can be done with the enclosed, which represent shipments going back for about eighteen months'.[90] It occurred to me when reading this to query whether or not Lindo disagreed with any of the rejections returned to her by post

[90] Letter from Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo, 13 August 1946.

and whether or not she considered herself to be Swanzy's equal and in a position to differ from his.

A fuller excerpt from the first letter from Swanzy to Lindo is worth considering in more detail as it marks a turning point in the making of the programme as their epistolary relationship begins. Swanzy writes:

> Dear Mrs. Lindo,
>
> I am gradually working my way into the stockpile of Caribbean Voices, and now return various manuscripts, which I do not think I should like to use. As you will see, they include what I take to be spinster ladies, probably teachers, ditto by gentleman, and finally the occasional exiles writing about conditions which have nothing whatever to do with the Caribbean.[91]

Swanzy's reference to 'spinster ladies, probably teachers' struck me, especially with regard to how it might have been received and responded to by his female correspondent. Swanzy unabashedly sets out his stall with reference to the categories of writers he did not take seriously. Gladys Lindo's role as the recipient of his letters and the person responsible for communicating his choices to writers in the Caribbean was a challenging and complex one from the beginning, with an intriguing dynamic apparent early on in their correspondence. Also worth noting is Swanzy's description of rejected 'writing about conditions which have nothing whatever to do with the Caribbean'.

The details and impact of the many choices Lindo made during the selection process for *Caribbean Voices* helped determine which writers and writings were amplified. It is therefore significant to note that Lindo's legacy has been almost completely lost despite Swanzy's dependency on her contacts, taste, and diplomacy and the influence of her female, Caribbean perspective on what constituted the literature of the Caribbean.

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[91] Letter from Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo, 13 August 1946.

There is considerable original material in the Swanzy papers that illuminates Lindo's position in Jamaica as both the brakes and the greaser of wheels for writers trying to find an audience for their work. By giving close consideration to these early materials, we can begin to reinstate her as an important shaper of this important literary programme.

A notable theme in the early years of Swanzy's role are the sweeping assumptions and seemingly offhand judgements he makes in his letters to Gladys. For example, he writes of a women writer submitted by Gladys in 1947 for consideration: 'She seems obsessed with the colour relationship. Too prosey. Politically undesirable'.[92] These assertions by Swanzy and Gladys' potential reaction to them immediately interested me as I read on to reveal how she would respond, in agreement, challenge, or something else.

A few weeks later in a letter dated 16 April 1947 Lindo writes to introduce Swanzy to Vivette Hendriks, who is her niece. Lindo states that she will 'be very glad to make your acquaintance'[93] suggesting that Lindo is trying to forge associations between herself and Swanzy. Two months later Swanzy writes to Lindo that 'supplies are running short' and details who he wants more quality writing from, these are mostly men except Vivette Hendriks. Perhaps he is mentioning her because she is Gladys' niece, either way she is included where previously she may not have been. Furthermore, her brother and Gladys' nephew Micky Hendriks is also mentioned who Swanzy had not shown much preference for earlier. Micky would go on to become a well-known writer under the name A.L. Hendriks, and it is evident here that Gladys played a role in bringing his work to Swanzy's attention.[94]

On 29 July 1947 Swanzy writes a useful and intricate feedback letter to a Mr. Harold Telemaque on the craft and impulse of being a poet, 'one has to be strong' he states. This is one of the early signifiers of a trait Swanzy develops wherein he cuts Gladys out of the

[92] Swanzy to Lindo, MS42/1/3 1947.
[93] Lindo to Swanzy, 16 April 1947.
[94] Swanzy to Lindo, 23 June 1947.

communication with writers in the Caribbean when he feels they are talented.[95] The impact and implications of this behaviour will be discussed in the following chapters.

On the same date, Gladys has penned and posted a letter to Swanzy (not via Grenfell Williams) written in a more confident tone than her previous style. Lindo posits in her closing paragraph 'the stories are West Indian even if the scene is not'.[96] This is a very interesting and significant intervention and at an early stage in the development of their relationship and the programme. Lindo's assertion that the stories she has submitted are West Indian even if the scene is not can be read in direct contrast to Swanzy's previous assertions about what constitutes literature of the region. Here we see Gladys' significant intervention in redefining the scope of what writers in the Caribbean can write about and how they should be read. It begs the question, how has Swanzy been defining this until Gladys intervenes? Swanzy is happily accepting writing by writers from the Caribbean now based in London, so presence in the Caribbean is not a prerequisite for a story being West Indian. Gladys here is arguing for the inclusion of stories that are not set in the West Indies still being suitable for inclusion.

In MS42/1/4 containing assorted papers from 1948 another trope is referenced in a note from Lindo to Swanzy about work she has sent him by a woman called Esther Chapman who writes under the male pseudonym 'Peter Simple'.[97] This is pertinent to issues of how social attitudes and names contribute to the invisibility and disappearance of women from the record, a concern that will be discussed throughout the thesis. Lindo is not, however, always on the side of women writers. She is furious when Swanzy broadcasts the work of Mrs Olga Hoad about a fish pie. In Swanzy's reply he apologises 'for ignoring her remarks on Olga Hoad's poem' explaining that he had 'mistaken them for someone else's' and that it had been partly 'since Trinidad has no literary output at all'.[98] This is a revealing exchange at the

[95] Swanzy to Harold Telemaque, 29 July 1947.
[96] Lindo to Swanzy, 29 July 1947.
[97] Lindo to Swanzy, MS42/1/4, 1948.
[98] Swanzy to Lindo, MS42/1/4, 1948.

beginning of 1948 which demonstrates how Swanzy and Lindo's relationship has developed to one of equals, as well as providing evidence of the fact that Lindo holds and expresses strong views about what constitutes a good standard of literature for broadcast. Swanzy's apology suggests that he does listen to Lindo's views and made this selection because he had not realised the remarks against the poem were hers. It is not possible to know if this is true, but his apology and Lindo's freedom to hold him doubly accountable was an important signifier of her agency at this stage of the research. It also reveals how Lindo and Swanzy are sharing concerns and information about the differing levels of engagement from writers in different Caribbean countries, here with reference to what Swanzy deems to be 'no literary output at all' from Trinidad. This provided a useful set of themes to interrogate further in the research process.

Swanzy wrote to Lindo about all aspects of the work, not just the content. This was important to learn as it provided a link to Lindo's own professional remit and capabilities. Far from being employed in an assistive role, Lindo was responsible for managing, sustaining, and sometimes identifying the need for and creating, the infrastructure necessary to support the work of the BBC in the Caribbean. In a two-page letter Swanzy writes to Lindo about how financial concerns affect what is selected for *Caribbean Voices* to support his explanation of what kind of choices are being made because of this and to support the intended purpose of programme.[99]

I noted that Lindo also writes to inform Swanzy about important infrastructural and reception concerns pertinent to the work of the BBC in the region. For example, Lindo writes to Swanzy that 'Jamaica want their own radio programme; Trinidad have taken *Caribbean Voices* down due to unpopularity'[100]

[99] Swanzy to Lindo, 25 March 1948.
[100] Lindo to Swanzy, 3 April 1948.

By the late 1940s it is clear that Gladys Lindo is integral, independent, and influential in her role and part of a meaningful professional partnership with Swanzy about all aspects of the development and promotion of Caribbean writers and writing. Furthermore, Swanzy is openly acknowledging the importance of the exchange they are embarking on to her, and says in a letter to Lindo 'I feel that this is an almost historic exchange we are embarking on!' This clear validation by Swanzy himself provides a clear indication of Lindo's agency and the nature of their work as one with influence on both sides which has a historic level of significance. It is useful to see how Swanzy expressed himself about Gladys' role when writing to her as it provides an understanding of Gladys' experience of Swanzy's opinion of and respect for her role. This ought to have resulted in acknowledgement and appreciation for her role, and yet it did not. One potential clue as to why Swanzy's assertion about his historic exchange with Gladys didn't translate into recognition for Gladys soon follows in his papers when he writes directly to Frank Collymore. Swanzy reveals himself to be two-faced and disloyal to Gladys when he refers to Mrs. Lindo as 'our recognized bottle-neck out in the Caribbean'. While this comment may not be representative of Swanzy's opinion of Gladys, or of his usual way of describing her to others, it alerted me to the influential role that Swanzy himself held over Gladys and how she was viewed, understood, and treated accordingly in the literary field.

At this juncture in 1948, I was confident that Gladys Lindo's role was significant and also suspected that Swanzy was in part responsible for her invisibility and lost legacy in some way. I continued to engage with the letters in his archive in order to gain an overview of the sweep of the exchange between 1946 and 1955 before making the decision to expand my view of Gladys beyond her interaction with Swanzy, prompted by all that it had revealed.

The BBC Written Archives: *Caribbean Voices* and Beyond

I first visited the BBC Written Archives in February 2019. Having written in advance to the archivist to explain that my research interest had shifted to the role of Gladys Lindo. Two folders had been prepared for my consideration on arrival, and I was informed of more archival content associated with Gladys and Cedric Lindo's work in Jamaica for the BBC held in the archives.

The extensive contents of the folders titled Gladys R. Lindo told the story of more than just a missing member of the story of *Caribbean Voices*, but of a complex and influential figure. The content and scope of Gladys Lindo's correspondence and contracts at the BBC in the 1940s and 1950s suggest that she was the stalwart and consistent figure in the development of Anglophone Caribbean literature at the BBC in Jamaica during the mid-twentieth century and one of the most influential.

Conclusion

In summary, the decision to both make and contextualise the discovery of Gladys Lindo has been complex and demanded innovative and alternative approaches. Methodologically and theoretically, it has been necessary to move away from the traditional routes of recovery research and critical literature reviews in order to reveal the extent of the loss. In the next chapter I present extensive evidence drawn from the BBC Written Archives of correspondence by and about Gladys Lindo that is representative of the significance of her contribution to the development of Caribbean literature during the mid-twentieth century.

CHAPTER THREE:

GLADYS LINDO'S CONTRIBUTION TO CARIBBEAN LITERATURE

won't you celebrate with me
what i have shaped into
a kind of life? i had no model.
born in babylon
both nonwhite and woman
what did i see to be except myself?
i made it up
here on this bridge between
starshine and clay
my one hand holding tight
my other hand

–Lucille Clifton

Introduction

Gladys Lindo fulfilled a range of significant duties and had substantial agency in shaping her role and the work of the BBC in the Caribbean. The cumulative effect of these tasks, which I detail and analyse in this chapter based on her correspondence, points to a professional position of agency, power, and influence. It is important to note that her duties were not always officially assigned and regularly not understood or supported by her colleagues and superiors in the UK but designed and implemented by Gladys Lindo herself as she was uniquely positioned to understand the local context and respond to its needs. As discussed in Chapter Two, the departure of Una Marson for Jamaica in 1946 left a gap in knowledge and connection to Jamaica for the BBC that Swanzy relied on. It was vital for him as he took the helm of *Caribbean Voices* in 1946.

The extent of Gladys Lindo's influence can only be understood by acknowledging her agency, the nature of her extensive role, and the level of responsibility that she held in relation to others over a significant period.

This chapter offers an analysis of the contribution Gladys Lindo made, in her own words, organised into ten themes. This method of selecting and organising the material is due to the necessity to present a meaningful sample of the extensive new material that this research has brought to light. So little attention has been paid to the correspondence signed by Gladys Lindo that it has been necessary to choose material that best represents the range of actions, skills, methods, and interventions she deployed during her years at the BBC.

Themes

1) Gladys Lindo was a skilled, stalwart figure with considerable agency and responsibility, in her role as Caribbean literary representative for the BBC, as opposed to the minor supportive role that has been assumed of this position, although, by name she was covering for her husband Cedric (see Chapter Four). Not only was Gladys Lindo as important as Henry Swanzy in shaping *Caribbean Voices*, she was important in different ways than Swanzy given that her tenure at the BBC preceded and continued beyond his; her work in the region extended well beyond the single programme they worked on together, and Lindo's position ensured that the BBC's Caribbean broadcasting was influenced from the Caribbean and not only from the UK.

2–5) Following this, I group four thematic areas together to offer a close, connected analysis of the practicalities of what Gladys did: wrote monthly reports, was a writer liaison, represented writers, and was an 'unofficial' literary agent. She made significant interventions with regard to the selection and development of writers and in furthering their professional opportunities through mentoring, editorial support, and introductions.

6) Gladys Lindo was an ambassador in Jamaica and other Anglophone Caribbean countries in publicity, outreach, recruitment, and talent spotting. This on-the-ground

aspect of her role would be even easier to miss than the work Gladys Lindo did to promote Caribbean writing in the UK because it was not witnessed or understood by (m)any at the BBC until the end of her time at the BBC when it became necessary for colleagues to acknowledge that they did not know the half of what she did. An exploration of this is given in Chapter Four in answer to the research question 'how did we lose her?'

7) Gladys had 'negative responsibilities' as the person who had to tell writers that their work had been rejected, deal with delayed payments, and attend to other problems. These tasks were often thankless and were unrecorded because of the negative outcome for the recipient, which suggests further reasons for why Lindo's legacy may not be as celebrated as Swanzy's whose role was to offer commissions, payment, and provide opportunity and good news to successful writers—something people are more likely to want to commemorate. This will also have affected how Gladys Lindo was perceived by hopeful Caribbean writers, contributing to less commemoration of her work despite it being equally important to the BBC's programming in the Caribbean and *Caribbean Voices*' success. Swanzy's tendency to liaise directly with the writers in Gladys' remit once he had identified them as promising talents also removed the potential for Gladys to play an active and acknowledgeable part in the success stories which rightfully ought to have been allocated to her.

8) Gladys was vital in explaining Caribbean writers' cultural identity, descriptions of class references unique to the region, and other detailed work. She was a skilled editor, who provided unique interventions, and it is due to her commitment to accuracy in ensuring that writers were accurately represented in terms of their heritage and identity—including pronunciation of names and countries—and that local terminology and cultural norms in their writing was understood, ensuring it was not

dismissed, corrected, or misrepresented by colleagues in the UK.

9) Gladys Lindo provided valuable feedback to the BBC about how their broadcasts were received in the Caribbean. The BBC could not have known this without someone based in the region informing them. Its importance cannot be overestimated in terms of the success of BBC broadcasting in the Caribbean, especially at this time of transition from empire to independence when people were challenging who owned and voiced the narrative, refusing to accept control from the UK. Gladys also provided feedback on which reader accents were appreciated by listeners. This changed over time where initially many listeners valued English Received Pronunciation and regularly complained about Caribbean actors being brought into voice readings, but later listeners expressed a preference for Caribbean voices. Gladys also provided feedback on the timing of BBC programmes. Broadcasting of *Caribbean Voices* from London happened on a Sunday, which proved challenging for churchgoers in Jamaica, including Gladys. Adjusting broadcast times proved vital in ensuring that listener numbers remained high and that the BBC programmes were relevant to a Caribbean listenership with shifting cultural concerns.

In this same category I evidence how Gladys played a key role in informing BBC colleagues about the activities and content of competing broadcasters in the Caribbean. Swanzy was particularly curious and competitive about US programmes and later BBC colleagues were concerned by the expanding local and regional radio affecting BBC's popularity and listeners.

10) Finally, Gladys' agency was significant in shaping and instigating what needed to be done to support and select the best writers from the Caribbean as opposed to responding to or acting on instructions from the UK. Gladys Lindo's task as BBC literary representative in Jamaica was in large part to educate the metropolis about the

Anglophone Caribbean and advocate for methods and content that suited their preferences and needs. Without her, I argue, the BBC would not have succeeded in representing the Caribbean through writing with such effect or accuracy, nor would it have been received so enthusiastically as it was.

Gladys Lindo: A Skilled Stalwart Figure and Her Distinct Role

Gladys Lindo was a liaison between Anglophone Caribbean countries and the BBC in London. In effect, she *was* the process: Gladys Lindo should be referred to as the most significant figure in this story not only because of the nature of her contribution but also because of her constancy in her position when compared with the other producers and individuals associated with the BBC's Caribbean service and *Caribbean Voices*.

During her tenure at the BBC, Gladys Lindo was a consistent figure involved with *Caribbean Voices*, working on the programme for longer than anyone else including Una Marson, Henry Swanzy, John Grenfell Williams, and V. S. Naipaul, all figures who have each in their turn been duly acknowledged for their contribution.

Producers in London changed regularly while Gladys Lindo maintained her role. Una Marson founded and then was forced to leave the programme, Marson's friend and colleague Mary Treadgold held the fort for a while, and Henry Swanzy famously joined (after Gladys) in 1946. After his departure in 1955, Gladys Lindo managed a number of different producers such as Kenneth Ablack, P. L. U. Cross, and Willie Edmett. She also essentially singlehandedly produced the programme for a number of months whenever there was no producer in place. At these times she addressed letters to 'H. C. S'. (Head of the Colonial Service) John Grenfell Williams until someone was appointed to the role of producer.

Gladys Lindo: An Employee in Her Own Right

Before Swanzy took up his role at *Caribbean Voices* in 1946, BBC records show Gladys Lindo was first employed in 1943. Despite the narrative that has been woven about Swanzy's role as creator of *Caribbean Voices*, in reality he depended on an established network of people and processes. He relied on the intellect, contacts, and insight of its Jamaican founder, Marson, and the commitment of the Head of Colonial Service, John Grenfell Williams, to establish an office in Jamaica. When Swanzy took up his role as producer, careful work had already been done in Kingston to create a literary ecosystem on which the success of the programme relied—Swanzy may not have fathomed the extent of it from London or during his visit to Jamaica in 1952. The role Gladys Lindo had already played in Jamaica for three years prior to Swanzy's appointment was made possible by her knowledge of literary culture and the groundwork done by her and other BBC colleagues prior to Swanzy's appointment. Gladys Lindo must be understood as playing an important role distinct from Henry Swanzy.

The other significant distinction that must be made is between her husband Cedric Lindo and herself. In the *Caribbean Voices* collection at the BBC Written Archives, correspondence folders were held in the collection labelled 'Gladys Lindo'. The contents of these folders were more extensive than those of Cedric Lindo's, and it was interesting to note that there is a card attached to the front of Gladys' folder that states, 'Mrs. C. Gladys Lindo. Do not confuse with P. F. for Mr. Cedric G. Lindo who is the husband of the above' (see Fig. 3.1), suggesting that this mistake is commonly made or that primary attention has been paid to Cedric, which it has.[101] Cedric Lindo was considered the real representative and Gladys Lindo nothing more than a cover for him.

[101] Card, Gladys Lindo scriptwriter file 1, 1955–62, BBC Written Archive.

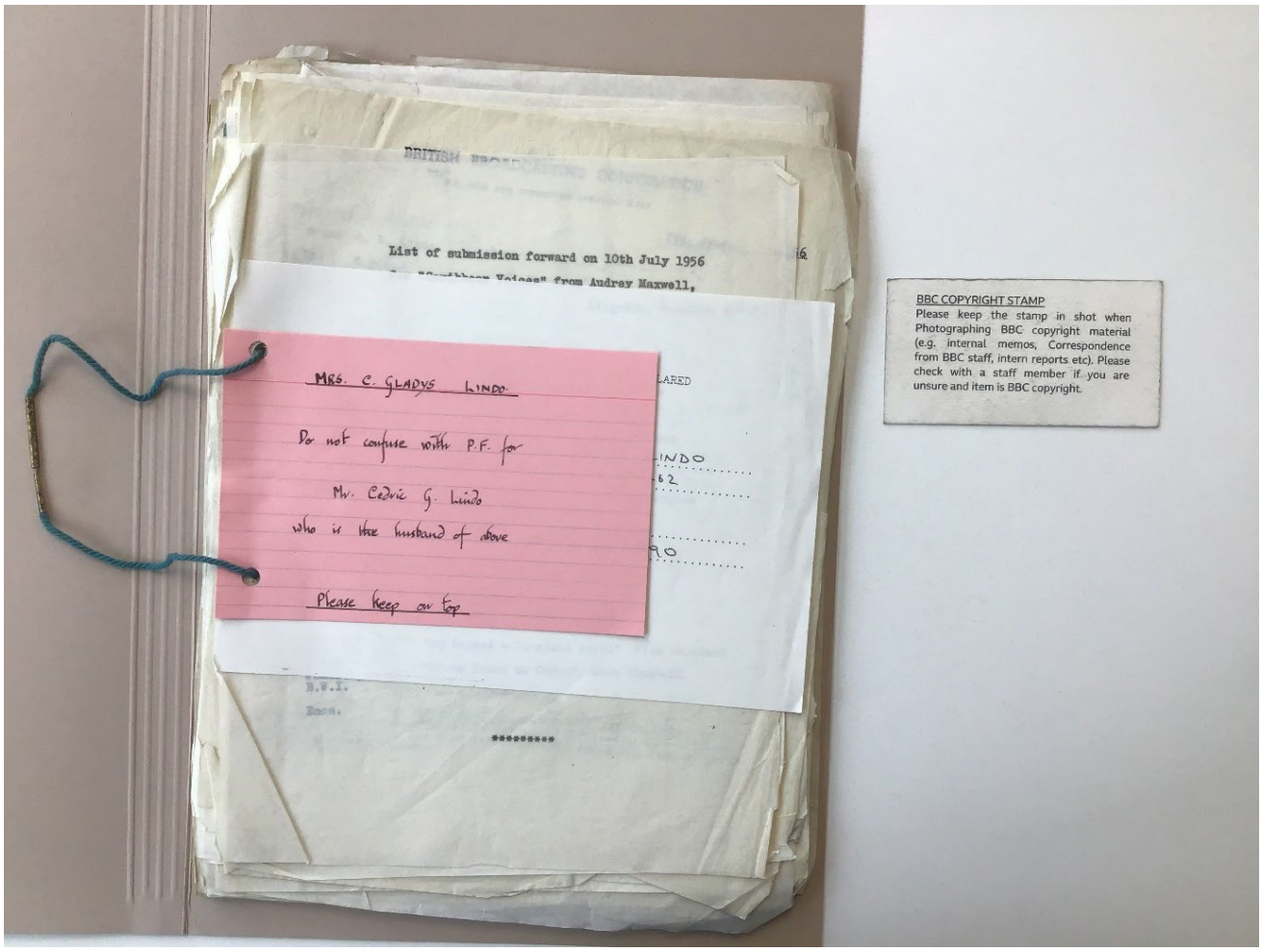

Figure 3.1. RCONT1 Gladys Lindo, scriptwriter file 1, 1955–62
Source: *Caribbean Voices* correspondence. Archival image and permission courtesy of Jeff Walden, BBC Written Archive.

To better ascertain the way in which the Lindos operated and to establish whether and how their work was distinct from the other's, I examined their contracts. I wished to consider the Lindos' working practices from a new angle, beyond what the *Caribbean Voices* correspondence revealed. Jeff Walden, BBC archivist, replied on 1 August 2019:

> I can confirm that we do have contractual papers for Cedric Lindo and Gladys Lindo covering their scriptwriting contributions. There are some ten files relating to Cedric (1955–1962) and one for Gladys (1953–1955). I ought to say that these are mostly dealings with the BBC Copyright department and are therefore largely routine. In

> addition, we have a series of files relating to Gladys's internal reports from the Caribbean back to Head Office (1947–1957), and something similar for Cedric (1955–1967). There are also a couple of files for Gladys's work for Overseas Publicity from 1943–1952.[102]

These records show that Gladys and Cedric Lindo were officially recognized as distinct from one another. Between the two of them, they held various jobs in the BBC for more than a twenty-year period, 1943–1967. The dates of their contracts are noteworthy when considered chronologically, demonstrating that the earliest record of the Lindos' involvement with the BBC was Gladys' in overseas publicity for a nine-year period (1943–1952). Chronologically, the next file is also for Gladys (1947–1957). These files contain the internal reports she sent to head office, that is, the letters from Gladys Lindo to Henry Swanzy. Gladys' copyright file is dated 1953–1955, when the first file for Cedric appears, also copyright files. There is also a file of internal reports with Cedric's name, dated 1955–1967. Interestingly, this date does not coincide with any of Gladys' starting dates, as one might expect if the Lindos were taking turns or covering for one another, a theory that is interrogated in Chapter Four when I explain how Gladys Lindo's legacy has been lost. Gladys' contractual records continue for a further two years until 1956, parallel with Cedric's. Gladys then disappears from view, and Cedric is the only Lindo recorded as working in any capacity for the BBC for the next ten years, 1957–1967. This is an important section of the timeline when considering why Gladys' legacy was lost while Cedric gained recognition. If Cedric alone was active during this final decade, it would have contributed to his legacy being remembered, concealing Gladys' considerable earlier work. It would appear that Cedric reaped the rewards when the praises were sung of *Caribbean Voices*.

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[102] Email communication from Jeff Walden, 1 August 2019.

A *Gleaner* clipping dated 20 February 1951 further supports Gladys' distinct and leading role in relation to her husband. The article reports on a speech given by Cedric at the PEN Club in Jamaica in which he is described as follows:

> Mr. Lindo who formerly acted as the BBC's representative in the West Indies and who at present performs the duties of secretary to his wife, Mrs. Gladys Lindo, now the representative, expressed his views on the sort of literary scripts which the BBC desires from writers in the Caribbean for use in this service.[103]

It is interesting that while Gladys is the acknowledged representative, she is not the person giving the speech at the PEN Club. Cedric's public-facing spokesperson position will have contributed to the belief that he was the official BBC literary representative, despite evidence to the contrary from his own mouth and Gladys' corresponding directly with the BBC and many Caribbean writers.

Another important discovery further discredits the belief that Gladys' husband was the representative and provides a timeline for how quickly Gladys took over from Cedric even before the speech at the PEN Club in 1951. In a letter written to Swanzy in 1947, the author clearly reveals herself to be a woman and wife. Gladys describes the entries she is recommending for inclusion on *Caribbean Voices* and refers to an earlier exchange between herself and Swanzy. In order to situate this moment, she states, 'actually this was before I took over from my husband'.[104] This provides a clear indication that Cedric and Gladys both worked for the BBC, but while this role may have initially been given to Cedric, less than a year later Gladys had taken over the correspondence and had been doing so for some time, possibly without Swanzy's or the London office's knowledge, as a handwritten question mark next to this declaration suggests that the recipient was baffled or surprised by the news.

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[103] *Caribbean Voices* Archives, Special Collections, UWI, Trinidad (Lindo, 'Writing') [*Gleaner* newspaper article].
[104] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Henry Swanzy, 4 August 1947.

The revelation that Gladys was writing to Swanzy is confirmed in another letter describing entries submitted to Swanzy by a female writer from Barbados that Gladys suspects Swanzy will reject. She tentatively lobbies for some of 'the verse sent in by my sex' when she writes, 'For some time I have been speaking of the incredibly bad verse which is submitted and from reading which you have been spared as I have been rejecting it here but a few samples may not be amiss. One poor lady in Barbados—I know how you feel about the verse sent in by my sex'.[105] It was upon the strength of these early sources that a picture began to emerge with greater certainty of Gladys' role as the BBC literary representative in Jamaica.

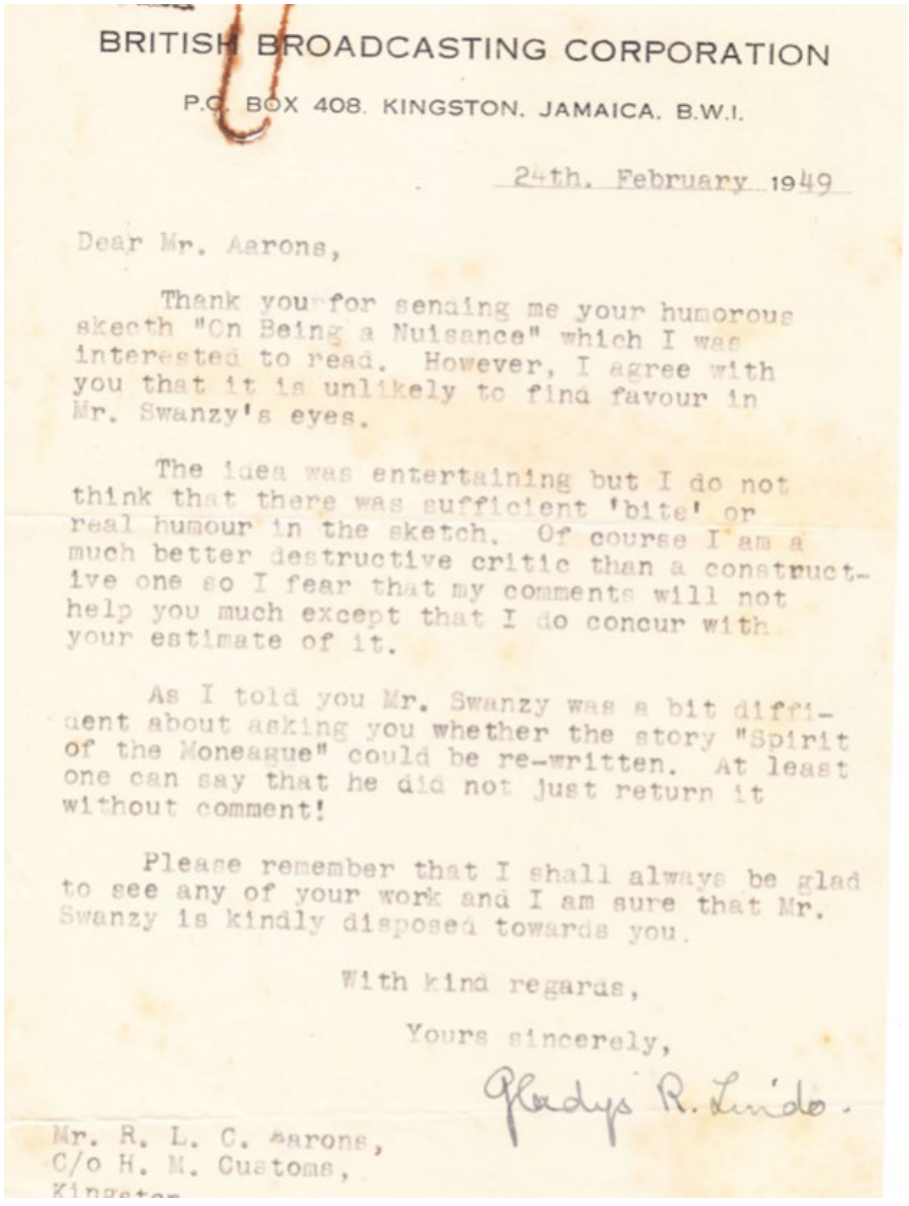
Further to the documented evidence, I contacted John Aarons, an archivist in Jamaica, in order to see if living memory disputed or supported the available critical interpretations and archival documents with regard to Gladys' role. Aarons knew the Lindos personally. In an email, he reported:

> I knew Gladys Lindo as her husband, Cedric and herself were friends of my parents and I have vague memories of visiting their home at Stony Hill. I believe that Cedric was her second husband. (You know that children do not take much notice of their parents' friends). If my memory serves me correctly she was the correspondent with the person (name slipped me at the moment) who co-ordinated *Caribbean Voices* at the BBC. As far as I can recall she was not a prominent person so I doubt whether you would find much information on her.[106]

It is clearly to Gladys, not Cedric, that Aarons attributed the significant BBC role. Aarons even forgot Swanzy's name, which emphasizes the importance of drawing from numerous geographical perspectives when researching. For Mr. Aarons (both senior and junior), it was Gladys who represented literary interests, *Caribbean Voices*, and the BBC,

[105] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Henry Swanzy, 4 August 1947.
[106] Email communication from John Aarons, 14 February 2020.

with Swanzy as the background figure. This illuminates the effect of geographical proximity in terms of the attribution of power and position. Gladys was front and centre for Aarons in Kingston, as Swanzy was for the London-based Caribbean writers Lamming and Selvon. From a Jamaican point of view, a very different understanding of who provides opportunities for writers and holds the reins for *Caribbean Voices* is attributed, from this perspective to Gladys.



BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

P.O. BOX 408. KINGSTON. JAMAICA. B.W.I.

24th. February 1949

Dear Mr. Aarons,

Thank you for sending me your humorous sketch "On Being a Nuisance" which I was interested to read. However, I agree with you that it is unlikely to find favour in Mr. Swanzy's eyes.

The idea was entertaining but I do not think that there was sufficient 'bite' or real humour in the sketch. Of course I am a much better destructive critic than a constructive one so I fear that my comments will not help you much except that I do concur with your estimate of it.

As I told you Mr. Swanzy was a bit diffident about asking you whether the story "Spirit of the Moneague" could be re-written. At least one can say that he did not just return it without comment!

Please remember that I shall always be glad to see any of your work and I am sure that Mr. Swanzy is kindly disposed towards you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Gladys R. Lindo.

Mr. R. L. C. Aarons,
C/o H. M. Customs,
Kingston

Figure 3.2. Gladys Lindo to John Aarons Senior, 24 February 1949
Source: John Aarons personal collection

Additional testimony from Edward Baugh, a friend of Mervyn Morris, poet and professor emeritus at UWI, Mona, Jamaica, sheds further light on Gladys' role. A written account from Mervyn Morris of a conversation between Baugh and Cedric in 1992 is reproduced here:

> Before *Caribbean Voices*, Cedric Lindo worked in Jamaica for the BBC, publicizing programmes beamed to the Caribbean. When Una Marson started *Caribbean Voices* in 1943, it broadcast published work. Henry Swanzy, who inherited the programme in 1946, wanted new work from the Caribbean. Cedric Lindo was asked to receive and vet submissions. When his BBC job was made part-time, he joined the Jamaica Banana Producers, whose rules did not allow him to have any other job. He suggested that the BBC appoint his wife. Letters composed by Cedric went out over the signature of Gladys.[107]

This account offers an explanation for the ongoing doubt that surrounds Gladys' status and reflects the dominant narrative; however, evidence points to a more complex situation in which Gladys held the central role in shaping editorial decisions.

The mention of Marson in Baugh's statement is also worth noting, not least because Marson's time as producer for *Caribbean Voices* did not overlap with Gladys' shift into the role in 1946 from her previous position in 'Overseas Publicity' contract ed since 1943 with the BBC. Gladys Lindo was working for the BBC in Jamaica before Swanzy's involvement with *Caribbean Voices* began in 1946, and if this contract is correct, then the two Jamaican women were working for the BBC at the same time, Gladys in Jamaica and Marson in London, before either Swanzy or Cedric were involved, and, as I acknowledge in earlier chapters, Marson's departure from the BBC in 1945 created the urgent need for someone with an understanding of the region to continue the programme. The reallocation of Lindo to

[107] Email communication from Mervyn Morris, 2 June 2020.

the role of BBC literary representative and correspondent from Jamaica fills the gap left by Marson. This is further proof of the importance of the work being done on the Jamaican side of the *Caribbean Voices* operation.

Finally, Sandra Courtman's thesis further supports the argument that Gladys Lindo was actively employed in a central role. An appendix includes the transcription of an interview that Courtman conducted in 1998 with Anne Walmsley, noted British Caribbeanist editor and scholar, who discusses *Caribbean Voices* and her time in Jamaica. In the interview, Walmsley clearly states that it was 'in actual fact' Cedric's wife Gladys doing the work.[108]

Both the archival evidence presented, and the personal testimonies gathered here clearly demonstrate Gladys' pivotal role as a central agent of Caribbean literary development for *Caribbean Voices*, disrupting the dominant narrative that her husband Cedric was the Caribbean representative.

In order to restore the extent of Gladys' professional contribution to the development of the Caribbean's literary arts, it became necessary to explore the details of her role and her work: as a constant figure, through her publicity work, her role in research and context creation, and in her contribution to improving cultural understanding of the Caribbean. Close analysis of the archival material reveals her as a central and influential character in the creation and sustenance of the BBC's work and *Caribbean Voices* for many years; she was an active, stalwart player, and her contribution was far more significant than has been credited her. Furthermore, recovering Gladys Lindo in this way has wider implications. Not only does it shift our understanding of the literary work of *Caribbean Voices* but also illustrates how, due to gender, place, and time, blind spots were created in the literary history through processes of power and social hierarchies.

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[108] Courtman, *'Lost Years'*, appendix.

In my analysis of BBC archival material, patterns began to develop. A new picture emerged that positioned Gladys Lindo as a greater force than she appeared when viewed only in relation to her letters to Swanzy held at the University of Birmingham. It became apparent how essential Gladys was not just to Swanzy, but to the BBC and many other staff. This is not just the story of Gladys Lindo and Henry Swanzy, or Gladys Lindo versus Henry Swanzy. I had previously been aware that Gladys had worked at the BBC in some capacity before Swanzy became the producer of *Caribbean Voices*, but the nature and extent to which she corresponded with other colleagues at the BBC in London was not evident in the Birmingham archival collection as material was tailored to letters relevant to his work. In the BBC archives it is abundantly clear that Gladys Lindo was

- greatly respected by senior colleagues at the BBC in London;
- a close colleague and friend of Head of Colonial Service, John Grenfell Williams;
- corresponding long-term with multiple BBC producers and senior colleagues;
- relied upon by the BBC for her institutional memory of the Caribbean;
- the most consistent figure working to further Caribbean literature through the BBC for the tenure of the landmark BBC *Caribbean Voices* programme.

The following letters from the BBC *Caribbean Voices* collection are illustrative of these points.

In a letter from the producer of *Caribbean Voices* Kenneth Ablack dated 8 May 1956, the final year of Gladys' role as BBC literary representative, several key acknowledgments of Gladys' importance in creating and sustaining *Caribbean Voices* are evident. But first an apology from Ablack: 'I feel rather ashamed that so far I have only been sending you hurried notes and even that flatters my scribbles, but I know that you will understand what the pressure is like trying to maintain the standard of three weekly half-hours'.[109]

[109] Letter from Kenneth Ablack to Gladys Lindo, 8 May 1956.

This feeling of others catching up is repeated for Gladys throughout her time with *Caribbean Voices*, as each new producer comes to realise that Gladys' role is vital to the success of their programme. There is usually a delay before this is realised, which suggests that her significance is not a declared or demonstrated fact at the BBC when a new producer is briefed, a point I consider in Chapter Four when analysing why her legacy was lost. However, what is clear is that after a few weeks or months in the position, the new producers learn for themselves that Gladys is the person they need to remain on good terms with and the person on whom they rely. Some openly admitted this, as Ablack does in his letter.

Another important insight this letter offers is the sense of responsibility that Ablack assumes for himself and Gladys. As professionals, they shared an understanding of the pressures of the work, which is important to note when considering how labour on the Caribbean radio broadcasts was an exchange between people working at a similar level as opposed to an assistant in the Caribbean and the UK producer doing the real work. This mirrors Swanzy's early assertion in 1948 as referenced at the end of Chapter Two when he writes to Gladys that they were embarking on a historical exchange together.

Ablack explains:

> I had intended writing to Cedric at a much earlier date about our letters from the University College and from the West Indies, but I have still not arrived at a formula that is satisfactory for these outside contributions, and I wondered whether you would agree to postpone a decision about Letters from the West Indies until we have had an opportunity to discuss it during your visit in the summer.[110]

This delay tactic came after many similar instances and begins to feel ominous as many important decisions were put off by the BBC until Gladys and Cedric arrived in London in person. Issues Gladys and Cedric had raised were put on hold for reasons that were not

[110] Letter from Kenneth Ablack to Gladys Lindo, 8 May 1956.

conveyed to them but discussed in internal BBC memos in London. These internal memos are considered in detail in Chapter Four as they are vital evidence in demonstrating the BBC's role in Gladys Lindo's legacy being overlooked.

Ablack provides Gladys with a lot of specific information in this letter, in an attempt to rectify the 'scribbles' of his initial efforts. This stands in stark contrast to the detailed and fulsome reports he had been receiving from Gladys.

Ablack signs off with a promise to let Gladys know further in advance of certain happenings, for example, '[t]he guest speaker for the second Question and Answer programme from the Centre on 30 May is not yet decided, but I shall try to give you this information as soon as possible'.[111] Gladys had been requesting advance notice of speakers and content due to be broadcast for years, but this never happened consistently during her time in the role, but was taken more seriously following her departure.

Interestingly, in the consideration of Gladys' role as distinct from Cedric's, Ablack signs off to both: 'My kindest regards to both you and Cedric, Kenneth Ablack'.[112] Prior to Ablack, producers did not refer to both Gladys and Cedric in this way. As the end of Gladys' contract approached, Cedric was fore fronted in the exchanges between BBC colleagues and Gladys, and as I demonstrate in Chapter Four, this was an intentional shift away from Gladys to Cedric. For the purposes of this section about how Gladys contributed to the development of Caribbean literature, it is important to note that Cedric was being brought in alongside Gladys, and the BBC was avoiding issues that Gladys brought up in her correspondence.

Evidence of Gladys' network of BBC contacts is also apparent in the archives and well demonstrated by 1956. For example, on 28 May 1956 Gladys was informed of a change

[111] Letter from Kenneth Ablack to Gladys Lindo, 8 May 1956.
[112] Letter from Kenneth Ablack to Gladys Lindo, 8 May 1956.

to the producer of *Caribbean Voices* in a letter from P. L. U. Cross: 'you may have learned that a fortnight ago I took over'.[113] This suggests that Gladys received information from a number of sources and was not solely reliant on Cross to inform her of his position. He also seems unsure about whether this is the letter. This is one of several examples of internal disconnection at the BBC in London, which leaves Gladys in the dark about what's happening, meaning she had to attend to matters herself given that she cannot rely on her superiors. Gladys was an agent of change in that she often made decisions about which no one else at the BBC is aware of.

In the example below, we see P. L. U. Cross writing to notify Gladys of his new position replacing Willie Edmett as producer of *Caribbean Voices*. In his letter he includes rejection notices for writers in the Caribbean whom Gladys must inform. He states that he is unsure whether she will receive this note before she leaves for her three-month trip to the UK, which has been requested by the BBC, and yet still sends these letters to her. This kind of lack of respect for the realities of Gladys' working timeline happened often and made it difficult for her to conduct her affairs in a timely and satisfactory way for the writers she represented. In this instance, they would not hear from her for more than three months because of when this letter was sent, and all responsibility for managing this and repercussions fell on Gladys when she returned to Jamaica.

Dear Mrs. Lindo,

Your letter of 25 April 1956

You may have learned that a fortnight ago I took over the production of 'Caribbean Voices' from Willie Edmett. I have been going through some of the recent submissions trying to separate the wheat from the chaff. The enclosed are returned as being unsuitable for one reason or another—mainly because the standard is not high

[113] Letter from P. L. U. Cross to Gladys Lindo, 28 May 1956.

> enough. I have, however, retained 'The Drummer' by Leslie Roberts, 'My Friend Joe' by Albert Alleyne, 'Virtuoso' by Owen Campbell and Leo Austen's poem 'Beauty' for further consideration. I am not sure whether this will get to you before you leave Jamaica; in any case I am looking forward to meeting you in London and to our happy co-operation in the future. Yours sincerely, P. L. U. Cross Producer, 'Caribbean Voices'[114]

The following excerpt from a letter from Ablack to Gladys Lindo demonstrates a significant element of how Gladys is the person responsible for the work but not the person with whom male BBC colleagues socialised with or related to in other ways.

> Dear Mrs. Lindo, I hesitate to disturb you in the middle of your packing, but I am indeed looking forward to seeing both yourself and Cedric on this side of the Atlantic....I hope that the lovely weather that we are now enjoying, which incidentally makes concentration extremely difficult, will continue during your holiday, and then perhaps Cedric and I can find an excuse for going to the cricket.[115]

The dual reference to Cedric and Gladys was common by this stage and the different expectations of how they would be treated in the UK demonstrates how homosociality was the norm at this time. This highlights the distinction between the activities Gladys and Cedric were expected to partake in, a distinction that became increasingly apparent as they approached a BBC staff meeting in the time they were in London. Close consideration of this suggests that in some ways the distance created by geography and correspondence enabled Gladys to hold a position as a woman that would not have been afforded to her in person. As discussed in Chapter Two with relation to the theory of letter writing as a rare space where women could express agency in the twentieth century, Gladys' influential position had been

[114] Letter from P. L. U. Cross to Gladys Lindo, 1956.
[115] Letter from Kenneth Ablack to Gladys Lindo, 1956.

sustainable because of her invisibility in Jamaica. This protective invisibility was similarly disrupted in 1952 when Swanzy made his visit to Jamaica and in meeting Gladys in person failed to see how it could have been her he had been corresponding with. This point illustrates that what Gladys did and how she did it was in large part supported by her distance from the metropolis and the invisibility it afforded her, which is further explored in later chapters in how it relates to the loss of her legacy and the implications of her recovery.

At the heart of the letter are changes Ablack is running past Gladys, this in juxtaposition with Ablack's reference to playing cricket with Cedric. This example is representative of a bigger force at work, where Gladys was the person who possessed the knowledge and did the work, but not the person who Ablack and other BBC colleagues connected with socially. This was clear when the couple reached London; despite Gladys having visited many times before and Cedric never having visited the UK, it was on Cedric whom the expectation of social engagement fell.

By 1956 at least some BBC colleagues in London knew both Gladys and Cedric and wrote about and to them with regard to them as a couple and as two distinct professionals. However, until this point it had been Gladys who was the main contact and correspondent for the BBC in Jamaica, shaping processes, managing writers' relationships with the BBC, and expressing views on the quality of the content.

In an earlier letter dated 30 January 1956, Gladys provides multiple examples of her own methods and preference in shaping the work of *Caribbean Voices*. It informs us that Gladys agrees with Edmett 'that many of the stories submitted for Christmas are too artfully full of "the Christmas spirit" and that a story not written specially for the occasion often comes nearest to the true spirit'.[116] Further to this, Gladys explicitly states that she is not

[116] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 30 January 1956.

necessarily recommending the pieces she sends to London, but sometimes does so for complex reasons relating to the contributing writer. She explains:

> With regard to my sending on manuscripts I, perhaps, should remind you—I think I said so when you first took over the production of 'C. V'.—that this does not always mean that I think they should be used. Quite often the would-be writer gets a bit peeved at having stories sent back from here and it cheers him up—even at your expense—to get a sort of second prize by his manuscript's being sent on a long sea voyage! Such 'peeved' authors have been known to by-pass me by sending their work to you direct—or to your predecessor—thinking that they may get a more favourable scrutiny there.[117]

Gladys had already mentioned this to Edmett when he took over the producer role and, in this letter, reminds him again of the nature of her role and the reason for her actions. The level of attention and integrity that characterised her work was not recognised by Edmett, at least not at this point, and this fits with the emergent theory that each new producer struggled to comprehend the importance of Gladys' position.

Gladys' strategic solution to send certain submissions on to London in order to keep writers' spirits up is also worth acknowledging. This act is an extra effort and expense, which she deems worthwhile and useful in maintaining the agreed process of submissions coming via her in Jamaica. She demonstrates a sympathetic understanding of the experience of the would-be writer and adjusts her professional choices to accommodate their needs. This is a decision she has taken independently and informed BBC colleagues in London of after the fact. It is another example of leadership, agency, and responsibility on the part of Gladys in shaping the experience of Caribbean writers and ensuring the smooth running of the process.

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[117] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 30 January 1956.

A letter from Gladys to Edmett written several months later gives us a sense of the scale of her work by detailing the rate of submission for *Caribbean Voices* she dealt with. Here she informs Edmett that submissions 'have been arriving at the rate of about two a week for some time now!'[118] Her exclamation suggests either surprise or delight, or perhaps acknowledgement that things were busy and going well. It is a mappable trait in the letters that Gladys was responsible for drawing attention to her successes in order that BBC colleagues knew about and respected them, and perhaps even acknowledge them.

Similarly, as part of Gladys' work, she found ways to inform BBC colleagues about issues with their working methods that she has noted. This is almost imperceptible in individual letters but is more conspicuous when viewing the letters from across her career. In this letter, she nudges Edmett to ensure that he is up to date, skilfully but casually reminding him to do a task that is required. She writes, 'That, too, is not a real problem, but one day you might clear up that batch'.[119] She herself has cleared up her side and does so with careful record-keeping and reporting. Her work is exemplary and holds up the standard and reliability of the programme on behalf of the other colleagues involved, none of whom maintained as detailed, up-to-date, and long-term records of the whereabouts of the writers, writings, publicity, and monies involved as she did. What Gladys did for the development of Caribbean literature in this regard relates to how she took care of it by knowing intimately and advocating intelligently for standards to be implemented by a succession of distant decision-makers in London who were not able to understand or prioritise the needs of writers in the region.

Gladys shared a substantial amount of critical and popular knowledge about Caribbean writers that she had accumulated over the years with Edmett and other BBC

[118] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 17 March 1956.
[119] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 17 March 1956.

producers in order that they could contextualise their work and make selections sensitive to Caribbean cultural reality as much as possible, demonstrating once again that hers was far more the role of guide and agent than of assistant and follower. This level of detailed supporting information was a vehicle for writers from the Caribbean to be more fully understood. This skilful, long-term work contributed to the directional development of Caribbean literature, which is effectively immeasurable. For example, Gladys writes to Edmett:

> You recently asked for some information about Wilbert Hemming, the author of the very long poem, 'All Men Come Down the Waterfall'. Except that he was a senior reporter on the staff of the 'Jamaica Times' I did not know anything about him. He has now told me that—apart from his journalistic activities such as being 'stringer' for the American illustrated magazines JET, EBONY, TAN, HUE—he is 'author of the novelette, THUNDER IN PARADISE'....He seems to be very active but I have my doubts whether the three novels now in the hands of agents will see the light of day! I must say that I cannot remember anything about THUNDER IN PARADISE; perhaps it did not really make the headlines![120]

This single, densely populated paragraph is a representative sample of the rich insights Gladys sends to the BBC to ensure staff understands the nuances of information required to make decisions about the Caribbean writers who submit their work.

Here we see Gladys share information with Edmett about a writer's involvement in the US. Swanzy had shared with Gladys his wish to better understand how Caribbean writers worked with the US in comparison with the UK, and Gladys continued to make these connections for his successors at the BBC without being asked. Gladys was the throughline and institutional memory of the BBC's relationship with the Caribbean via *Caribbean Voices*

[120] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 17 March 1956.

and other broadcasts to the region, accumulating an understanding of the needs and gaps of the Caribbean and the UK and providing the information to bridge this distance that many new BBC producers did not know they lacked.

As well as having significant agency and responsibility in this work, Gladys was also required to do things as directly requested by colleagues in London. Gladys had clearly corresponded with the writer Hemming at Edmett's request for more context, and she provided nuanced layers of insight that he could not have gathered without her. Gladys, like Marson before her, did what she did by carefully and constantly balancing her own views about what needed to be done with the requirements of colleagues in London by enacting their requests in the region through her position and historical memory.

Also telling is Gladys' sign off and commentary on the information she passes from Hemming to Edmett. Gently and with humour, she offers a disclaimer for Hemming's suggestion of success, sharing that she herself had seen no proof of it. This subtle level of interpretation of the narrative underpins Gladys' correspondence throughout her time with the BBC; she informed her colleagues beyond what they could access without her proximal position.

By the end of her time at the BBC in 1956, Gladys Lindo had long been a significant figure and the most constant BBC colleague working to further literary development in the Caribbean during the 1940s and 1950s. This is due to the continuity of important information, insight, and institutional memory of the interests of Caribbean writers she provided to the BBC. She is distinct from both Swanzy and Cedric and her contribution should no longer be understood only in relation to either of them. Further to this, Gladys' agency evidences a more senior and skilled position than her title and pay grade suggest, resulting in her being repeatedly underestimated by incoming producers in London until they realised that it was only possible to produce the programme with extensive engagement and guidance from her.

In a related point to this, in Chapter Four I interrogate how the mismatch between Gladys' distinct and significant role and the position for which she was acknowledged and paid also contributed to the loss of understanding about her importance and resulted in the overlooking of her vital legacy.

Gladys Lindo: A Woman of Many Tasks

Whereas the above section has focused on the status of the position that Gladys Lindo created and held, in this section I demonstrate in detail the action-oriented contributions that Gladys Lindo made in developing Caribbean writers who lived in the region. These activities can be usefully understood as fitting into four key areas: Gladys' monthly written reports and recommendations sent to the BBC in London, her role as a writer liaison, her representation of writers, and being the unofficial literary agent for writers from across the Caribbean.

Monthly Reports

Gladys Lindo was responsible for sending monthly reports to the London offices of the BBC. These were thorough and provided the producers with the writers they needed in order to create the programme. They accompanied contributions for the programme, notes on the contributing writers, and other crucial details about local events, complaints, or suggestions for how the programme might be improved.

Gladys' monthly reports contained more than administrative lists and papers she passed on. They were carefully worded and represent a curated selection of submissions assessed against several criteria she developed over the years in her position. The reports contain a wealth of knowledge held by Gladys as the local link to the region with oversight of the literary scene in the Caribbean, and they also demonstrate her keen interest in and insight into literature. Gladys carefully ascertained how much of her own view she offered, and we

often see her representing the views of the writers and listeners in the Caribbean as indiscernible from her own, especially in the early years when she was learning the role and how to relate to Swanzy. In later years, Gladys refined her ability to put forward what she believed to be best practice in Caribbean writing so that it was acted on and understood by colleagues in London. It is for this reason that I offer examples of Gladys' correspondence from the later years of her role as these represent the sum of numerous methods employed by Gladys to influence the direction and success of Caribbean literary culture. However, Gladys made bold suggestions and claims throughout her career, but her willingness to put forward her own point of view was influenced by multiple factors, most notably by the producer to whom she was writing and the length and strength of the mutually respectful relationship. In other words, Gladys' ability to contribute to the development of Caribbean literature was affected by the UK colleagues she corresponded with and thus a significant part of her contribution was adjusting to the personnel changes at the BBC and conveying the necessary information swiftly and skilfully so that the tight-running ship of her role as representative for the Caribbean stayed on course. Gladys was constantly adjusting to changes in the Caribbean and in the UK, and a key part of her role was to ensure that the two locales related meaningfully with one another through the changing circumstances. Gladys' monthly reports chart a clear course of her undertakings from 1946 to 1956, and I include below some excerpts that demonstrate their style, tone, and content.

In a report dated 31 March 1956, when Gladys had been in her position for ten years, she wrote to Edmett, who had worked on *Caribbean Voices* for less than a year. Gladys had submitted for inclusion on the programme a short story called 'The Doll' by Mervyn Morris with her own commentary praising its value, a story that was rejected by Edmett. The report shows the linguistic acrobatics Gladys performed in order to balance her view, represent the writer, and retain Edmett's trust despite their differing opinion and offers a demonstration of

Gladys' close commentary on the submissions. Her insights about the literature and the edits to which pieces were submitted show that Gladys did important editorial work, a far cry from being an 'efficient mechanism' for administration, as she has been described by some critics of the programme.[121] 'Mr. Morris has a neat idea but the story is on a subject which Mr. Edmett thinks, quite rightly, the West Indies are inclined to dwell on too much'.[122] This is an intriguing comment from Gladys given that she is writing this report for Mr. Edmett about what 'Mr. Edmett thinks'. Again, we see Gladys serve as the keeper of the history of the programme, dedicated as she was to it. By comparison, the producers she worked with were working on several programmes and none have the longevity on *Caribbean Voices* that she had. Close analysis of this comment suggests that Gladys is comfortable giving her own opinion in praise of Morris' story but couches it within the knowledge of Edmett's belief with which she agrees 'quite rightly' that it is a topic 'the West Indies are inclined to dwell on too much'. This is fascinating and begs the question about what Mr. Edmett believed was a subject the Caribbean was too inclined to dwell on.

Gladys' monthly reports in general tend to give a balanced view, including her own view, representing the work and intent of the writer, and acknowledging the preferences of the producer. It is an art that she became skilful in. She concludes the paragraph, 'However, Mr. Edmett can decide', which is the concluding line to almost everything she suggests.[123] For all that she did, Gladys knew that the decision was not acknowledged as hers, but she contributed everything she could to bend the decision in the direction she believed to be best for Caribbean writers.

The monthly reports prepared by Gladys demonstrate the significant, skilful, and sustained nature of her contribution to the development of Caribbean literature and are

[121] Nanton, 'What Does Mr. Swanzy Want?'
[122] Gladys Lindo report to Willie Edmett, 31 March 1956.
[123] Gladys Lindo report to Willie Edmett, 31 March 1956.

worthy of further analysis by researchers.

Writer Liaison

Gladys Lindo liaised with Anglophone Caribbean writers from, in the main, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and beyond, in person and in written correspondence. This was a demanding process to which she was extremely dedicated, as well as considerate and generous in. She was also the only person working for the BBC in this capacity in the region, and while she did not act as the face of the program, she was the person officially accountable on the ground for its successes and failures.

This element of the role provided pleasant freedoms and autonomy for Gladys on the ground in Jamaica, allowing her to be self-directed in her relationships, but it also presented a number of challenges because she did not have full autonomy to make decisions but nor did she have the presence, understanding, or support of colleagues at the BBC who did. It appears from the correspondence that Gladys was responsible for maintaining positive relationships with writers but did not have official decision-making power to choose how and when to interact with them or what was asked of or offered them in terms of updates about their entries or adjustments to processes they disliked.

In a letter date stamped 19 October 1955, Gladys was asked by Edmett to encourage specific people, in this instance a woman, to write in the form and on a topic that the BBC in London preferred. The producer didn't use question marks in his request, so it appears that he was not giving Gladys a choice in the matter. By late 1955 Gladys was extremely experienced and had been working on the programme for much longer than the new producer who made this request, so tasking Gladys with encouraging writers to write on demand would have placed Gladys in a tricky position. Edmett writes:

> p.2/2 We get the poetry all right. But what about the stories. I mean the genuine stories. I know they are there, and I know the writers are there, too. Could you encourage them to send us something? Barbara Ferland, Jean Brown, Mrs. Ormsby Marshall—surely they have something to say? And if they could write seriously on this level it would give the programme a wider horizon. But it must be something genuine.[124]

While this is not necessarily a negative request, the connotations are complex, and it provides insight into the type of liaisons with writers that Gladys was asked to enter into.

Writer Representation

Gladys Lindo acted as a representative for Caribbean writers, speaking up on their behalf and making their needs and preferences known to BBC colleagues as well as to other literary professionals. This helped writers further their ambitions and receive remuneration for and timely communications about the work they submitted to the BBC.

A key part of Gladys' contribution was to ensure that writers in the Caribbean were paid fairly and kept informed about their prospects and the status of their work. In a letter from Gladys to Edmett on 5 December 1955, she identifies and advocates for individual writers to be paid, listing them by name and date. She relies upon the BBC finance department to do this, while being responsible for communicating to the waiting writer. This imbalance of responsibility and power is representative of her split position. She repeatedly took responsibility for the payment of Caribbean writers in the region, and writers were reimbursed due to her diligence, but her suggestions were not taken up when she stated that changes needed to be made to the overall infrastructure.

[124] Letter from Edmett to Gladys Lindo, 19 October 1955.

This letter written by P. L. U. Cross to Gladys in 1956 is one of many that demonstrate the stalwart nature of her involvement with the BBC, not just when working with Swanzy. It also shows the effect of Gladys' advocacy on behalf of Caribbean writers and demonstrates the unwavering attention Gladys paid to the outcome of the manuscripts she assessed and submitted and the mindful way in which she spoke on behalf of the writers she represented. The result of this persistent attitude and demand for accountability from Gladys built a responsiveness from BBC colleagues in London over the years, and gradually she educated them to consider the needs of the Caribbean writers. In this short example, Cross writes: 'Dear Mrs. Lindo, I am returning a short story "Not In Our Stars" by Mrs. O. M. Howard, which somehow appears to have been overlooked'.[125]

On first appearances this does not seem to evidence much. However, when understood in context as a response to Gladys having had to chase down Mrs. O. M. Howard's short story it reveals much more. The first line is notable as it demonstrates a number of key tropes throughout Gladys' employment. First, that the person being rejected is a woman, and second that the work has been overlooked and left unreturned, a matter only acknowledged because of Gladys' tenacity in noting this and her willingness to challenge and chase down London colleagues about its whereabouts. Due to the nature of archival work and written correspondence in particular, it is not always possible to match a letter from Gladys to the reply from the BBC producer, but there are numerous examples of Gladys asking about contributions on behalf of writers, and this response by Cross is a representative example of the manner in which producers tended to respond to being chased down in this way. Cross continues:

> While the writing certainly comes up to the standard of 'Caribbean Voices' I feel that this is too big a theme to be treated as a short story. This is possibly borne out by the

[125] Letter from P. L. U. Cross to Gladys Lindo, 12 June 1956.

> fact that the treatment has, perhaps necessarily been too superficial. Would you convey to Mrs. Howard our regret at not returning this script earlier.[126]

The lack of question mark is telling here, as Gladys is left without an option but to represent this explanation and apology to Mrs. Howard, inadequate and late as it was. While it is the aim of this thesis to restore the significant contribution of Gladys Lindo to the development of Caribbean literature, it must be noted what a challenging environment she worked in. Regularly Gladys was forced to chase down colleagues in London for responses to submissions from writers in the Caribbean for which she was solely responsible. Her commitment to this thankless task is admirable, given that neither the producer nor the rejected writer enjoyed the process. Gladys' role in developing a literary network that supported writers from the Caribbean through the BBC involved making significant interventions and entailed challenging, boring, and repetitive tasks that generally went unappreciated and unobserved by anyone other than herself.

Despite this, Gladys did not give up and there are moments in the letters where Gladys reveals her frustration more fully. One such instance happens when she defends her representation of the needs of contributors in a two-sided letter in response to an earlier one from Edmett:

> I am afraid that my explanations to you with regard to manuscripts being kept in the London office a long time must have been inadequate if you can write, 'May I point out that we do not use manuscripts in rotation'. Of course I know this and naturally you try to—and succeed too—to dovetail contributions but here is the point of view of the contributor.[127]

Gladys initially takes the blame because her explanation was 'inadequate' but then directs

[126] Letter from P. L. U. Cross to Gladys Lindo, 12 June 1956.
[127] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 22 February 1956.

Edmett's attention back to his response, which she does not accept as fair. She does this without shying away from directly quoting Edmett back to himself. She is confident in defending her professional knowledge, saying 'Of course I know this', because she knows all too well how the process works and does not require being informed that manuscripts are not used in rotation, but again she couches her indignation with an acknowledgement of his effort and success before introducing once again the contributor's experience she is trying to get him to understand.

Gladys' view is not easily distinguishable from 'the contributor' as she works on their behalf, but it is useful to ask whether Gladys disguised her view behind the persona of 'the contributor' or whether she passed off her views as that of the contributor. We cannot know either way, but it is an influencing factor when we allocate Gladys' professional achievements to her as I attempt to in this chapter. Gladys made a difference by the work she did and the way that she carried it out, and an important aspect of how she did this was the skill with which she nimbly amalgamated what she believed to be in the best interests of Caribbean writers, then articulated this in ways that would likely produce the required response from producers in London.

As a final piece of evidence in support of the significance of Gladys' contribution to the direction Caribbean writing was taking by representing the needs of writers who remained in the region, it is worth noting that Gladys has not yet been acknowledged for her part in representing notable and successful writers such as Mervyn Morris and Martin Carter. Gladys had submitted the poetry of the now renowned writer Martin Carter, and Edmett tells Gladys later that one of her selections, 'one of Martin Carter's poems "I Walk Slowly in the Wind"', has been used.[128]

[128] Letter from Willie Edmett to Gladys Lindo, 29 February 1956.

It is not just what Gladys Lindo did or how she did it that significantly shaped the development of Caribbean literary culture in the mid-twentieth century, it was also from where she did it. Without Gladys Lindo sending in submissions from the Caribbean to London, the programme would only have consisted of writings by Caribbean writers who had migrated from the Caribbean and were able to access the BBC directly. It cannot be overstated how important a contribution Gladys Lindo made by representing the needs of writers who remained in the region, persistently pushing for the systems that had been designed in London to be adapted in consideration and support of writers' circumstances. In doing this, Gladys Lindo enabled writing from the Caribbean to join the growing canon of Caribbean writing being gathered, promoted, broadcast, and published from London and broadcast widely to the Caribbean and beyond. Gladys' understanding and role was formed by her being in Jamaica, which resulted in the creation of a system that supported Caribbean writers to remain in the region while also building reputations as writers on a global scale, garnering feedback and publicity and financial recompense for their work in a process tailored especially to them by Gladys.

Literary Agency 'Unofficial'

An extension of this representative role on behalf of writers in the Caribbean were Gladys' activities as an unofficial literary agent. In this self-assigned role, Gladys provided many written introductions for Caribbean writers travelling to the UK and suggested that they meet specific producers at the BBC, informing the producers of their impending arrival. Gladys' own niece, Vivette Hendriks was an early example of this connective work as discussed in Chapter Two in relation to Lindo's letter of introduction to Swanzy about Vivette visiting London.

This notion of invisible or 'unofficial literary agency' is particularly interesting as it is in evidence in the work of other women working on behalf of Caribbean writers in the twentieth century and contemporaneously, a notion I explore in Chapter Four in relation to how Gladys' legacy has been lost. It also features in Chapter Five, which articulates the implications of Gladys' recovery now, specifically in relation to other women in the literary field. Anne Walmsley, for example, acted in an unofficial capacity as literary agent in the UK from the 1950s onwards for Kamau (Edward) Brathwaite, a writer and friend she met in Barbados. Retrieving the invisible, unofficial, unacknowledged work of women in enabling the success of important Caribbean writers is vital in order for us to fully understanding how the Caribbean literary network between the Anglophone Caribbean and the UK was shaped and sustained.

There was a need for people who could introduce, represent, and support Caribbean writers in the region in the UK, and yet few questions have been asked as to who fulfilled these roles and how they were conducted. Gladys Lindo is a standout example, but she was not alone in doing such work or in remaining unacknowledged for the significance of what she did. Discovering the extent of Gladys' contribution highlights the need to ask these questions and form a more representative understanding of the unofficial literary agents, both in the past and the present, whose work is deserving of our attention.

Further in this role as an unofficial literary agent for Caribbean writers wishing to make connections in the UK, a letter written by Gladys dated 28 March 1956 to a Mr. John Wickham in Trinidad is an example of how Gladys corresponded directly with writers across the Anglophone Caribbean. This letter also explains how Gladys and Cedric sometimes worked in conjunction with one another—in this instance to introduce writers in the Caribbean to publishers in England. At this stage, Cedric had never visited England, whereas Gladys has been visiting the UK since she was a child, repeatedly as a young woman, mother,

individually, and with her ex-husband Victor Williams when their sons David and Ronald were young and attended school in England before the war. It was Gladys who was familiar with the UK, not Cedric as it has been assumed, a point I discuss in Chapter Four in response to the question of why Gladys has been overlooked. Gladys writes to Wickham:

> Thank you for your letter of the 23rd inst. giving news of your going to the U.K. The unused chapters of the novel have already been mailed to you at the Met. Office but I shall let Mr. Edmett who produces 'Caribbean Voices' know what your address in the U.K. will be—after May 3.[129]

Gladys writes to Wickham, 'I expect that you are taking your novel to England with you. If you haven't thought of a publisher yet you might approach Chatto and Windus'.[130] This introduction to a suitable publisher, the easy and generous manner in which her knowledge is conveyed to him, and the fact that Mr. Edmett is blind copied in this correspondence are all key to enabling Wickham, a Trinidadian writer, through support, respect, and information, and to trust in and act on her recommendation.

In the letter Gladys typed the address in red to catch Edmett's attention to ensure that he noted Wickham's Birmingham address, reducing the chance of Edmett trying to reach Wickham at the wrong UK location. This attention to detail is representative of Gladys' commitment to easing the challenges faced by Caribbean writers seeking to find their way in a new professional literary environment in London. Practically speaking, the labour Gladys put into creating and maintaining connections in the UK for numerous writers in the Caribbean from her base in Jamaica through letter writing was extensive. It is an enormous feat made up of many small acts of generosity and much attention and effort; Gladys all but accompanied Caribbean writers by way of her careful correspondence with them and on their

[129] Letter from Gladys Lindo to John Wickham, 28 March 1956.
[130] Letter from Gladys Lindo to John Wickham, 28 March 1956.

behalf. Much of this work would not have been expected of her in her role as BBC literary representative, and was certainly not listed in her contracted duties, which suggests that Gladys did it for interest-driven reasons rather than in pursuit of recognition. This is discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5 as a factor in the loss of her legacy.

In conclusion to this section of the four key areas in which Gladys supported the development of Caribbean writers in relation to the UK and the rest of the world, it is evident that Gladys created, advocated for, and used multiple, complex, and skilled methods to represent Caribbean writers at the BBC and connect directly with them to support and further their literary ambitions.

Gladys Lindo: On the Ground and Regionally Focused

This sub-section focuses on Gladys' professional contributions on a local, in-person level. I pair two thematic areas as they are both defined by this aspect of Gladys' role that was sculpted by living and working in Jamaica.

It is an important distinction to understand that the work Gladys did as BBC literary representative was necessarily divided in terms of its focus on the local, by which I mean in Jamaica and other Anglophone Caribbean countries, and on the metropolis, by which I mean London and the UK, because there was almost no awareness (or regard) in London for what was involved in the work Gladys did locally. Much of the work that I attribute to Gladys making a significant difference to the experience of writers in the Caribbean is about her managing and communicating the local context effectively to the BBC in London. She made significant progress in this area, but repeatedly found the distance difficult and the assumptions of the metropolis reinforced.

The two thematic areas in this sub-section relate to Gladys' work in publicity, recruitment, outreach, and talent spotting in the Caribbean and in the difficult aspects of

rejections and being the voice of disappointment.

Publicity, Recruitment, Outreach, and Talent Spotting in the Caribbean

Gladys created publicity through newspapers and reviews, promoting *Caribbean Voices* to would-be writers and listeners across the region. She went further than this and created opportunities for writers to connect with the programme through her active involvement in the cultural world in Jamaica, for example, by attending awards at educational institutions and approaching winners of local literary competitions to submit stories to the BBC. This commissioning element of the role is significant because it directly challenges the explanation of her role of literary representative in Jamaica as passively sending on submissions. Not only was Gladys selecting, editing, and influencing writing, she was also instigating, commissioning, and supporting it. The level of agency she exerted in the Caribbean has been seriously overlooked but is clearly evidenced throughout the papers held in the BBC Written Archives.

In this letter from Gladys we see multiple examples of her agency and influence, including how she instigated and commissioned writing for the BBC. Her sense of humour also comes through in many of her letters including this one, signifying her confidence and command of the subject. This letter offers us a valuable insight into what Gladys' work in Jamaica was when she mentions the provenance of the three contributions by a Ruby Williams she includes: 'Miss Williams won a prize in last year's Festival of Arts and was invited by me to submit some work for the programme. The above is the result'.[131]

Gladys connected emerging writers of Jamaica to the programme through her involvement with the local arts scene. Without her invitation to Ruby Williams to submit her work, the BBC would not have known about Miss Williams' win and their remit would not

[131] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Edmett, 19 March 1956.

have included such early career writers who remained in the Caribbean. This is significant in understanding what Gladys did to develop Caribbean literature. We must pay close attention to understanding not just what the literary content of *Caribbean Voices* might have included because of Gladys, but also to identifying what it would certainly have lacked without her specific innovations and introductions. In particular, without Gladys this vehicle of Caribbean literary development would not have included emerging writers based in the Caribbean, and furthermore, without her adjustments and activism to improve processes and criteria for the programme, writers who wanted to pursue writing careers in the region may not have felt able to do so. This is enormously important. Without Gladys' Jamaica-based role, the Caribbean literature scene would have developed beyond the Caribbean to an even greater extent than it has in the diaspora and increasingly the US.

Sadly, all three of Ruby Williams' contributions were rejected and returned immediately. Gladys will have been responsible for communicating this to her, a particularly difficult task after she had invited her to submit. But Gladys was effectively powerless to offer her a spot even though Gladys believed her work worthy of submission. This dynamic must have had an impact on Gladys' reputation in Jamaica where she was based. It is unclear if this eroded her credibility in the role or in the eyes of writers in the Caribbean, but the distance between power and responsibility was a source of friction and frustration for her.

One of the enjoyable things about reading Gladys' letters is the way in which they demonstrate her sense of humour, carefully expressed though it is. In many of her letters more than a hint of charm shines through, although it is often the case that she does not claim the joke or own the comment in her own right. In one letter Gladys is relatively casual, perhaps as it is an additional letter on top of the required monthly report and therefore falls outside of the usual framework and lacks a formality. She writes: 'The two Jamaicans are new to "Caribbean Voices"; the former submitted his short story on the advice of Vic Reid

who says that one would not expect, from seeing or meeting Mr. Graham, that he was able to write'.[132]

It seems to me that Gladys sounded out her recipients and was able to establish an open atmosphere with some BBC colleagues where such insights and anecdotes could be exchanged. Gladys had an open and confident style in her correspondence with the Head of Colonial Service, John Grenfell Williams, an aspect that I explore in Chapter Four as it relates to how her work was overlooked following his sudden death. In terms of how Gladys did what she did and made a difference to the development of Caribbean literature, I argue that by using humour to draw attention to BBC producers' potential ignorance or bias or to encourage sympathy, she employed a clever and subtle strategy to suggest a new approach or gently widen a perspective without directly criticising the recipient.

Another strategy Gladys used was providing background to the complexity of her reasons for submitting the pieces she did. On the one hand, Gladys put the writer and story forward, while also including an in-built disclaimer in case it was not considered good enough: 'Perhaps that has made me look more kindly on the story than I might otherwise have done'.[133] Gladys here models an environment in which it is possible for her to be wrong, which leaves the door open for her recipient to reject the submission, or for them to perhaps admit to their own errors or gaps in knowledge. Over time, this created a more open dialogue between her and the producers of the programme.

The Hard Stuff: Rejections

Successful writing submitted from the Caribbean and from England was aired on *Caribbean Voices*, which was broadcast from Bush House in London back to the Caribbean.

[132] Letter from Gladys Lindo to the BBC H.O.C., 1956.
[133] Letter from Gladys Lindo to the BBC H.O.C., 1956.

Writers received payment and heard their work on the radio in their own countries. Gladys, however, was not given credit for these success stories, instead she was responsible for informing writers that their work had been rejected. This is an important aspect of Gladys' work, and it relates to why her role may have been under celebrated. Given that she was not informed ahead of time about which writers were to be broadcast, she was unable to communicate the news of success to writers in time to tell them when their work would be on air. This likely contributed to whether she was remembered and celebrated. She usually gave bad news, and she was therefore liaising with writers who weren't successful as opposed to the ones who went on to gain popular reputations in the literary canon or attention in critical discourse. The letter below is an example of a rejection Gladys was asked to convey by Edmett:

> As regards 'Two Prayers' by Mrs. Ormsby Marshall I would like to use it but it simply is not good enough. There is the possibility of finding a script to go with it and broadcasting the two for their sociological implications rather than their literary merits, but that is a tedious long-term business and in view of the fact that our contributors want to know their fate as soon as possible, I feel inclined to say that word which is so remarkably easy to pronounce—'no'.[134]

In terms of why we don't know much about Gladys, it is important to pay attention to how much of her role related to liaising with writers whose work had been rejected by London. Why was she ignored or lost? She represented the no's and rejections. 'Remarkably easy to pronounce—"no"': perhaps this is the case for Edmett from a great distance, but not so for Gladys' reputation and renown. The writers who were successful in having their writing featured on *Caribbean Voices* tended to credit Swanzy because they had contact with him, and those who Gladys had helped in the Caribbean did not receive the news from

[134] Letter from Willie Edmett to Gladys Lindo, 3 March 1956.

Gladys and therefore connect their success with her work. The writers who didn't succeed had little reason to acknowledge Gladys because she hadn't helped them achieve their goal, John Aarons is fairly unique in his acknowledgment of Gladys due to the rejection letter his father received from her, and his awareness of and positive attitude towards her may have been due to knowing the Lindo's personally as a child in Jamaica.

The next example demonstrates how producers did not take ownership of decisions to reject a piece and the implications for Gladys, an issue that occurs often in the correspondence between Gladys and the producers of *Caribbean Voices*. It is not only Gladys' positive influence that was hidden, but the avoidance of the negative aspects of rejection by her BBC colleagues. Here we see the complex way in which then producer Edmett rejected a piece by Karl Seeley without accepting responsibility for it.

> I am not adding my own opinion, not because I have not got one, but because I do not deem it wise to go beyond the bare statement that I cannot find space for it in 'Caribbean Voices'.
>
> You may feel it useful to the author to pass some of these comments on, but if you do, there is no need to specify who made them. But you can assure him that three different people read his script, so that its possibilities have been widely investigated.[135]

Gladys handled complex relations and had no choice but to take responsibility for conveying the outcome and managing the disappointed writers' responses in the Caribbean.

In conclusion to this section, on the ground in Jamaica, Gladys was responsible for crucial interventions in terms of commissioning, publicity, liaison with writers, and outreach. Through these channels, Gladys influenced the direction of Caribbean literary development. However, her role also contained the weighty responsibility of communicating negative

[135] Letter from Willie Edmett to Gladys Lindo, 19 March 1956.

outcomes for writers in the Caribbean relating to their writing or payment and lacked the support from BBC colleagues so that she might participate in and convey positive outcomes. While her contribution in this regard made a difference to the development of Caribbean literature, it is also evident that this element of the role contributed to her legacy being overlooked or undercelebrated.

Explaining Caribbean Writers' Cultural Identities

One of the major ways in which Gladys affected the development of Caribbean literature was her dedication to accurately representing the cultural identity of the Caribbean. Due to the nature of her position at the BBC, Gladys was able to do more than just represent the cultural specificities of the Caribbean; her knowledge and interventions shaped the way that Caribbean voices and stories were chosen, curated, framed, and conveyed. Although this is one of the most widely applicable ways in which Gladys' work influenced Caribbean literary development, the methods she devised, adapted, and sustained were specific and many.

Gladys often explained to BBC colleagues in London the correct pronunciation of people and place names, corrected inaccurate designations of writers' nationalities, and articulated the meaning of identity expressions such as whether or not a writer defined themselves as Trinidadian because they were born there even though they lived in Barbados. This was important work as it shaped how audiences understood the Caribbean writers they heard on the BBC, and Gladys often ensured that the names and labels announced on the airwaves were not those given, misunderstood, or imposed by the BBC in London. This work provided a new level of self-determination for Caribbean writers, something that had previously been stifled by the forces of colonialism and defined by the limited knowledge and distant interpretations of the Caribbean by the gatekeepers of literary expression in the UK.

Another important way in which Gladys shaped representations of Caribbean cultural identity was by conveying her extensive understanding of class through literature in the region. Gladys introduced the need to be aware of the class of the writers the BBC was representing, drawing attention, for example to 'the middle-class writers—as practically all of them are'.[136] In this letter, Lindo conveys her understanding of the complex representations of class in Caribbean literature to Edmett and provides him with a historical overview of its progression, giving specific examples such as Sam Selvon's 'Behind the Hummingbird'. Literary influence is such an integral element in the progression of literary development and here we can see one of many examples where Gladys explained the history and impact of a particular type of class story being broadcast and causing a furore.

> Thank you for interesting letters of the 19th inst. with regard to the preponderance of writing on what is sometimes called 'the underprivileged… But to return to the preponderance of writing about the illiterate. It probably first started many years ago when Samuel Selvon's 'Behind the Hummingbird' caused such a furore; I don't know if you remember the incident but the Trinidadians regarded it as a slur on the island and the prudish Barbadians who had it piped into their homes via rediffusions complained that it was a crime to have their wives and children subjected to such incidents and such language—there were a few four-letter words in it. Whatever the listening public on the whole may have thought[,] the writers said to themselves 'This is the kind of story which the BBC will buy; I'll send them something on the same lines'. We began to get a spate of stories featuring the seamier side of life.[137]

In Chapter Four, further analysis of Gladys' perspective on social class is explored in relation to her personal life. As Gladys' great niece Felicia Pheasant commented, Gladys and

[136] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 29 October 1955.
[137] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 29 October 1955.

Cedric were considered the 'socialists' of a family of those who preferred a more privileged life.[138] This wider view of Gladys' class position and her perspective on class relations is important in recovering her legacy, and it relates to who she was and how she was lost, as explored in Chapter Four.

> The middle-class writers—as practically all of them are—regarded the lives of the labouring class as more colourful than their own day-to-day existence and this proved an added incentive to concentrate on such stories. The novelists—Roger Mais was the best example—also wrote about these people. A pattern was set for West Indian writing.[139]

Gladys went on to identify and explain her theory that stories about day-to-day middle-class lives was often the topic of work submitted by women in the Caribbean. This is a very interesting insight in terms of understanding why writing by women in the Caribbean during the mid-twentieth century was not so prevalent as men. The issue may be one relating as much to class as to gender. While the 'pattern was set for colourful class writing', Gladys notes that women at the time who had the ability and means to write were from a middle-class background and they wrote about what they knew. This was considered 'dull'.[140] Perhaps this class distinction and its influence on the topics women wrote about goes some way towards explaining the dearth of women's writing that was accepted for *Caribbean Voices*, given the preference for more colourful depictions of Caribbean life than women experienced or penned, rather than an inherent inability of women to write well. Gladys writes:

> In addition the stories about the middle-classes, sent in by people like Mrs. O. M. Howard of Jamaica, Mrs. Ormsby Marshall, her sister Eileen Cooper (who, I see, is

[138] Interview with Felicia Pheasant, November 2021.
[139] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 29 October 1955.
[140] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 29 October 1955.

> still keeping in touch with the programme) were, for the most part, not well written and were dull compared with those telling of the 'sagga boys' of Trinidad. I agree that something must be done to remedy the situation, both for the good of the programme itself and also for West Indian writing; the area is crying out for a good novel of the middle class. How are we to do something![141]

Note Gladys' definition of the word 'colourful' and recall Swanzy's call for more 'local colour', which many entries lacked in the early years (mid-late 40s) according to him.

In another letter we can see that Gladys refers to what Cedric is doing alongside what she is doing. Both endeavoured to promote the programme and the cause of literature, but Gladys' role was distinct, official, named, and paid, and Cedric's was not—their efforts are discernible from one another. Gladys regularly made this clear when referring to what Cedric was doing. In this example, she defines her remit and what Cedric has done very clearly for Edmett, demonstrating the way that they both represented Caribbean cultural output by stimulating interest and getting local newspapers to print scripts to reach a wider audience.

> In your comments, or criticisms, in 'C.V'. itself you can stress this need. Let me have the script of it, please and we'll get a number of papers in the area to reprint it, thus reaching a wider audience. Cedric has already been passing on your comments to some writers and Hugh Morrison (Mr. Swanzy used one of his stories once) has already given him the manuscript of an unfinished novel to read and to see whether a chapter or two if it may not be what you want. We'll play our part here in stimulating interest.[142]

It is evident that Gladys' and Cedric's roles were active as well as reactive, and that they both promoted *Caribbean Voices*, but Gladys in a formal, recognised capacity, given she wrote the

[141] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 29 October 1955.
[142] Letter from Glady Lindo to Willie Edmett, 19 October 1955.

letter.

In the final paragraph of the letter, Gladys referred again to what defined Caribbean literature, ten years on from her earlier reference urging Swanzy to reconsider the limits of what constituted Caribbean literature when he first became producer of *Caribbean Voices*. Now Gladys summarises the years of facing similar difficulties and the understanding she has accrued of what Caribbean writing is and how best to develop it.

> For years we have had a similar difficulty with our writers. They show a tendency to look on some other type of living as being more glamourous than their own; they argued bitterly about Mr. Swanzy's mild statement that stories about people and scenes they knew would be preferable because people, generally speaking, write better about what they know than what they don't. They wanted to set the scenes of their stories in London, New York (particularly Harlem) and Timbuctoo. They won't see that the eternal values are just as true, and can be more convincingly told, in their own lives.
>
> However, we'll put our shoulders to the wheel here and I hope we can effect a change. Yours sincerely, Gladys R. Lindo.[143]

Gladys states here that in her role she is actively trying to effect change in the content of the writing by Caribbean writers in the region. The change she seeks to effect is also of interest in terms of how she contributed to the development of Caribbean literature, because she is advocating for writers in the Caribbean to write about experiences based in their own realities and believes that what she calls 'the eternal values' are better told in their own terms. By her own description, which is congruent with her actions, hers is a role of influence and agency in directing Caribbean literature to speak for and about the reality of life in the Caribbean,

[143] Letter from Glady Lindo to Willie Edmett, 19 October 1955.

informed by knowledge accrued over years of close and consistent engagement with Caribbean culture and literature.

How BBC Broadcasts in the Caribbean Were Received by Listeners

A substantial angle of influence wielded by Gladys was through her position on the ground in Jamaica listening to *Caribbean Voices* alongside other Caribbean listeners (when she wasn't at church). Much attention should be paid to her work representing writers, but there is also an additional aspect of her contribution that relates to the way in which Gladys managed, communicated, and steered the relationship between the BBC in London and its listeners in the Caribbean. Gladys Lindo was the ears of the BBC in Jamaica, and she provided feedback to BBC colleagues, advocating for changes to keep listeners engaged in and in support of BBC broadcasts. Gladys commented on listeners' preferences in terms of the features, voices, style, and content of programmes, the effect of the time difference, tone and relevance, information about US radio involvement in Jamaica, local broadcasting, and the challenges of good reception.

About the timing of the broadcast of *Caribbean Voices* from London to the Caribbean, for example, she writes: 'Caribbean Voices' is now on at a bad time for me. With our early evenings[,] Sunday evening service starts here at 6.30p.m. right in the middle of the programme. This is not a suggestion that your time should be changed!'[144]

It would seem like an important element of the success of the endeavour to ensure that *Caribbean Voices* aired at a time when the representative for the BBC in Jamaica was able to listen and comment on it. However, Gladys was not only uninformed about what would be broadcast in advance, she was for a period unable to listen to the programme when it aired. During the mid-twentieth century when only a single, live broadcast was aired, this meant not

[144] Letter from Gladys Lindo to the BBC, 5 December 1955.

at all. Perhaps it is unrealistic to think that the BBC would develop a programming schedule with an individual employee in mind. However, for the Caribbean representative not to be able to listen to the programme she created and provided feedback on seems a noteworthy failing.

In the letter Gladys also touches on another important element of her influence on the success of the programme: its reception in the Caribbean. She writes: 'Reception yesterday—at least on our radio—was very poor and Cedric, who has taken Garth St Omer under his wing, and I were unable to hear the discussion on 'Syrop'' Will you say, at your leisure, what the verdict on this story was?'[145]

Letting the BBC know that reception was poor in Jamaica was important. It was something that Gladys brought up on many occasions, with multiple colleagues, throughout her time with the BBC. Gladys was the representative of both the Caribbean-based writer and the Caribbean-based listener. No one else was speaking up for them. Her role as representative was singular and huge in terms of the scope of the nations she represented, and her feedback enabled the BBC to adapt and improve their service to keep it relevant and held in good regard. However, she was not valued in this role as we see from the fact that her being able to listen to the programme was not given much thought. In understanding what Gladys did to influence the development of Caribbean literature at this time, her feedback about the Caribbean's reception of the BBC was a key factor, but when we consider how the BBC treated Gladys we begin to see how unaware they were of their reliance on her and the extent to which her knowledge and feedback about the interplay between the UK and Caribbean ensured their continued success. This is particularly important to note because Gladys had been communicating the changing popularity of the BBC programme in the Caribbean back to London since the 1940s, as evidenced in Chapter Two by her

[145] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Willie Edmett, 30 January 1956.

correspondence with Swanzy in which Gladys informed him that Trinidad no longer wishing to broadcast *Caribbean Voices.*

This leads to the final section of this chapter where I demonstrate how Gladys' influential role was one of educating the metropolis in multiple ways about the Caribbean nations for whom they were broadcasting.

Educating the Metropolis: Research and Context Creation for the BBC

This final section emphasises the ambassadorial role that Gladys played, highlighting her considerable and unique agency. It reflects the extent of her influence and provides the basis from which to begin the analysis in Chapter Four of the nature of her influence and why it has been lost.

Gladys collated articles and references from local and regional newspapers that related to the BBC's reputation in the region, including *Caribbean Voices*, as well as other cultural, political, and social occurrences she deemed pertinent to the BBC in pitching their broadcasts correctly for a Caribbean listenership. This was skilful work and required constant attention to events and to the changing mood of the Caribbean and global stage. Gladys was a key bridge in ensuring attitudes did not remain fixed about the countries and people she represented. The results of Gladys' efforts are extensively catalogued in a series of scrapbooks filled with carefully chosen cut outs, made in Jamaica by Gladys and sent to the BBC. These are protected in plastic at the BBC Written Archives as many have begun to crumble. They are made of thin paper, folded and glued or taped to backing paper by hand.

Informing the BBC in London of what was happening in the Caribbean so that they could keep their content relevant to a Caribbean audience was a huge job, and Gladys should be given due credit for her influence in shaping the BBC's adaptation to Caribbean listeners' attitudes during this significant period for UK-Caribbean relations. Also important when

considering Gladys' contribution is the fact that she did this work independently in order to improve cultural understanding and relations between the UK and the Caribbean. By sending the BBC hundreds of newspaper clippings providing context for the cultural concerns of the region, Gladys formed the knowledge base of numerous producers and colleagues at the BBC that shaped the nature and content of programming, tailored entirely according to her preferences and selections.

If we consider what the BBC would have based their programming in the Caribbean on without this input from Gladys, having lost Una Marson's perspective in 1945, we can understand the huge impact of Gladys' work in changing the direction, scope, and success of Caribbean literary development on the part of the BBC and *Caribbean Voices*.

This aspect of Gladys' work was particularly important at the time when international travel was much less frequent than today, and BBC colleagues in London relied on people in the countries they broadcast into to inform them of the circumstances there. Telephone was not readily available, so written correspondence in the form of memos and letters were used to pass information to the BBC in London. Further to this, the BBC was an influential force at this time, circulating information about the Caribbean and in doing so setting the standard for how the region was understood and how it understood itself. Writers from different Anglophone Caribbean countries were not able to regularly meet each other due to the distance and cost involved with travelling between their disparate and distant islands, making BBC broadcasts from London one of the only sources of information about the stories, concerns, and experiences of writers from other Caribbean countries. It was important to Gladys that this responsibility was taken seriously, and she made it her business to speak back to London about how they were being received in order to hold them accountable.

A particularly interesting example from Gladys' newspaper collection is an excerpt pencil-marked with the date 24/8/1950, which is when it was sent by Gladys to the BBC. The

article she selected was from the Sports section of the *Daily Express* and appears to be a light-hearted but heartfelt review of BBC cricket commentators and how their coverage was received by listeners in Trinidad and Barbados where the journalist surveyed listeners for their reactions. Entitled 'How Did the Commentators Rate with the Fans?', it features each BBC commentator with a review of their style, content, and popularity. Written by B. R. Jones in Port of Spain, Trinidad, the introduction to this piece provides an important insight into the powerful role that BBC broadcasters were seen to have by listeners. Jones writes: 'One of the most engaging side issues to come out of the Anglo-West Indies cricket test series has been the panel of broadcasters who painted the test matches pictured to listeners in the West Indies'.[146]

Gladys' inclusion of the newspaper article draws attention to Caribbean listeners' critical interpretations of the BBC programmes and the individuals who presented them. The language of the article could be used to describe the presenters of *Caribbean Voices*, too, who also painted a picture of what Caribbean literature was like to listeners in the region. One-time *Caribbean Voices* producer Kenneth Ablack it transpires, is also a cricket commentator featured in the Jones article where he only receives a 'Fair' review. Others are variously described 'Best' or 'Excitable'. There is criticism of Learie Constantine 'as "the man who cannot decide whether he is a West Indian or an Englishman", as the worst of the lot. With one Barbadian reportedly having said of him "I switch off my radio every time I hear"'. This last comment speaks to the complex position of representation by people from the Caribbean who work for the BBC, as was of course Gladys' own experience.

This part of Gladys' role, collating sources about current affairs and attitudes from across the Anglophone Caribbean in order to create context and feedback for the BBC in

[146] B. R. Jones, 'How Did the Commentators Rate with the Fans?' *Daily Express*. Clipping enclosed in a letter from Gladys Lindo to Swanzy, 24 August 1950.

London extended beyond her contracted duties. It proves the extent to which Gladys knew the success of the programme rested on local, culturally specific understandings—in terms of the writers—and she shaped her own role to build the cultural literacy of the metropolis.

This final aspect of her contribution opens Gladys' role up to its widest cultural ambassadorial significance and serves as a strategically useful point to move on to Chapter Four, in which I reflect on the evidence analysed in terms of its wider significance and interrogate why and how her legacy has been lost.

Conclusion: What Difference Did Gladys Lindo Make?

It is clear from close analysis of Gladys Lindo's correspondence in the BBC Written Archives that her professional contribution to the development of Caribbean literature via the BBC in the mid-twentieth century was influential, affecting its content and formation. In the ten thematic ways articulated above, Gladys made significant interventions for Caribbean literature.

The letter below and my analysis of it draws together Gladys' accomplishments in a microcosm mere months before she received a letter from the BBC addressed to the hotel she was staying at in London thanking her and removing her from her position. The job was passed on to her husband Cedric who was given an immediate pay rise.

The letter written by Gladys in April 1956 to John Grenfell Williams, the Head of the Colonial Service, features Gladys' voice at its most assured, and it demonstrates the range of ways that she shaped the BBC's work in the Caribbean and Caribbean literature. First, she draws attention to the matter of genre: 'Unpublished novels seem to be the order of the day in the Caribbean to judge from recent submissions—and programmes'.[147] Gladys displays knowledge of the Caribbean literary atmosphere in terms of genre and situates it in relation to

[147] Letter from Gladys Lindo to BBC Head of Colonial Service, 25 April 1956.

other trends, and in doing so, she passes on contextual information to the recipient of her letter: 'whoever the producer is at the time'. This remark draws attention to the fact that Gladys often fulfils her role to ensure the continued success of the *Caribbean Voices* programme without a producer being in place, or without knowing who the producer is. This is particularly telling of her capacity to run proceedings from Jamaica without the aid or input of a UK correspondent. Further to this, she makes a distinction between 'recent submissions' and 'the programme', which is important because the programme represents what the BBC in London deemed worthy of broadcast, not just what writers in the Caribbean and Gladys chose to submit.

Another notable reference in this letter is to the aforementioned Mr. Aarons senior, father of the archivist John Aarons who contributed his perception of Gladys' role which featured in Chapter Two: 'Mr. Aarons used to contribute to the programme long ago but it is many years since he has submitted any work. He is going to London at the end of this month and may call on the programme producer, whoever he is at the time'. Gladys is *Caribbean Voices*' memory as demonstrated here by her ability to remind colleagues in the London office of the nature of a contributor's longstanding relationship with the show. Her comment 'whoever he is at the time' can be construed as either innocent or loaded, and based on the fact that she is at this point addressing letters to Grenfell Williams due to the producer being absent or an unknown to her decision maker, not for the first time, suggests that this was a pointed comment on the inconsistency and gaps left between handovers, of which she was not always informed in advance. As denoted by red asterisks against the list of writers' entries sent by Gladys to London, Aarons' new work was rejected along with the majority of other contributions listed in this correspondence from Gladys.

Gladys continued in what was her customary attentive, informed, and proactive manner to identify for the recipient of her letter two writers new to the series, 'Gladys

Skinner and Henry Alcindor', both of whom were rejected.[148] It was Gladys' job to write to the rejected writers such as Aarons, Skinner, and Alcindor to let them know and to return their scripts by post, this example serves as proof that Gladys was invisible in the positive outcomes and put out front to absorb and address the negatives, the no's and the rejections, the ignored and lost manuscripts, overlooked submissions, and returns for the entire span of her employment for the BBC. When this is considered alongside the fact that Cedric spoke at public events and contributed to collections such as the celebratory Savacou edition for Collymore and the memorial book for Gladys' son, David, we begin to see a picture in which Gladys' significant, private contribution is largely thankless. The reward may well have been the work itself, a suggestion that chimes with descriptions of Gladys' character as given by her grandchildren, great nieces and nephews, and her goddaughter, and perhaps on a personal level this lack of acknowledgement suited Gladys' character. However, it is important to distinguish between what may have been Gladys' individual preference and the critical position. Considered in a critical way we must acknowledge that the distribution of the work and credit was unbalanced and weighted heavily towards public acknowledgement of male colleagues and to London over Jamaica. This casts light on the shaping of the narrative around *Caribbean Voices*, and Swanzy in particular, who are lauded for all that they did, while the work that Gladys did has fallen into dispute (it was not really her) or dismissed (it was not very important).

Close analysis of this letter among hundreds pays off, as it is a microcosm of Gladys' role distilled into a single A4 page. She goes on to note that contributor 'Mr. Samuel has had a story read in "Caribbean Voices"; he writes from British Guiana but has now stated that he is a Grenadian and wishes to be so described'.[149]

[148] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Head of Colonial Service, 25 April 1956.
[149] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Head of Colonial Service, 25 April 1956.

Distinguishing between countries and the identities of Caribbean writers is still an important part of Gladys' work in the final year of her employment, and this example mirrors the manner in which Gladys carefully reported to Swanzy in the early days of their correspondence in the mid to late 1940s, almost ten years earlier. This suggests that while Gladys worked hard to inform the BBC about the cultural and regional particularities and definitions preferred by writers in terms of their citizenship and how they were described, the BBC still relied on Gladys to pay attention to and provide this information about writers from the Caribbean. Arguably, this may have been a reasonable requirement of her role as the BBC literary representative for the region, but it worth noting because it exposes a significant lack of understanding and awareness about Caribbean identities amongst BBC colleagues in London which Gladys made up for.

Finally, the letter closes with an insight from Gladys that offers a rare numerical fact for those of us looking for answers and data about the scale and distribution of *Caribbean Voices* contributors across the Caribbean which had been built up during Gladys' time in the role to its highest number of represented territories yet. She writes: 'These submissions are interesting as no fewer than seven territories are represented which must be a record for any one lot of manuscripts'.[150]

We can deduce from this that in April 1956 the submissions to *Caribbean Voices* were healthy, with new and repeat contributors, men and women writers, and entries coming in a range of genres and from multiple territories.

At the bottom of the letter in red ink is written a note by someone at the BBC in London: '*Rejected. Others have been kept for consideration'[151] The distinction between returns and rejections, and those scripts that were kept for consideration was a matter of

[150] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Head of Colonial Service, 25 April 1956.
[151] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Head of Colonial Service, 25 April 1956.

heated discussion between Gladys and BBC colleagues in London over the years, as she repeatedly recommended a new method that would better serve her and her ability to serve the writers in the Caribbean and their requests for information about the status of their entries. It seems reasonable to deduce that at this stage and shortly before Gladys was formally removed from her post, she had not managed to convince the London office to use a satisfactory method that prioritised the needs of writers, and their manuscripts were still being kept indefinitely with little or no acknowledgment given. This impeded writers from submitting them elsewhere, given the requirements for originality of publishers and broadcasters.

A letter to Gladys from Edmett dated 7 March 1956 in response to hers of 22 February 1956 demonstrates that Gladys has suggested a change to the manuscript return process which Edmett does not agree to. This is not the first instance of Gladys' trying to improve the process from her side to be met with resistance from BBC producers. She has essentially asked him to hurry up and he has grudgingly obliged but refuses to alter the procedure which she has suggested could usefully be changed. He writes,

> I do not think there is any substitute for the direct method, and you will just have to let me know when it does not work in any particular case. We can then deal with that particular case.[152]

This sounds simple, and is a simpler process from Edmett's perspective, but it creates an unwieldy situation for Gladys who is attempting to keep track of outstanding contributions by writers in the Caribbean that London keeps hold of indefinitely and without remark. I draw attention to this because it is critical when considering what Gladys contributed to the development of Caribbean literature to also recognise what she tried or wanted to do as well. She might have made this and other improvements had she been given more power and

[152] Edmett to Lindo, 7 March 1956.

influence beyond the position she was limited to. What might Gladys have done if she had been recognised as the innovative and skilful professional, we can now see that she clearly is?

With this new understanding of the extensive and significant nature of Gladys Lindo's contribution to Caribbean literature we approach the next research question as to why her work and legacy have been lost with an increased sense of its importance. In Chapter Four I analyse how and why Gladys Lindo's extensive and impactful work has been overlooked and in doing so restore the story of who Gladys was and what she did from the tangle of forces that conspired to conceal her.

CHAPTER FOUR:

WHY WAS GLADYS LINDO'S LEGACY LOST?

There are years that ask questions, and years that answer them.
–Zora Neale Hurston

Introduction

It has been demonstrated in Chapter Three that Gladys Lindo played a key role shaping Caribbean literary culture during the mid-twentieth century through her role in Jamaica on behalf of the BBC. Questions therefore arise as to why she has remained invisible and unacknowledged for such a significant and instrumental contribution to the development of Caribbean literature.

Who was she, why don't we know, and how can we find out? As shown in Chapter Two, finding information to answer these questions required a methodological approach that prioritised different research routes, away from the institutional archives and critical literature in search of the domestic, the family, the private records, and to conduct interviews and research in Jamaica where Gladys lived and worked.

This chapter is concerned with understanding how and why Gladys' considerable role in Caribbean literary history has been overlooked.

This core research question is constituted of two lines of enquiry. One which asks what happened during the time of Gladys' life in terms of her own identity and circumstances, and another which follows and is related to the first, which asks what has happened since in terms of the records and critical narrative to continue to conceal her. In other words, asking and answering; what led to Gladys being overlooked in her time and what has prevented her legacy from being acknowledged or restored since?

To answer these questions, it first became necessary to discover biographical and personal information about Gladys Lindo, so that who Gladys was and how she experienced the world could be factored in alongside the information about her professional and socio-cultural context as depicted in the earlier chapters of this thesis. As described in Chapter Two, this need for information about Gladys Lindo beyond what was contained or referenced in the professional and critical records led me to adapt my methodological approach and prioritise work in online and domestic archives, and ultimately to travel to Jamaica to prioritise contributions from women and Gladys' surviving relatives.

This chapter is therefore organised to answer the question 'Why has Gladys Lindo's legacy been lost?' by first providing biographical and personal discoveries about Gladys Lindo, then, with this information restored, using it to inform, interrogate, corroborate, and expand the answers and interpretations guided by previously explored sources, to the two key lines of enquiry, why was she was overlooked at the time and why have records and critical practices failed to restore her since? Relating them to one another to create a detailed and holistic analysis of the factors which conspired to conceal Gladys Lindo's legacy until now.

A. Who was Gladys Lindo?

Biographical, personal, and relational overview and analysis.

B. Why was she overlooked at the time?

Gladys' experience in her time. First, analysing how Gladys' personal experience, motivations, and methods contributed to her invisibility. The people, institutions, social norms, biases, requirements, and methods of the time and place created a set of circumstances in which Gladys Lindo was perhaps necessarily invisible.

C. How have record keeping and critical practices since failed to recover her?

Record keeping and critical practices since. Second, by interrogating the records and critical literature with attention to critical practices which have not yet led to the acknowledgement

and analysis of Lindo's key role in the field, often serving to further bury her name and achievements under a burgeoning narrative that excluded her.

In the first section of the three which make up this chapter, I present a biographical overview of Gladys Lindo. From this, it is possible to attend to the question of how she was overlooked in her time by exploring the elements which relate directly to Gladys' own experience and identity to demonstrate how these factors contributed to her invisibility at the time of her professional life. I will also relate this to the context and people she was working and living with and their impact in shaping her experience and public reputation, before moving on to the third section which presents a review of the record keeping and literary practices which served to pass on this sense of invisibility in the critical discussions and publications about the subject that have continued for more than forty years since her death in 1981.

Only by understanding both of these periods can we identify the moments when the silences about Gladys Lindo were formed. These two moments can be understood in terms of the moments when silences enter history, as depicted by Trouillot and analysed in terms of Una Marson's experience in earlier chapters.

Who Was Gladys Lindo?

Born Gladys Ritchie Hendriks in Jamaica on 19 June 1899, Gladys was to become an important figure in the development of the literary and broadcasting culture for the English-speaking Caribbean in the mid-twentieth century, but not a publicly recognised one.

Her life was lived, split and is therefore best told in two strands. The personal version that was known to family and friends in Jamaica and the professional position she held, one that is not known today and has never been sufficiently explored or acknowledged, as the BBC literary representative in Jamaica during the 1940s and 50s, a vital period in the region's

literary history.

In this chapter I will describe Gladys' personal life, her heritage and biography, drawing both on official records and on familial recollections from relatives who remember their grandma or great 'Aunt Glad'. By considering this personal view of Gladys life in addition to the previous chapter which outlined the professional, hidden strand of Gladys' life, we begin to see the whole picture. Of course, these two ways of knowing Gladys are not entirely distinct. But at the time of writing I am yet to meet anyone who knew and understood Gladys in both respects, both in terms of her personal life and her significant working role. The division between these roles during her lifetime has been handed down three generations, remaining intact for more than forty years following her death.

It is representative of Gladys' experience and therefore important to distinguish between both strands of Gladys' personal and working life before drawing them together to reveal how they have overlapped, informed, shaped, and obscured each other until now. The separation of these two worlds in which Gladys moved is more than just part of her story, it is the setting and the plot, too, and her achievements and the loss of them must be and can only be fully understood in this narrative framework.

To comprehend the extent of Gladys' contribution presented in Chapter Three it is necessary now to understand not only what Gladys did and how she did it, but also to understand that in relation to who she was and why she was motivated to undertake this role – answering implicit questions as to why she was compelled, able, allowed, enabled, or willing to contribute in this way which abound when we consider that she was living and working at a time when multiple elements of her position in society would appear to conspire against her doing so. Crucially, we must also attend to the question of why a legacy such as this has been lost and understand how Gladys' identity influenced this. We now know what Gladys did, and how she did it. To understand why she did it and her experience of doing so

we first need to understand more about Gladys herself, and in doing so we are able to comprehend how her necessary methods contributed to her being overlooked.

Part of the answer to why we lost Gladys' legacy is directly due to who Gladys was personally. Gladys' identity and experiences shaped the innovative methods she devised to fulfil her role, as well as the choices she made and the reasons behind them. Who Gladys was, the significance of what she did, and why she was lost, are inextricably linked.[153]

Gladys Ritchie Hendriks

Gladys was born Gladys Ritchie Hendriks on 19 June 1899. The daughter of Arthur Sigismund Hendriks and Lillian Ida Ritchie. Her mother, Lilian, gave Gladys and her older and younger brothers Arthur and Ivan, her own surname as their middle name. This is noteworthy as Gladys changed her surname twice due to marriage, but she never dropped the reference to 'Ritchie'. It features in her work correspondence, inside the covers of her own books now in the possession of her granddaughter, Maxine Williams, and finally, on her gravestone which simply states Gladys R. Lindo 1899–1981.

Gladys gave her two sons David and Ronald 'Hendriks' as a middle name, continuing the tradition of her mother in passing down her own maiden name to them, so both Ronald and David began life referring to themselves as Ronald H. Williams and David H. Williams. David would later add 'Ritchie' and name his art gallery in this way, while Ronald never dropped either 'H' or Williams until he died, passing only Williams on to his children though and effectively ending the association with Gladys' own family line.

This is very important when we consider how we lost Gladys and how we have failed

[153] The discussion of who Gladys was is used in the thesis as a window into the context in which Gladys lived and worked, not a dedicated biographical piece of its own. I intend to write a biography of Gladys that gives more room to her personal and familial life, but for the purposes of this thesis elements of her personal circumstance which shed light on a) how she was able to do this work and b) how they influenced the loss of her legacy are shared.

to recover her legacy until now. Gladys is initially found and seen only through the lens of her position as wife to Cedric Lindo. Essentially, a professional identity is created which does not acknowledge the rest of Gladys' life heritage. This is in itself troubling, as records and methods of naming women in association with their father's and husbands disrupts our ability to read their narrative throughline in official records and even personal ones. It is especially important when considering Gladys' professional role as BBC literary representative and why this might not have been attributed to her.

Had Gladys kept her own surname of Hendriks throughout her life her peers and researchers since would have been able to make the link between her and A. L. Hendriks (Micky) a well-known Jamaican writer who, it transpires, was Gladys' nephew, the son of her brother, Arthur.

Gladys showed agency as an individual and at work, paying attention to the power of names and choosing her title and surname at different times to represent her. She dropped 'Williams' and divorced Victor when she discovered that he had been having an affair, where many women choose to keep the name of the father of their children, she chose not to.

Cedric's surname, taken in love according to all accounts from her family, who recall a close couple, always touching, holding hands, and dancing, who shared 'a very small double bed' according to Gladys' granddaughter, Maxine, who noted how unusual public displays of affection of this kind were between couples in Jamaica, and remain.[154] In many ways, Gladys seemed to defy convention. Cedric was younger than her, but this did not stop them marrying and displaying their union proudly.

Realising that Gladys was originally a 'Hendriks' provided me with the first successful link to Gladys' living relatives. The unusual spelling without a 'c', piqued the interest of my friend and host in Kingston in June 2021, the writer and playwright Janet

[154] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.

Morrison. She knew a Tony Hendriks, a comedian by the stage name of 'Jamaican Paleface' who was living in the U.S. at the time. A swift message was sent to Tony asking if he was any relation of Gladys. Tony Hendriks replied with a resounding yes. 'Aunty Glad!' Minutes later he would contact his cousin Maxine, granddaughter of Gladys, who I'd been trying to contact via ancestry.com and other routes from the UK and since reaching Jamaica.

Maxine sent a photo to Tony of her grandma, Gladys, and husband, Cedric. Who she knew as Grandpa. This was the first image I'd ever seen of Gladys, and I cried when I saw it. Gladys' great nephew Tony Hendriks passed it to our mutual friend, Janet Morrison, who sent it on to me. I spoke to Tony that night in Florida from Jamaica, and we were both delighted to discover another side to Gladys, Tony had no idea that his 'Aunty Glad' had been such a significant person and was pleased that her legacy was being restored. New information was immediately revealed by this initial explosion of connection to Gladys' relatives. Until now, without an image of Gladys in the public domain or records it had not been possible to know that Cedric was white, and Gladys was not. Both were bright-eyed and smiling, leaning close to each other, at ease.

Figure 4.1. Gladys and Cedric, Jamaica, C20th
source: Maxine Williams

The following evening, I spoke on the phone for the first time to Gladys' granddaughter, Maxine, and we planned to meet for dinner in Kingston on Friday when she finished work, where we would begin to piece together the story I had found of Gladys' professional life in letters in the UK with the life she had lived in Jamaica.

A key point in response to the question of why we lost Gladys' legacy was revealed in this exchange with Gladys' granddaughter, Maxine and great nephew, Tony. One of the reasons for her being unacknowledged was that Gladys' working and personal life had remained separate. Her relatives were unaware that she had played any such role, and thus had no awareness that there was a legacy to promote or protect.

In addition to this realisation, finding and meeting Gladys' relatives also revealed that the naming and unnaming of Gladys has played a significant role in how she has been lost. We lost Gladys because she was not known and named, and the changes in her names allocated her associations and achievements to others, and disconnected them from her. The various practices of naming, renaming, and unnaming Gladys have influenced the loss of her heritage and affected our ability to identify her lineage, her individuality, and recover her legacy.

Importantly, finding Gladys' relatives enabled the recovery and reconnection of Gladys to her history and provenance. With the help of Gladys' family and through research online and in the passenger lists of the National Archives, it was possible for the first time to create a linear narrative of Gladys' background, her familial and social context, and her own significant life events.

One of the most pertinent questions about Gladys that began occurring to me from the moment I found her letters in the archives in 2017 was who *was* she? A recurring question which contained within it a range of curiosities about how and why she did the work that she did and why she was not credited for doing it. Answers were hard to find, but it would also

seem that those who had come across her correspondence before me did not wonder about her at all. The letters I could access at first were all sent to Swanzy or the BBC and therefore written by Gladys for a specific professional purpose which only provides one view of her, presented according to the needs and requirements of the BBC in London at the time. No other information was forthcoming in the critical academic texts about *Caribbean Voices* which either dismissed or reduced her contributions, as I will explore later in this chapter.

Three years after finding and reattributing Gladys' letters to her, in June 2021 I was able to travel to Jamaica and finally find and speak to her family. Between us we could piece together a picture not just of what Gladys did but how she was able to achieve what she did despite the challenging circumstances of her life and the time in which she lived and begin to understand what motivated her to do this work. What was it about Gladys that she could make such a remarkable intervention and leave no trace of it in her own life? Individual character, circumstances, support?

Access to her early history provided clues and answers. I had a suspicion that Gladys' race may have played a role in her lack of acknowledgement, but this was not something that could be known based on my only having met her through her letters. I discovered from family photographs shared by her grandchildren that she was mixed heritage and not 'white'. However, the complex relationship between class and race in Jamaica essentially meant that wealth trumped race, and Gladys was born into wealth and therefore would have benefitted from a comfortable position in Jamaican society. Gladys would have enjoyed a relatively privileged social position by virtue of her mixed ancestry and wealthy family in Jamaica, where ideas of privilege were related to colourism. Stuart Hall's posthumous memoir *Familiar Stranger* offers a context for Gladys' position in Jamaican society. In it he describes growing up in Jamaica in the mid-twentieth century as living in 'the most exquisite class and

colour system in the world'.[155]

Gladys' father's family line, the Hendriks' were an important family and well-respected in Jamaica where they traded in coffins and furniture internationally. Maxine revealed details of this in a conversation in the Blue Mountains as she showed me around the places of Gladys' father's family line and I asked about how Gladys would have experienced Jamaican society:

> Maxine: I don't know. I mean, I would imagine she was quite well respected. I mean, you know, the whole Hendriks connection.
>
> Jen McDerra: Can you tell me about that? I know you've already told me but while I have the recording, what do you think that connection gave her? And how do you think he shaped her?
>
> Maxine: Well, I think she was born into wealth. I don't know where exactly she was born. What home or where they lived or anything, but. So, the story about the grandfather, there was. Anthony would know all this better. There was, I think it was my great grandfather, or great great grandfather who started a business making coffins. And that business morphed into furniture making and the Hendriks and Company did very well, I believe, making furniture and acquired some money along the way. Acquired more and more property and that property got handed down through various generations. My grandmother [Gladys] inherited several properties. I presume she lived off the income from that. And so I think she just was, you know, it was almost like, like, you're comfortable. You don't have to worry about money. So you can put your attention to other things. In her brother's eyes, as Anthony alluded to, it's quite different. He had to be very grand and very, you know, like, they had a

[155] Stuart Hall, *Familiar Stranger: A Life between Two Islands* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), quoted in John Akomfrah's documentary *Unfinished Conversations*, 2010.

beautiful, you know, they had a big house. We used to gather for Christmas dinner, you know, the need for expensive material possessions. Grandma was not like that'.[156]

Most vitally, this wealth was passed on to Gladys as well as to her two brothers, the older Arthur and younger, Ivan. Gladys was the middle child and the only girl. Her granddaughter, Maxine, the daughter of Gladys' younger son Ronald, described to me the circumstances in which Gladys would have been able to support herself and later her sons financially, and what gave her the confidence to do so.

Gladys inherited property and land. She could live off this and was free to make decisions not weighed down by economic constrictions. This is evidenced by her ability to leave her first husband Victor Williams when she discovered that he was having an affair. At the time and in the social context, Maxine described to me how many women may have had no choice but to stay with their husband even if he was unfaithful, but Gladys' own wealth and what Maxine describes as her 'strong sense of self-possession' enabled her to break off the relationship and support herself and her children.

Victor and Gladys divorced and Gladys took their sons David and Ronald to live with her in a house she named 'DavRon' in her sons' amalgamated honour. They would not have contact with their father for many years, and according to Maxine her Uncle David was 'very loyal' to his mother, Gladys and never chose to have a relationship with his father again.[157] It's noteworthy that David made a success of himself in Dublin and set up an art gallery which he named the Hendriks Gallery and later renamed the 'Ritchie Hendriks Gallery' to incorporate his mother's surname and her middle name, her mother Lillian's maiden name. David also called himself David R. Hendriks after his mother, whereas Ronald kept the surname, Williams. Names are very important in the story of Gladys' life and in the loss and

[156] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.
[157] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.

re-discovery of her story.

Ronald, on the other hand, returned to Jamaica after attending Oxford University, England and had two children with his French wife Henriette Peter whose own experiences of losing her family of origin Maxine believes may well have influenced her to encourage her husband to reconnect with his father later in life. Maxine and Gregory, Ronald's children, both recall that they were taken round to meet their father and his wife, and Maxine stated that Victor was very happy and cried to be reunited with his son and family.[158] Gregory remembers that his biological grandfather, Victor, used to stand outside his house looking out at the world going by, and he used to pass him and 'know that was his grandpa', but they would never stop and say hello to him. David and Ronald were raised by Gladys' second husband Cedric Lindo, calling him 'Uncle Cedric' but Ronald's children Maxine and Gregory remember Cedric as their grandpa, and a good one at that: 'always giving books about lions and tigers from those he reviewed, or teaching them card games'.[159] This recollection is an important one as it highlights how Gladys' own grandchildren experienced Cedric as the person connected with books as opposed to Gladys. Here we should consider the time and age of Gladys and Cedric. Gladys, 13 years Cedric's senior, was being viewed by her grandchildren at a time when she was no longer working as the literary representative for the BBC. Vitally important to understanding the loss of Gladys' contribution is the timing of her working life and who experienced her in it. A key factor with regard to her BBC colleagues as well as her family members, which will be discussed later on in this chapter.

Gladys, it appears, was able to fund her life with her two sons and pay for them to go to school in the UK. There are passenger lists showing Gladys and Victor and the boys travelling to and from the UK, and later Gladys travelling alone in 1938. Maxine was able to

[158] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.
[159] Interview with Gregory Williams, January 2022.

flesh out these journeys with recollections from her father and Uncle David who had described returning from England to Jamaica accompanied by their mother, Gladys, to finish their schooling when WW2 broke out.

Gladys' ability to live and work in accordance with her moral and personal beliefs was supported by inherited money, property, a source of income and a home, but also by an important investment and message received from her parents as a woman in being given the same as her brothers. Confidence, self-belief, and agency of her own. While this financial stability undoubtedly enabled her to choose the work and relationships she wished to involve herself in, it also offers us a potential reason for her invisibility. Gladys was not motivated to do this work out of a sense of need for finance or even for validation, her sense of self-confidence may actually have contributed to a lack of interest in gaining external validation. Later in this chapter when considering the people who influenced the invisibility of Gladys at the time it will be important to include Gladys herself in this comprehension, in terms of her priorities, preferences, motivations, and nature.

This confidence and security continued to inform her work and relationships for the rest of her life, Maxine suspects, explaining that Gladys was 'the boss' in her relationship with Cedric. Indeed, she was 40 when they married and he was 27. When Gladys died in 1981 she left Cedric their house on Stony Hill. Maxine recalls that Cedric 'would have driven the car into the ground' whereas Gladys drove a well-kept Chevrolet, wore white driving gloves and kept herself and their things to a good standard.[160] The picture painted of Gladys and Cedric's dynamic offers important insight into the confusion about whether Gladys was a cover for Cedric as BBC literary representative, and the origins of this narrative, furnishing us with an understanding of the power and preferences of the two as individuals and as a partnership. Maxine and Gregory recall their grandparents as a united pair, living life on their

[160] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.

own terms together, and other relatives recall them as unusual in relation to the wider family, in that they did not seem to value material possessions highly and held socialist values. At least not so highly as Gladys' elder brother, Arthur who preferred a very charmed life. Tony Hendriks' sister Felicia Pheasant, Gladys' great niece, now lives in the UK, and on being introduced to her by Gladys' Jamaican relatives she recalled to me that they joked within the family that Gladys and Cedric were the 'socialists, always doing puddings for the poor'.[161] They lived modestly and within their means. Gladys and Cedric's personal story could have been so many things, given the mysterious way in which Gladys' working life disappeared behind Cedric's professional reputation, it was therefore an important insight to learn about the dynamic between them in terms of power, shared interests, and respect from how they were viewed as a couple by their family. Maxine recalls how Gladys and Cedric cared for each other and were very close, and she could not correlate the story of Gladys as an unfortunate wife serving her overbearing husband with them. While the belief that it was Cedric not Gladys contributed to why Gladys was not acknowledged at the time or since, it is important to note that this did not originate with Cedric intentionally hiding Gladys' work in order to inflate his own reputation by taking credit for hers. Maxine confirmed that Cedric standing up at the PEN club to announce that he Gladys' secretary, not the other way round—not something that would have been usual in a mid-twentieth century patriarchal society—was representative of his character and obvious appreciation of and dedication to her.[162] Whatever else was going on, part of Gladys' story was a happy one with Cedric which adds important nuance to this discussion of how women were excluded from the narrative. This will be explored further in this chapter, in relation to how and why the narrative about Cedric contributed came to shape the loss of Gladys' reputation at the time and since.

[161] Interview with Felicia Pheasant, November 2021.
[162] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.

Another insight into Gladys' world view was revealed through family interviews, in relation to her eldest son, David Hendriks. As a young, gay man David left Jamaica in search of somewhere to create a life that was more welcoming to homosexuals. Initially staying in England but soon moving to Ireland, where he settled in Dublin. Maxine reports that he and Gladys were close, and that she remembers the sadness Gladys felt at how infrequently she saw David. They wrote letters and both travelled to visit each other, but Maxine's memory was that they as a family in Jamaica they 'were always measuring time in terms of when David's next visit would be'.[163] This provides another line of insight into Gladys' identity, as a person who was driven by her own sense of what is right and, in many ways, was ahead of her time. Gladys was born in 1899 and lived at a time when homosexuality was illegal in Jamaica, it was a surprise to see photographs in Maxine's home of David and his partner, Gordon, in Jamaica with Gladys and the whole family at the Hilton hotel.

Figure 4.2. David Hendriks, Gladys Lindo, 'Uncle' Gordon, Jamaica
source: Maxine Williams

[163] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.

It was understood that Gordon was family and Maxine and Gregory called him 'Uncle Gordon'. Both Maxine and Gregory sensed that their father, Ronald, was not so comfortable with his brother's sexuality, a suspicion that is perhaps supported by the lack of an entry in the book published in remembrance of David by Ronald, although Ronald did keep a copy, in which he had handwritten his name.[164] Maxine and Gregory were sent copies of the book after David's death, the inscription in Maxine's reads: For Maxine in remembrance of David's love for you. From 'Uncle' Gordon.

Gladys died in 1981 and as yet it has not been possible to locate an obituary for her despite extensive searching in public and private archives, and with the support of archivists at the National Library of Jamaica and the Gleaner Archives in Kingston. David would die only two years after his mother in 1983, a book is published to honour his life's achievements and two articles are featured in the Kingston Gleaner in commemoration despite his having lived and worked for most of his life in Dublin.

This is worth noting as the significance and status of Gladys' achievement was not recognised which may have been because she was a woman and not considered or framed as a public figure. Further influence might have been given to the status of David's achievements as they were achieved in the UK as opposed to locally. Despite Gladys' work dedicated to the interests of writers in Jamaica, David's accomplishments were given space and celebrated despite, and possibly because of, his having moved to the UK. This relates to the initial inspiration for this research project in terms of the way citizenship was allocated to other countries for writers of Caribbean origin at the point of Commonwealth Book Prize winning success, which led to the development of a theory of 'creative migration' wherein individuals travelled from the Caribbean in order to gain greater recognition and be better supported in their creative endeavours. It also links to the contemporary experiences of

[164] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021. The book was inherited by Maxine.

Caribbean women in Jamaica, which are explored in Chapter Five. This throughline in my research from the past to the present moment suggests that publications and accolades in the Caribbean still do not carry the weight of those achieved in the UK. I explore this in more detail in terms of the implications of Gladys' recovery and connection to the contemporary context of Caribbean literary life.

Cedric Lindo was the person prevailed upon or who volunteered to enter a contribution to the book published in memory of David, suggesting that Cedric was the mouthpiece of the family as well as for the professional BBC literary endeavours of Gladys. In this case, Gladys had passed away so could not contribute to her son's memorial, but a picture emerges of two people, Gladys and Cedric, whose personal natures and modes of expressions were important factors in the shape of who did what and who was publicly known, a fact that was not available until family were found who could shed light on them as people outside of this career lens.

Maxine's description of Cedric was particularly illuminating on this topic, paying attention to his demeanour as the 'nervous, highly-strung, talkative one' whereas Gladys was calmer.[165]

Cedric's contribution in David's book has an authenticity to it similar to letters I have read between Cedric and Alison Donnell regarding her early research into the Caribbean literary scene, and to the tone of his letters to BBC colleagues. Cedric's style seems somewhat unguarded, especially in comparison to Gladys' carefully tailored style. Cedric refers to the early unease with which his relationship began with David, a young boy who had refused contact with his father and was then presented with a new, young stepfather:

> As his stepfather I am happy and proud to record that David Hendriks and I, after a somewhat uneasy start, achieved a friendship which went beyond, and indeed far

[165] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.

beyond, acceptance of each other.

He was not a great letter writer and preferred to use the telephone and, when his mother in her failing years was unable to come to the telephone, he and I would chatter over the transatlantic waves.

David exemplified the Jamaican description of ourselves, 'We lickle but we tallawah' which emphasises that although we are a little country we are sturdy and strong and not to be underestimated. In the physical world we have shown this in our contribution to the West Indies Cricket team, to Jamaica's fantastic record in the Olympics and in Bob Marley's music, but here in the artistic line, something which the world would not connect with a third world country, David Hendriks helped to change the Irish attitude to modern art.

Jamaica has yet to appreciate his unerring taste in the understanding of the art world and all that he did as an Ambassador, unacknowledged, of this small island which has so much in common with Ireland.[166]

Cedric makes a strong case for David here and is notably the first person listed in the book—representing David's family. Later, there are entries from A.L. (Micky) Hendriks, Gladys' nephew and David's cousin. This position chimes with the important role Cedric would continue to play in the lives of Gladys' family members following her death, when Gladys's son, Ronald, continued to take responsibility for the care of Cedric in his later years.

A painting, which now hangs in the home of Gladys' grandson, Gregory and his family in Fulham, London, further illustrates the nature of the connection between Gladys and David. Featured here, it states clearly on the back of the painting that it was purchased in 1961 by Mrs. C. G. Lindo. Gladys and David connected directly and individually on their own terms through art. She supported him financially and invested in his gallery and works.

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[166] David Hendriks, *Living with Art* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1985), 25.

In fact, David's ability to follow this path and establish himself in the art world and open a gallery were due to Gladys' support in a range of areas. Her contacts were useful to him, as Maxine confirmed with regard to an Irish teacher friend of Gladys' in Jamaica whose sister had helped David find a place in Dublin.[167] Gladys' transnational introductions, 'unofficial agency' and networking skills were congruently deployed across her personal and her professional relationships.

Maxine explained how Cedric maintained the relationship with David on behalf of Gladys towards what would be the end of both Gladys' and David's lives. The illness which Cedric describes as Gladys' 'failing years' in his dedication to David was breast cancer and what Maxine recalls as a period of depression when Gladys did not/could not get out of bed.[168] Gladys' death certificate states pneumonia as the cause of death, so there is some disagreement between the official record and the family memory as to the terms of her death. Gladys and David did not see much of each other at the end of their lives, which was a cause of sadness for them both, Gladys was no longer travelling long distances and David did not return to Jamaica but died of cancer in Dublin in 1983. Gladys' illness at the end of her life may have been an influence on her invisibility, and on the increased role of Cedric in managing their working life, relationships, and public facing position. Gladys was much older than Cedric and it is clear that she made plans for his security for when she was gone. This is important to consider in the way that Gladys has been positioned behind Cedric, and may not have been unintentional. Indeed, as we shall see later in this chapter, letters in the BBC archives that detail the final years of Gladys' employment provide clear evidence of Gladys' own hand in steering the handover of responsibility and role to Cedric.

Cedric continued to live in the home that he and Gladys had shared, on Gladys'

[167] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.
[168] Cedric Lindo; Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021.

arrangement. Later when he became less able to take care of himself, he moved to live at Abbey Court, and when he passed away he requested that his ashes be scattered in two locations, on Gladys' grave, and on the foundations of the home they had shared.

Cedric's life was entwined with Gladys' and they took care of each other. He built strong and lasting relationships with Gladys' sons and was a loving and memorably present and playful grandpa to Maxine and Gregory. Most relevant to our question of Gladys' lost legacy though, is that Gladys took the lead in practical matters, providing the financial security and as we shall see in the following sections of this chapter, arranging suitable employment for Cedric at the BBC so that by Gladys' own design her literary role at the BBC and along with it the acknowledgement for her achievements were transferred to him. This appears to have been arranged by Gladys and Cedric to support the changing balance of Cedric and Gladys' abilities and needs as they aged and in preparation for Cedric's life after Gladys' death. This interpretation is drawn from a sequence of events articulated in correspondence at the BBC Written Archives which preceded the termination of Gladys' role as BBC literary representative in 1956, the evidence of which I will refer to and analyse later in this chapter.

Gladys was independent in life as the manner of her burial also suggests. She was not buried in a family grave, nor did she arrange to anyone's knowledge to lie alongside Cedric. She is buried in the churchyard of the Baptist Church where she was a dedicated member of the congregation. The inscription on her gravestone is short but speaks of the life of a woman who knew and decided who she was through intentional affiliation with names and allegiances. 'Gladys R. Lindo nee Hendriks', references her mother's maiden name, her own maiden name, and the surname of the man she happily married. It does not mention Williams, the surname of her children, which she and David both discarded. Ronald kept it, and thus the family line continues in his name.

This provides a very good example of the ways in which names can affect history, what we know, who we know and can make sense of and connect with and to each other. Gladys' name reflected her authentically and did not serve or prioritise her public reputation or legacy above her own allegiances and preferences. Gladys, it seems, did not make choices which suggest that she valued being known or remembered. An important consideration when seeking to understand why she wasn't known or remembered is that she was not trying to be.

The Naming and Un-naming of Gladys: How We Knew Her/Now You See Her

I have mapped Gladys' life and the transitions she went through as constructed by the ways in which her name changed from her birth in 1899 to her death in 1981, and the associated people and experiences they relate to.

Gladys has remained unnamed throughout Caribbean literary history, so it is especially important to pay attention to and acknowledge her name now, how naming practices and choices have both served to define her and to conceal her from view.

Names are important, especially for women, whose identities are given, renewed, redacted, reinstated, replaced, substituted for pseudonyms, concealed, written over, reconstructed, denied, hidden, and tied to the men they are related to by blood, by marriage, and by the names given to and given away by their children and grandchildren.

When looking to see if I could find any surviving relations of the 'Mrs. Gladys R. Lindo' I had found at the bottom of so many letters to the BBC, I was hampered by the fact that the surnames of her sons were Williams. In all professional documentation Gladys was writing and contracted at the BBC as 'Lindo' in the active period in which I found her, thus losing any reference or direct connection to her sons and grandchildren in official records and making her history hard to find and her association to her children and grandchildren difficult

to trace. This is a common and obvious barrier to women's work being attributed to them, with particular reference to their heritage, ancestry, legacy, and relatives.

Maxine's younger brother, Gregory Williams, migrated to Canada to study and later settled in London with his wife, Jennifer Fitt and their three daughters. They were relatively easy to trace through Gregory's name having remained the same his whole life, though this line is soon to be challenged as his wife has kept her surname and their three daughters, Gladys' great granddaughters will be affected depending on their own choices.

Maxine Williams didn't marry or change her name, she left Jamaica to study at the University of York, England, and returned to Jamaica where she prepared to become a diplomat until caring responsibilities for her mother, Henriette, took priority. Maxine later set up her own business and now lives and works in Kingston. By keeping her surname and starting a business Maxine remained and became recognisable in association with her family's heritage and by her own achievements. We record and find notable people, and we search by association. It is clear that the loss of women's legacies is more prevalent as the thread of names that we follow is broken repeatedly for women whenever they change their name, and professional attributions offer an opportunity to put women's legacies on the knowable map, if they choose to be defined by them. This is a point of relevance for the implications of Gladys's recovery explored in Chapter Five, as some of the Jamaican literary women interviewees and I grappled with the desire not to erase our own or other women's legacies whilst still finding the idea of admitting to such self-promotion and intentional acts which acknowledge a wish for our achievements to be remembered and recognised.

It is interesting to see how the above demonstrates the difficulty in tracing modern day relatives of Gladys back to her, but what of Gladys herself? Where did her journey in being named and unnamed begin and end?

Equipped with a sense of Gladys' personal life, relationships, and heritage, it is

possible to analyse her experience with respect for the balance of Gladys' experience as an individual and as a professional. In the following section I discuss the factors at that time that contributed to her lack of visibility and towards the resulting loss of her legacy afterwards.

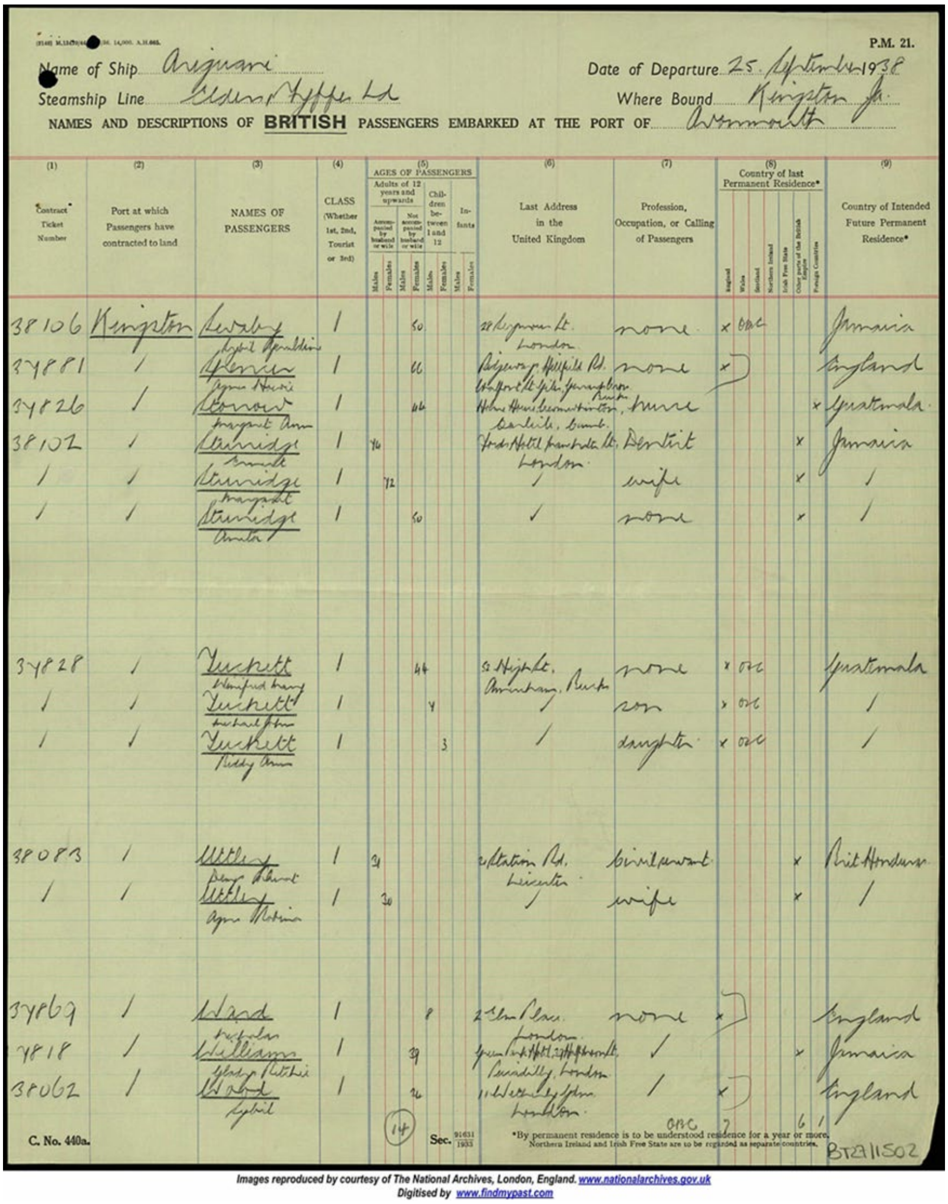
Why Was Gladys Lindo Overlooked at the Time?

Numerous reasons for Gladys Lindo being overlooked during her time have been brought to light through this research. The social norms, attitudes and expectations of her time created an environment in which women were not expected to inhabit such a powerful, public role. This led to Gladys' position being conducted behind the scenes and shaped her methods and recognisability. Further to this, her position in Jamaica put her out of view of people of influence in the UK. She was not understood, recompensed, or acknowledged for the significance of her work as it was not fully understood by her BBC colleagues, and the work that she did was often the negative and more challenging stuff of rejections, much less likely to be celebrated or shouted from the rooftops by those involved. Like Marson before her and Cecil Madden's dismissive attitude of her, this lack of awareness and acknowledgement of Gladys' significance to the BBC's success may have been utilised to receive the gains for her work and insight without allocating it to her or recompensing her appropriately. This relates to a core reason for Gladys being overlooked in her time, the roles, attitudes, and positions of other people. Four key people are discussed, namely John Grenfell-Williams, Head of the Colonial Service and long-term colleague and friend of Gladys and Cedric; Henry Swanzy, Cedric Lindo, and Gladys herself. In this section I discuss how the above factors conspired to diminish and divert attention away from Gladys' significance in shaping Caribbean literary development at the time.

It is my contention that Gladys Lindo is not part of the prevailing historical account due to the fact that she inhabited defining and restrictive intersecting spheres of gender and

place, at a potent historical moment in time. With regard to gender, as a woman, Gladys was not expected to take a leading professional role, and her achievements and strengths were diminished in a structure that automatically attributed power and influence to men.

With regard to place, Lindo was born and settled in Jamaica, visiting the United Kingdom only on occasion, as a child with her parents, with both her first and second husband and children and, on at least one occasion, travelling alone in 1938, as demonstrated by passenger lists at the National Archives, London, England (fig. 4.3).


P.M. 21.

Name of Ship Ariguani

Date of Departure 25 September 1938

Steamship Line Elders & Fyffes Ld

Where Bound Kingston Ja.

NAMES AND DESCRIPTIONS OF BRITISH PASSENGERS EMBARKED AT THE PORT OF Avonmouth

(1) Contract Ticket Number	(2) Port at which Passengers have contracted to land	(3) Names of Passengers	(4) Class (Whether 1st, 2nd, Tourist or 3rd)	(5) Ages of Passengers	(6) Last Address in the United Kingdom	(7) Profession, Occupation, or Calling of Passengers	(8) Country of last Permanent Residence*	(9) Country of Intended Future Permanent Residence*
38106	Kingston	[illegible]	1	50	[illegible] London	none	x	Jamaica
37881	/	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	none	x	England
37826	/	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	x	Guatemala
38102	/	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible] London	Dentist	x	Jamaica
/	/	[illegible]	1	72	/	wife	x	/
/	/	[illegible]	1	50	/	none	x	/
37828	/	Tuckett	1	44	[illegible]	none	x	Guatemala
/	/	Tuckett	1	[illegible]	/	son	x	/
/	/	Tuckett	1	3	/	daughter	x	/
38083	/	Utley	1	[illegible]	[illegible] Station Rd. Leicester	[illegible]	x	Brit Honduras
/	/	Utley	1	30	/	wife	x	/
37869	/	Ward	1	8	[illegible] London	none	x	England
7818	/	Williams, Gladys Ritchie	1	39	[illegible] Piccadilly, London	/	x	Jamaica
38062	/	Ward, Sybil	1	[illegible]	[illegible] London	/	x	England

C. No. 440a.

Sec. 91631/1935

*By permanent residence is to be understood residence for a year or more. Northern Ireland and Irish Free State are to be regarded as separate countries.

BT27/1502

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Digitised by www.findmypast.com

Figure 4.3. Gladys Lindo travels to Jamaica from Avonmouth under her first husband's surname, Williams, 25 September 1938
Archival image reproduced courtesy of the National Archives, London.

With regard to time, Gladys Lindo was born in 1899 and was working in her professional role for the BBC in London during WW2 and in pre-independence Jamaica.

Lindo's Jamaica-based role put her at a significant disadvantage, with the United Kingdom, and London in particular, utilizing the BBC at this time to retain its cultural influence and reach in countries grappling with independence. The historical era was vital too, as migration from the Caribbean to the United Kingdom increased and new opportunities and dynamics were forged among Caribbean writers who met with writers from other Caribbean countries – often for the first time—as well as with new possibilities in London. It is in this context that Lindo found herself both vital to the process of selecting and soliciting local writings for a London-based broadcast of *Caribbean Voices* and also easily, perhaps necessarily, denied acknowledgement.

Furthermore, Gladys' necessary methods and position meant that she conducted her role through written correspondence, and therefore her visibility in either Jamaica, the UK, or the other Anglophone Caribbean countries she represented, was limited or non-existent in public spaces. The mode which enabled and ensured the role to Gladys in Jamaica was also responsible for her work being invisible to the majority of those involved, contributing to her being overlooked.

This leads on to the way in which individuals affected Gladys Lindo's invisibility during her lifetime. Most significant are Grenfell Williams, Henry Swanzy, Cedric Lindo, and Gladys herself.

John Grenfell Williams, Bernard Moore, and BBC's Terrible Institutional Memory

The sudden death of John Grenfell Williams in December 1954 resulted in the immediate loss of institutional memory about Gladys Lindo. As evidenced by the extensive correspondence between them in the BBC Written Archives spanning a thirteen-year period,

Gladys and Grenfell Williams worked to establish the BBC in Jamaica together from 1943, preceding the establishment of Swanzy and supporting the success of *Caribbean Voices* in terms of its connection with and representation of the region. The letters between Gladys and Grenfell Williams provided extensive proof of Gladys' significance beyond her work for the *Caribbean Voices* programme, it would appear that Grenfell Williams possessed an intricate understanding of Gladys, Cedric, and the Jamaican side of the BBC's operation. He had great respect for them as individuals and professionals, demonstrated by the regularity and manner of their communications and his reliance on them to host important friends and colleagues when they visited Jamaica. The letters between Grenfell Williams, Gladys, and Cedric not only show the extent of Gladys' work but also the reliance upon her. When Grenfell Williams died suddenly in 1954 a personal note was sent to Gladys and Cedric to inform them, as it was understood that they were close enough to warrant such respect.

> 29th December 1954
>
> PERSONAL
>
> Dear Gladys and Cedric,
>
> I know that it will be a shock and a source of much sorrow to you to learn that John Grenfell Williams died suddenly the day before yesterday. We here know that we shall miss him a great deal, but even so we probably do not yet know how much. Your feeling, I know, will be of the same kind. I am not sure by what means or how soon the sad news will reach you through the ordinary channels. That is why I am writing to you quickly and briefly now.
>
> Yours sincerely,
>
> (O. J. Whitley)
>
> Head of General Overseas Service'[169]

[169] O.J. Whitley to Gladys and Cedric Lindo, 29 December 1954.

Following this sudden loss, Bernard Moore was employed as Grenfell Williams' replacement as the new Head of Colonial Services, and the experience of Moore and other BBC colleagues attempting to piece together the working practices and patterns in the Caribbean reveals how much of the understanding of Gladys' work had been held only by Grenfell Williams. Moore sends an internal memo to BBC colleagues in March 1955 with the subject title 'Mrs. G. R. Lindo' which reads:

> With the best will in the world I find it impossible, after only a few weeks in office, to attempt to report on Mrs. Lindo about whom I know nothing whatsoever. I should appreciate any guidance you feel that you can give me on this. (B. Moore)[170]

Frustrating for Moore yet illuminating in the search for answers about how Gladys Lindo was overlooked due to ignorance about the importance of her role by the BBC in London, BBC colleagues prove unable to explain the role of Gladys or the workings of *Caribbean Voices* in the absence of Grenfell Williams. Internal communications in response to Moore's memo demonstrate the limited understanding the BBC possessed in London of the working practices in the Caribbean. Grenfell Williams knew the value and importance of the work in Jamaica and how it had been shaped and fulfilled by Gladys, his death likely contributed to her being unacknowledged for her contribution. In addition, his death reveals that Gladys' role and responsibilities were not understood by BBC colleagues nor were they reflected adequately in her contract which ought to have provided a record of her duties. Gladys once more is required to account for her own oversight and writes to Moore giving a detailed explanation of her role and the workings of it.[171] The letter is featured below (fig 4.4) because as well as demonstrating how Gladys was overlooked, it also provides a rare description of the details of Gladys' professional contribution at the BBC in her own words.

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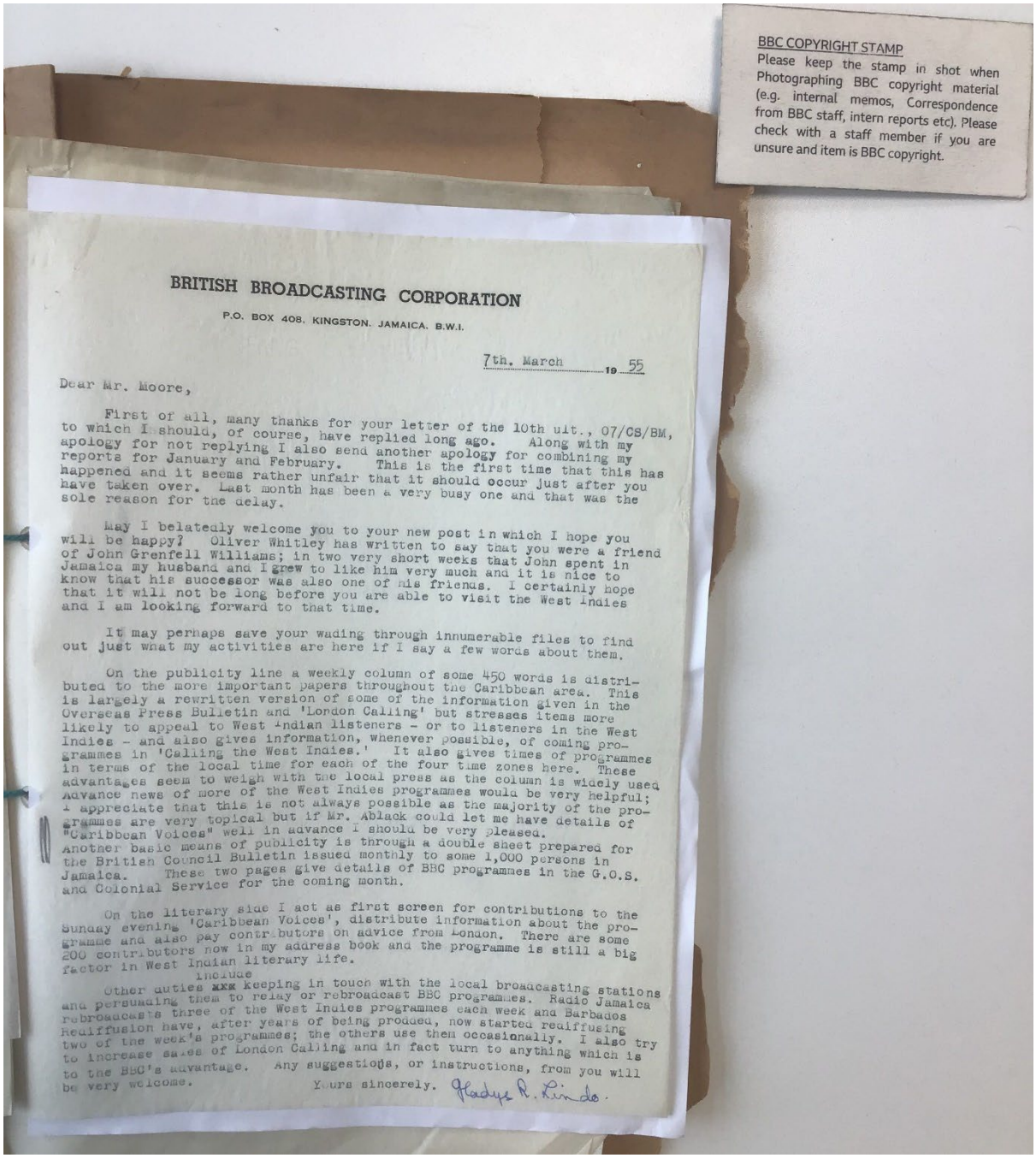
[170] Bernard Moore internal memo to A.C.O.S. 2 March 1955.
[171] Gladys Lindo to Bernard Moore, 7 March 1955.



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BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

P.O. BOX 408, KINGSTON, JAMAICA, B.W.I.

7th. March 19 55

Dear Mr. Moore,

First of all, many thanks for your letter of the 10th ult., 07/CS/BM, to which I should, of course, have replied long ago. Along with my apology for not replying I also send another apology for combining my reports for January and February. This is the first time that this has happened and it seems rather unfair that it should occur just after you have taken over. Last month has been a very busy one and that was the sole reason for the delay.

May I belatedly welcome you to your new post in which I hope you will be happy? Oliver Whitley has written to say that you were a friend of John Grenfell Williams; in two very short weeks that John spent in Jamaica my husband and I grew to like him very much and it is nice to know that his successor was also one of his friends. I certainly hope that it will not be long before you are able to visit the West Indies and I am looking forward to that time.

It may perhaps save your wading through innumerable files to find out just what my activities are here if I say a few words about them.

On the publicity line a weekly column of some 450 words is distributed to the more important papers throughout the Caribbean area. This is largely a rewritten version of some of the information given in the Overseas Press Bulletin and 'London Calling' but stresses items more likely to appeal to West Indian listeners - or to listeners in the West Indies - and also gives information, whenever possible, of coming programmes in 'Calling the West Indies.' It also gives times of programmes in terms of the local time for each of the four time zones here. These advantages seem to weigh with the local press as the column is widely used. Advance news of more of the West Indies programmes would be very helpful; I appreciate that this is not always possible as the majority of the programmes are very topical but if Mr. Ablack could let me have details of "Caribbean Voices" well in advance I should be very pleased.
Another basic means of publicity is through a double sheet prepared for the British Council Bulletin issued monthly to some 1,000 persons in Jamaica. These two pages give details of BBC programmes in the G.O.S. and Colonial Service for the coming month.

On the literary side I act as first screen for contributions to the Sunday evening 'Caribbean Voices', distribute information about the programme and also pay contributors on advice from London. There are some 200 contributors now in my address book and the programme is still a big factor in West Indian literary life.

Other duties include keeping in touch with the local broadcasting stations and persuading them to relay or rebroadcast BBC programmes. Radio Jamaica rebroadcasts three of the West Indies programmes each week and Barbados Rediffusion have, after years of being prodded, now started rediffusing two of the week's programmes; the others use them occasionally. I also try to increase sales of London Calling and in fact turn to anything which is to the BBC's advantage. Any suggestions, or instructions, from you will be very welcome.

Yours sincerely. Gladys R. Lindo.

Figure 4.4. Gladys Lindo to Bernard Moore, 7 March 1955

Helpfully, to both Moore and to the contemporary researcher interested in restoring Gladys Lindo's legacy, Gladys also sends Moore her usual monthly report but embellishes it with an illustrative explanation of the professional situation regarding herself and Cedric. Gladys explains:

At the next informal meeting of the P.E.N. Club the Jamaica branch my husband is to

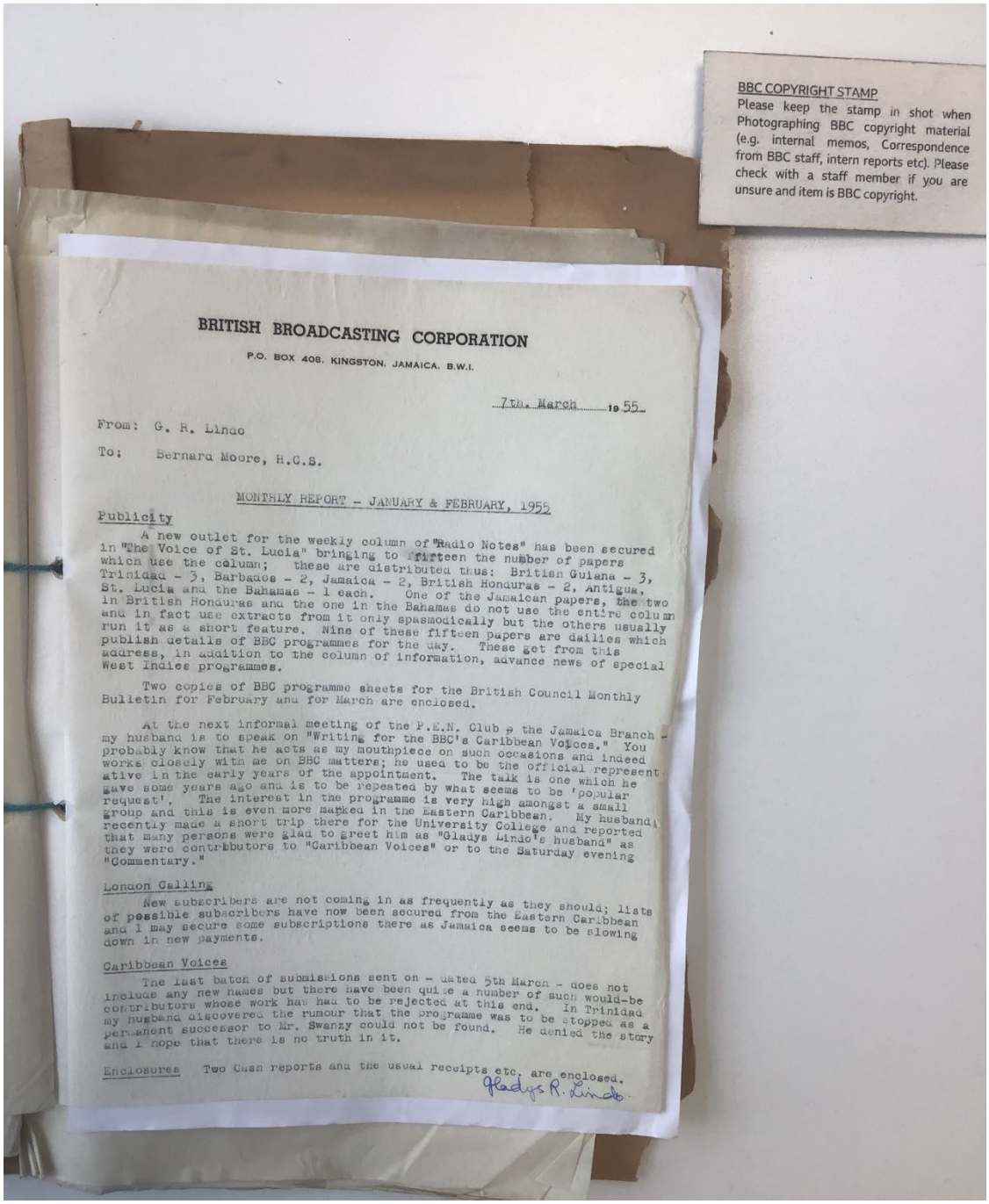
> speak on 'Writing for the BBC's Caribbean Voices'. You probably know that he acts as my mouthpiece on such occasions and indeed works closely with me on BBC matters; he used to be the official representative in the early years of the appointment. The talk is one which he gave some years ago and is to be repeated by what seems to be 'popular request'. The interest in the programme is very high amongst a small group and this is even more marked in the Eastern Caribbean. My husband recently made a short trip there for the University College and reported that many persons were glad to greet him as 'Gladys Lindo's husband' as they were contributors to 'Caribbean Voices' or to the Saturday evening 'Commentary'.[172]

While Gladys states that Moore 'probably know[s]' that Cedric 'acts as my mouthpiece on such occasions' it is clear from the internal memos that he and his BBC colleagues know nothing of the sort about Gladys or Cedric's arrangement. Gladys may or may not be aware of this, and it is intriguing to consider why she chooses to provide this clear explanation now to Moore, having been more reserved in her letters to numerous previous producers who replaced Swanzy when they sought clarification about her role and duties. It may simply be the fact of Moore's seniority, given that he is replacing Grenfell Williams as Head of the Colonial Service, and Gladys would naturally expect him to be privy to more information about her role and the Caribbean side of the operation than stand-in producers. Whatever her motivations are in giving this explanation, it is vitally important as evidence of her role, the arrangement with Cedric, and in demonstrating some of the reasons why she has been lost.

When Gladys writes to Moore that Cedric reported from his trip to the Eastern Caribbean 'that many persons were glad to greet him as 'Gladys Lindo's husband'[173] she

[172] Gladys Lindo to Bernard Moore, H.C.S. 7 March 1955.
[173] Gladys Lindo to Bernard Moore, H.C.S. 7 March 1955.

provides her understanding of their professional arrangement in no uncertain terms. Gladys Lindo has been the BBC literary representative for the Anglophone Caribbean since 1946, whether the BBC knew and acknowledged it or not. She had taken over from her husband's early efforts in 1946 when Una Marson left the BBC and consequently a significant gap in the BBC's ability to understanding and connect with literary culture in the Caribbean.



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BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

P.O. BOX 408. KINGSTON. JAMAICA. B.W.I.

7th. March 1955

From: G. R. Lindo

To: Bernard Moore, H.C.S.

MONTHLY REPORT - JANUARY & FEBRUARY, 1955

Publicity

A new outlet for the weekly column of "Radio Notes" has been secured in "The Voice of St. Lucia" bringing to fifteen the number of papers which use the column; these are distributed thus: British Guiana - 3, Trinidad - 3, Barbados - 2, Jamaica - 2, British Honduras - 2, Antigua, St. Lucia and the Bahamas - 1 each. One of the Jamaican papers, the two in British Honduras and the one in the Bahamas do not use the entire column and in fact use extracts from it only spasmodically but the others usually run it as a short feature. Nine of these fifteen papers are dailies which publish details of BBC programmes for the day. These get from this address, in addition to the column of information, advance news of special West Indies programmes.

Two copies of BBC programme sheets for the British Council Monthly Bulletin for February and for March are enclosed.

At the next informal meeting of the P.E.N. Club of the Jamaica Branch - my husband is to speak on "Writing for the BBC's Caribbean Voices." You probably know that he acts as my mouthpiece on such occasions and indeed works closely with me on BBC matters; he used to be the official representative in the early years of the appointment. The talk is one which he gave some years ago and is to be repeated by what seems to be 'popular request'. The interest in the programme is very high amongst a small group and this is even more marked in the Eastern Caribbean. My husband recently made a short trip there for the University College and reported that many persons were glad to greet him as "Gladys Lindo's husband" as they were contributors to "Caribbean Voices" or to the Saturday evening "Commentary."

London Calling

New subscribers are not coming in as frequently as they should; lists of possible subscribers have now been secured from the Eastern Caribbean and I may secure some subscriptions there as Jamaica seems to be slowing down in new payments.

Caribbean Voices

The last baton of submissions sent on - dated 5th March - does not include any new names but there have been quite a number of such would-be contributors whose work has had to be rejected at this end. In Trinidad my husband discovered the rumour that the programme was to be stopped as a permanent successor to Mr. Swanzy could not be found. He denied the story and I hope that there is no truth in it.

Enclosures Two Cash reports and the usual receipts etc. are enclosed.

Gladys R. Lindo

Figure 4.5. Gladys Lindo to Bernard Moore, Monthly Report, January and February 1955, 7 March 1955

Henry Swanzy

A significant figure in Gladys' story, Swanzy contributed to Gladys being overlooked through a failure to 'see' her or to use his own platform to credit her contribution. There are numerous forms of evidence for this, including the letter from Swanzy to Collymore in 1948 in which he called Gladys 'our bottle-neck in Jamaica' (Chapter Two). While a respected and innovative figure, Swanzy was not a visionary in terms of his perception of women's rights, demonstrating his low professional and literary expectations of women on numerous occasions with his words and what he omitted to platform. Donnell describes that 'although for Swanzy cultural difference was far more operative as a literary category, his vision seems to have accrued complicatedly gendered expectations around women's authentic experience'.[174] This assessment is supported by Gladys' ability to predict a negative response from Swanzy to the submission of women's work, as in her letter of August 1947, where she warns that she knows how he feels about verse written by people of her sex.[175]

It is important to note here that Swanzy was made aware early on in his role as producer for *Caribbean Voices* that he was corresponding with Gladys. She tells him herself in the letter, when she states, '[A]ctually this was before I took over from my husband' (fig. 4.6), evidence that Gladys was writing to Swanzy earlier than 4 August 1947 and not just signing letters dictated by Cedric.[176] Gladys was not employed to do her husband's work, nor was she a mere front for his ideas and selections. Alongside this revelation in type is the handwritten question mark in pen, which was presumably written by the recipient of the letter, either Swanzy himself or a colleague at the BBC in London—expressing perhaps a mixture of confusion and surprise that it is Gladys with whom he had been corresponding, which, as we will go on to discover, bordered on and developed into denial and disbelief.

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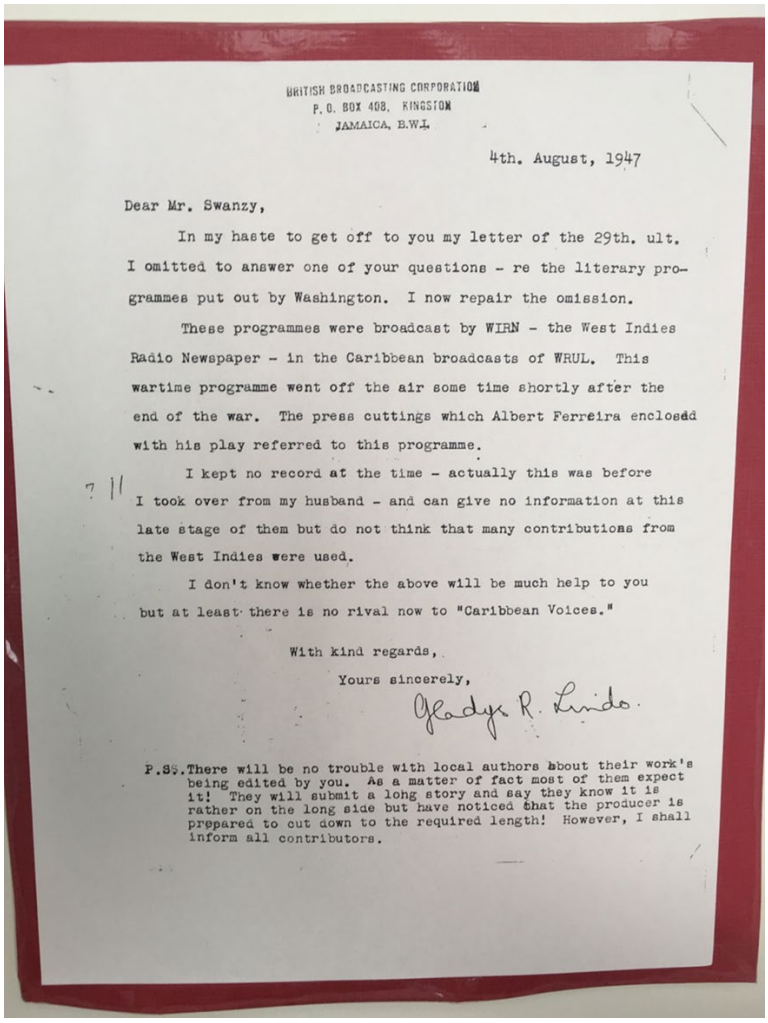
[174] Donnell, 83.
[175] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Henry Swanzy, August 1947, previously quoted,
[176] Letter from Gladys R. Lindo to Henry Swanzy, 4 August 1947.



BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
P. O. BOX 408, KINGSTON
JAMAICA, B.W.I.

4th. August, 1947

Dear Mr. Swanzy,

In my haste to get off to you my letter of the 29th. ult. I omitted to answer one of your questions - re the literary programmes put out by Washington. I now repair the omission.

These programmes were broadcast by WIRN - the West Indies Radio Newspaper - in the Caribbean broadcasts of WRUL. This wartime programme went off the air some time shortly after the end of the war. The press cuttings which Albert Ferreira enclosed with his play referred to this programme.

I kept no record at the time - actually this was before I took over from my husband - and can give no information at this late stage of them but do not think that many contributions from the West Indies were used.

I don't know whether the above will be much help to you but at least there is no rival now to "Caribbean Voices."

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Gladys R. Lindo.

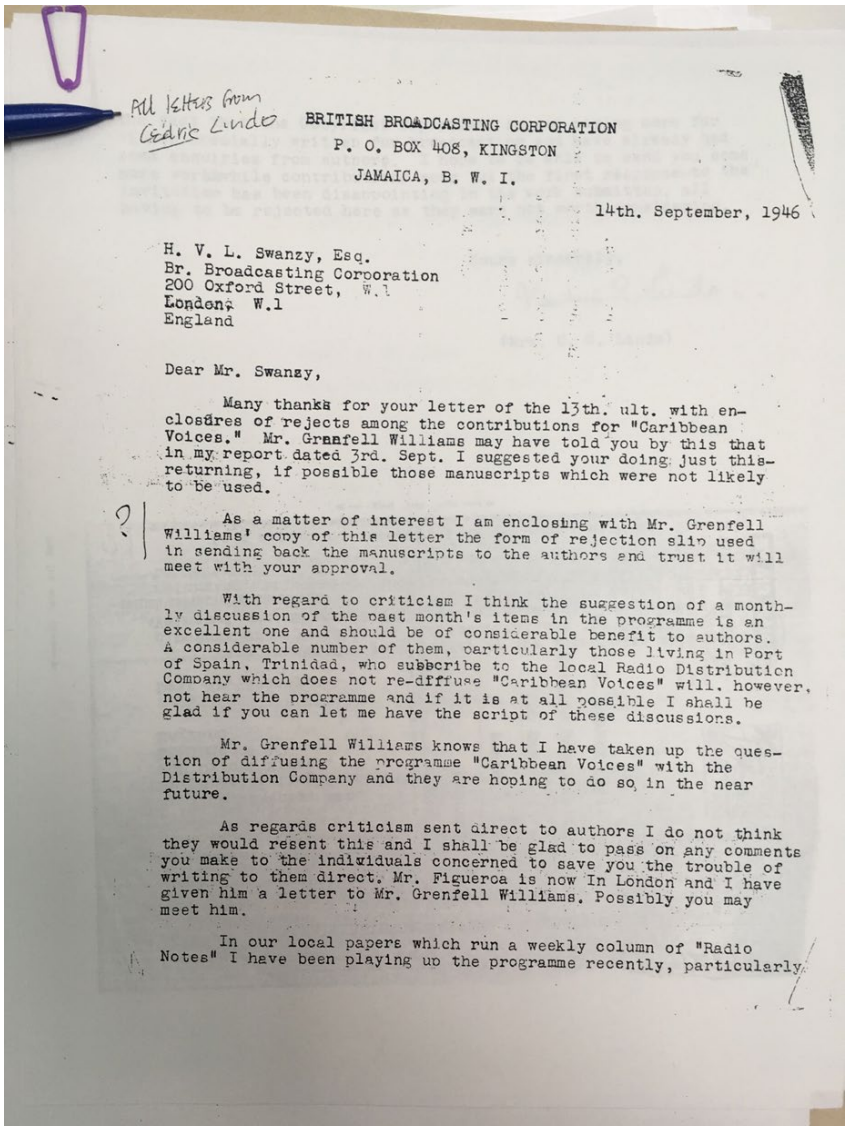
P.S. There will be no trouble with local authors about their work's being edited by you. As a matter of fact most of them expect it! They will submit a long story and say they know it is rather on the long side but have noticed that the producer is prepared to cut down to the required length! However, I shall inform all contributors.

Figure 4.6. Letter from Gladys R. Lindo to Henry Swanzy, 4 August 1947
Source: *Caribbean Voices* Correspondence, Special Collections, UWI, Trinidad.

It seems likely, therefore, that Cedric had begun writing the letters for a short period in 1946, but by 1947 Gladys had taken on the position. We can see evidence of this in another letter dated 14 September 1946 (fig. 4.7), which features two important elements. The first is a handwritten note at the top of the letter, which reads, 'All letters from Cedric Lindo'.[177] The script matches that in the many letters and personal diaries of Swanzy, and the underlining of 'Cedric' suggests that at this early stage Swanzy understood that the letters are from Cedric as opposed to from his wife, Gladys, in whose name the letter is signed. Perhaps this was the early, brief period—when Cedric was doing the work and asking Gladys to sign the letters as

[177] Special Collections, UWI, Trinidad, *Caribbean Voices* Correspondence, Letter from Gladys R. Lindo to Mr. Swanzy, 14 September 1946.

a cover for him—out of which the popular understanding of Gladys as only a cover story for her husband partly grew. It is interesting to note that this letter is signed by hand 'Gladys R. Lindo' but printed beneath is '(Mrs. C. G. Lindo)'.[178] The later letter of 4 August 1947, when Gladys stated that she 'took over' from Cedric, is signed 'Gladys R. Lindo', with no typed reference underneath.[179] Examination of the extensive letters suggests that this pattern persists, and therefore this point of transition represents the switch from Gladys as a cover for Cedric to her becoming the actual author of the letters and agent of their content.



All letters from Cedric Lindo

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
P. O. BOX 408, KINGSTON
JAMAICA, B. W. I.

14th. September, 1946

H. V. L. Swanzy, Esq.
Br. Broadcasting Corporation
200 Oxford Street, W.1
London, W.1
England

Dear Mr. Swanzy,

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th. ult. with enclosures of rejects among the contributions for "Caribbean Voices." Mr. Grenfell Williams may have told you by this that in my report dated 3rd. Sept. I suggested your doing just this- returning, if possible those manuscripts which were not likely to be used.

As a matter of interest I am enclosing with Mr. Grenfell Williams' copy of this letter the form of rejection slip used in sending back the manuscripts to the authors and trust it will meet with your approval.

With regard to criticism I think the suggestion of a monthly discussion of the past month's items in the programme is an excellent one and should be of considerable benefit to authors. A considerable number of them, particularly those living in Port of Spain, Trinidad, who subscribe to the local Radio Distribution Company which does not re-diffuse "Caribbean Voices" will, however, not hear the programme and if it is at all possible I shall be glad if you can let me have the script of these discussions.

Mr. Grenfell Williams knows that I have taken up the question of diffusing the programme "Caribbean Voices" with the Distribution Company and they are hoping to do so in the near future.

As regards criticism sent direct to authors I do not think they would resent this and I shall be glad to pass on any comments you make to the individuals concerned to save you the trouble of writing to them direct. Mr. Figueroa is now in London and I have given him a letter to Mr. Grenfell Williams. Possibly you may meet him.

In our local papers which run a weekly column of "Radio Notes" I have been playing up the programme recently, particularly

Figure 4.7. Letter from Mrs. C. G. Lindo to Mr. Swanzy, 14 September 1946
Source: *Caribbean Voices* Correspondence, Special Collections, UWI, Trinidad.

[178] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Henry Swanzy, 14 September 1946.
[179] Letter from Gladys Lindo to Henry Swanzy, 4 August 1947.

It is clear that from as early as 1947 Gladys was writing letters to the BBC, and in doing so, had used her pen to enter into a challenging and detailed exchange, telling Swanzy that she has noticed his dismissal of women's writing from the region, his preference for prose, and his tendency to exoticize the Caribbean experience by insisting on 'local colour'. The epistolary relationship between two passionate and committed individuals appears to have flourished and brought to the fore exciting writing from the Caribbean shaped by their exchange of knowledge and views, signified by Swanzy's assertion in 1948 in a letter to Gladys: I feel that this is an almost historic exchange we are embarking on!'[180]

This situation makes what followed in 1952 rather startling. After at least five years of correspondence between Gladys and Swanzy, Swanzy made his first and only visit to Jamaica during his tenure as producer of *Caribbean Voices*. The fact that he paid only a solitary visit is in itself surprising, considering the position and influence he held in terms of defining the region's cultural output. It is important to note that Swanzy's wife, Tirzah, had died in 1951 which likely impacted his ability to travel before 1952 and also may have negatively affected his experience of the trip. It might be assumed that, after a significant exchange of correspondence over many years, Swanzy and Gladys would have been intrigued or even keen to meet in person. Quite an astonishing dynamic between them has recently been made visible by the forthcoming work of Chris Campbell who through close analysis of Swanzy's diaries has uncovered materials which suggest that Gladys and Swanzy did not get along when they met, with Swanzy preferring to engage with Cedric.[181] Campbell notes that Swanzy goes so far as to suspect that Gladys has named a stray dog she has rescued after him. Swanzy recollects his feelings about the trip in Ichabod, providing key insights into Swanzy's influence on the erasure of Gladys:

[180] Swanzy to Lindo, MS42, 28 March 1948.
[181] Campbell, 'Mr. Swanzy Goes to Jamaica'.

> I offended Gladys by singing, but at the airport I felt sad. Everyone has been so kind, and although I was not attached at the deepest level, there are many I will remember. Even the Lindos, the ambiguous Gladys, whom I cannot really fathom – Why is the stray dog called Henry? As for Cedric, in many ways an elective affinity. The regulation exchange of letters should from [here] on have a deeper resonance.[182]

By acknowledging that he finds Gladys 'ambiguous', Swanzy confirms that he does not believe that they share an understanding. This is further brought home when he calls Cedric 'an elective affinity' with whom he has made a connection during the trip. By stating that their exchange of letters will therefore have deeper resonance, he allocates the contents of the letters to Cedric. He appears to have decided in the midst of the correspondence that Cedric is his correspondent, despite evidence to the contrary during the previous five years. This dismissal of Gladys' significance when in contact with and in favour of a male correspondent echoes Swanzy's dismissal of Gladys' skills to Collymore in 1948

More than a year after Swanzy's visit to Jamaica, at the end of 1953, Swanzy wrote to the writer Edwina Melville. Despite his apparent state of ignorance of Gladys' meaningful contribution to the work, here he states to Melville that the Lindos are both part of the enterprise. This interpretation appears to remain for the rest of Swanzy's involvement with the Caribbean until 1955, with both Lindo's being understood to be involved but the meaningful work being assumed by Swanzy to be the input of Cedric not Gladys. Swanzy writes to Melville:

> I would say, send them through the Lindo's in Kingston, since otherwise I am rather overloaded with work, but in your case, I will make an exception, since I can imagine what it must be like to live up in your great savannahs, fascinating but tantalising.[183]

---

[182] Swanzy, Diaries, 25 March 1952.
[183] Letter from Henry Swanzy to Edwina Melville, 1953.

In doing so, Swanzy also displayed two further tropes that recur in his work which have contributed to the overlooking of Gladys: first, his preference to correspond directly with favourite authors who often went on to become recognized members of the Caribbean literary canon, and second, a tendency to exoticize the Caribbean experience. Gladys is notable by her omission from certain interactions, such as in Swanzy's letter to Melville and his letters to Harold Telemaque in Trinidad, whom Swanzy believed to be particularly talented and chose to correspond with directly. This caused difficulties for Gladys, and on numerous occasions she wrote letters to London attempting to clarify who had said what to whom, realizing that she had been cut out of the loop, or wrote in reply to an author based in the Caribbean who had already been brought in above her by Swanzy, a frustrating and undermining process over which she had little control. Swanzy's tendency to claim the most successful of the anglophone writers in the Caribbean as his own correspondents diverted attention away from Gladys for her role in bringing their work to a wider audience, as well as removing her relevance from their view. The overlooking of Gladys' role was in part shaped by the success stories being taken by Swanzy and the resulting acclaim and attention following in its wake. The second trope exhibited in Swanzy's letter to Melville also highlights another reason for why Gladys may have been overlooked or even intentionally concealed. As Gladys was able to play an instrumental role in challenging Swanzy's tendency to exoticize Caribbean writers and their writing, for example, by making an important intervention in a letter dated 29 July 1947, found in the *Caribbean Voices* correspondence folders held at UWI in Trinidad. Gladys questions Swanzy's preference for—and asks him for a definition of—writing that is representative of the region, querying whether he means that writers must reside in the Caribbean or write stories set only in the Caribbean to qualify for inclusion:

A few of the short stories which I have been rejecting are not bad but have no

> connection with the West Indies. Will you confirm that these are still unacceptable? My reason for asking is that these writers like the poets say that this restriction seems unfair as the work is genuinely West Indian even if the scene is not. I do not agree with them in all cases but will you give your opinion. With kind regards, Yours sincerely, [signed] Gladys R. Lindo.[184]

Early on in her role, Gladys spoke up, often in opposition to Swanzy, for the writers she represented, based on her own views and feedback gathered from the writers and listeners in the Caribbean with whom she connected. She provoked Swanzy to reconsider whether a story had to be situated in the region to count as Caribbean, making a direct challenge to the position she knew him to hold when she asked him to confirm they were 'still unacceptable?' This work is incredibly important, and credit has largely been given to Swanzy where really it belongs to Gladys who clearly advocated for the change in attitude about what Caribbean writing could encompass. Gladys Lindo was overlooked for this work because it was assimilated into the achievements of Swanzy, but the letters show that this intervention was hers. The work of Fulani depicts the similar contemporary demand in the United States 'for texts that are "representative" and "authentic"'. She suggests that the 'lure' of publication—if writers conform to existing, restrictive notions of authentic Caribbean writing—'may also tempt the writer away from her commitment to contributing to the development of Caribbean literature'.[185] The lure of producing authentic Caribbean writing in order to be given a platform by a gatekeeper like Swanzy in the UK could therefore have prevented the kind of literary development and experimentation from the Caribbean that has come to be prized from this period, yet early on and repeatedly throughout her correspondence with the BBC we see Gladys pushing back against Swanzy and later other London-based BBC producers

[184] Letter from Glady Lindo to Henry Swanzy, 29 July 1947.
[185] Fulani, 'Caribbean Women Writers', 71–72.

and colleagues, for the boundaries of authenticity to be extended to include more than their imagined vision and understanding of what Caribbean literature can be. This is an important example of the careful but considerable interventions made by Lindo that shaped the development of Caribbean literature through *Caribbean Voices* but which have not been attributed to her. This is a clear demonstration of the nature of Gladys' influence on the writing that was selected and promoted, as well as her agency in representing and steering Swanzy's attention to matters with which writers and listeners in the Caribbean were concerned. It is imperative to note the sophisticated way Lindo operated in this bridging role; it matters that she held this position not only because she was a woman in Jamaica but also because of the close attention she paid to it and persuaded Swanzy to take note of as well. Her considerable contributions in terms of scope and theme have been overlooked as they were not acknowledged by Swanzy and because they were assumed to have been him instead.

Cedric Lindo

One of the major contributing factors to Gladys Lindo being overlooked in her role at the time relates to her second husband, Cedric Lindo. This was shaped by a number of elements. Natural assignment of important professional and financial status to men over women, especially husbands as opposed to their wives. The assumption shared by Swanzy, that it was Cedric not Gladys in the role. The belief that it was Cedric not Gladys who had been working in the BBC literary representative role was passed on to influential figures in the Caribbean such as Mervyn Morris and Eddie Baugh when Cedric applied for a job at the University of the West Indies in 1953 using a reference from Grenfell Williams at the BBC which overstated his involvement in order to help him move into a role in the arts and away from the accountancy work he hated for the Banana Company. This belief that it was Cedric not Gladys was compounded by Cedric's public facing persona in Jamaica, while Gladys was

mostly invisible due to her written methods of influence. People saw and heard from Cedric more often and presumed it had always been him. This correlates with the examples shared by their relatives of their personal lives and identities, too. Interestingly and understandably, evidence suggests that writers in Anglophone Caribbean countries other than Jamaica were very clear that Gladys was in charge, as demonstrated by Cedric being greeted as 'Gladys Lindo's husband' as reported to Moore by Gladys in her 7 March 1955 monthly report.

Being able to untangle and reveal how the false narrative was formed that Gladys was only a cover for Cedric in her role represents one of the major turning points and marks a significant set of intervention of this research project. The discovery of what happened to reignite the belief that Cedric had always been in the role of BBC literary representative and Gladys had never been more than a cover for him was uncovered in correspondence held at the BBC Written Archives in folders of material from 1953.

A narrative has been in circulation since the mid-twentieth century that Gladys was only a cover for Cedric. We have seen how Swanzy contributed to this false understanding, and how societal norms and systems assumed such achievements of men. We have also explored how the BBC contributed to this misunderstanding through their lack of understanding about the arrangements in Jamaica with the exception of Grenfell Williams. It has also been considered earlier in the thesis how this narrative took hold in Jamaica amongst important figures such as Mervyn Morris and Eddie Baugh. Yet, this narrative was swiftly discredited by returning to the original source materials in institutional archives which contained numerous examples of letters of 1946 and 1947 from Gladys in Swanzy's own archive at Birmingham, demonstrating specifically Gladys' female agency, as well as by the discovery of comments and corroborations from other editors, critics, and Caribbeanists which will be explored in the final section of this chapter about the gaps and misdirection's in the critical discourse.

1953

What I found in the letters of 1953 in the BBC Written Archives was tangible evidence for how the story came about that it had never been Gladys in the BBC role, a story which came to be cemented in the minds and retellings of influential individuals in both the UK and Jamaica, of Cedric as the real representative and Gladys simply his cover up.

I had considered a number of possibilities as to how this narrative had been formed and was sustained and attempted to understand why it had been so easily believed with little or no evidence to back it up other than hearsay. What had not come to light was any active contribution that set this story in motion.

This arrived in the late stages of my research at the BBC Written Archives in 2021 when, following a significant period of restricted access to institutional archives due to the pandemic, I was able to consult letters in the 1950s from the later date range of Gladys' role up until what was revealed to be the time of her departure and Cedric's succession in 1956. Early hints appeared in the form of Gladys' letters to Grenfell Williams notifying him of her intent to resign as Cedric was hoping to be offered a new job in Canada and they planned to emigrate. Gladys then rescinds her resignation in another letter to Grenfell-Williams in February 1953 because Cedric had not been appointed to the job he had hoped to get in Canada, with Gladys stating 'I shall not be leaving the island early in April as anticipated. If the BBC has not yet made any definite plans with regard to this post I should like to be allowed to withdraw my resignation and continue at least until May 1953'.[186]

There then follow further letters which suggest that Gladys and Cedric are facing financial difficulties and looking to change their employment or relocate away from Jamaica to improve their situation. Indeed, a few months later in a letter to Grenfell Williams, Cedric will write with undisguised glee 'In view of your kind remarks about me when I was applying

[186] Gladys Lindo to Grenfell Williams, 11 February 1953.

for the post in Trinidad I must drop you a line to say that the Lindos are once again financially solvent. In other words Cedric has a job'.[187]

The heart of the matter was articulated by both Gladys and Cedric in letters to Grenfell Williams as the need for a new job for Cedric to replace his much-hated role in accounting. This is most clearly demonstrated by a significant letter on 28 February 1953 from Cedric to Grenfell Williams requesting a reference to help him move into the arts.

20 Hope Road,

Halfway Tree,

Jamaica, B.W.I.

28th Feb. 1953

Dear John,

As Gladys told you last year I gave up my job at the Jamaica Banana Producers Association at the end of September, 1952. I needed very much to get out of this office and, if possible, of accounting which is a dead end and unsatisfying emotionally.

This is probably all stale news to you but is just being recapitulated because I'm about to ask you to do me a favour. You need not get scared; it isn't anything that will embarrass you!

The Caribbean Commission want an Assistant Information Officer and while the salary is not particularly attractive it's the sort of post I'd like and would assist me greatly in this step that I wish to make away from the world of accountants. I am applying for the post and wondered whether you'd mind giving me a recommendation. In my application I am playing up my BBC work—including quoting from some of

[187] Cedric Lindo to Grenfell Williams, 18 July 1953.

Willy Edmett's comments on our news cables!—and saying that while Mrs G. R. Lindo has been the representative since 1946 the work has been done by me with the approval of the BBC in London. If this is out of order please say so.

They—the Commission—have not asked for inclusion of recommendations but only references but what with the distance and all that I think it would help my case if I sent one or two along with my application. If you'd rather not – because of BBC policy or any other reason—please don't be afraid to say so. I promise I shan't hold it against you.

In case you are not averse to so doing I give below an extract from their requirements:-

'Applicants should have had previous journalistic or public relations experience. The Assistant Information Officer is required to develop and maintain sources of information, to collect and prepare material for publication in the Commission's Monthly Information Bulletin, and for use in its weekly radio programme; to prepare press releases and arrange interviews, and to perform other duties in connection with the printing and dissemination of publications handled by the Information Section'.

This request may look as if I'm persuading you to push the Lindo combination away from the BBC but I think it inevitable that this will take place shortly either from your end or ours'.

From this moment in 1953 when Gladys and Cedric state their intention to seek work which suits them better in terms of their interests and financial difficulties, the journey towards the reattribution of the BBC literary representative role and its achievements from a barely acknowledged Gladys to an officially celebrated Cedric can be clearly charted, culminating in 1956 when Gladys is officially let go and Cedric instated in her place.

This is an incredibly important series of letters. Vitally, they reconfirm that Cedric had been working up until now in another role which he did not like, and from which he wished to be rescued in order to work in the arts which was his preferred passion. These letters directly place Gladys as the BBC literary representative who has been officially and actually working in this role while Cedric has not. They demonstrate that Gladys and Cedric were both aware of their circumstances and worked together to try and navigate a new position for Cedric which would suit them better. It is useful here to look at the timeline of events that analysis of the 1953 letters has revealed:

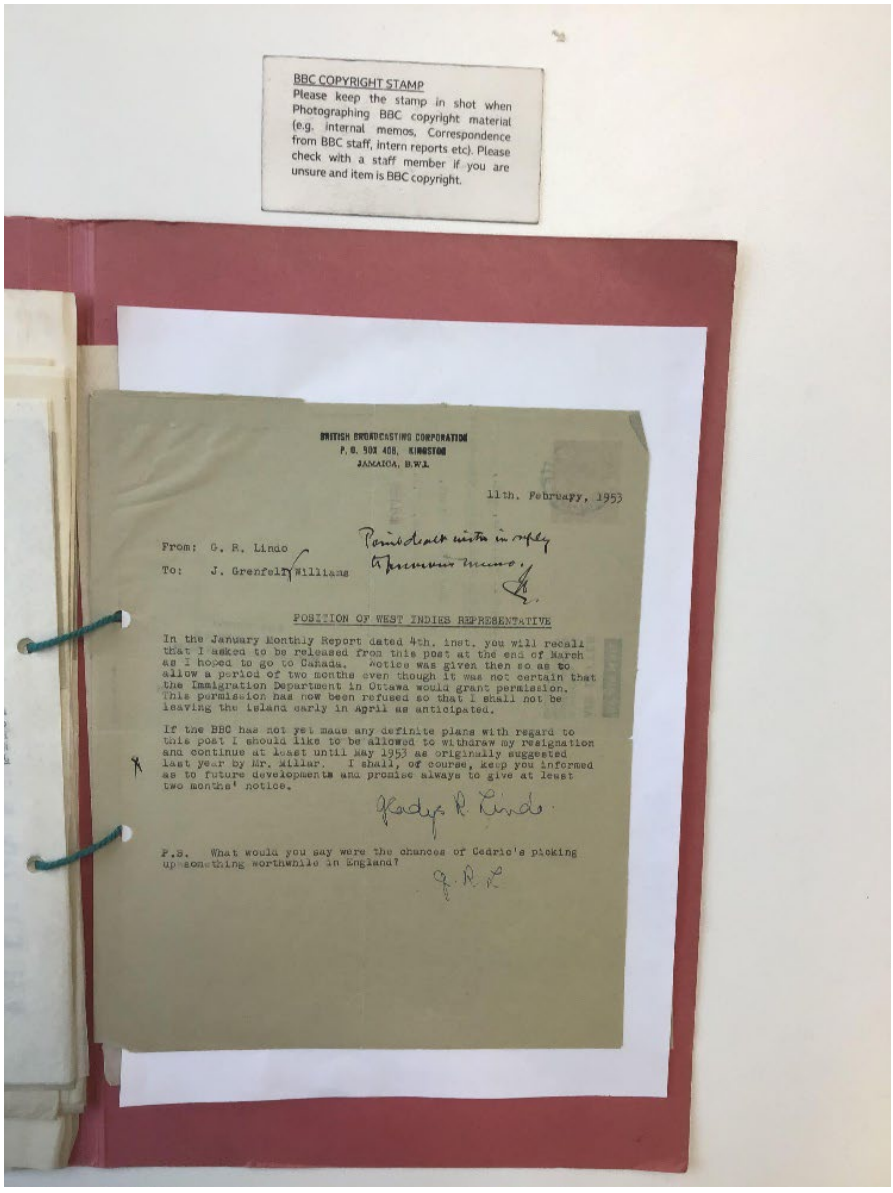
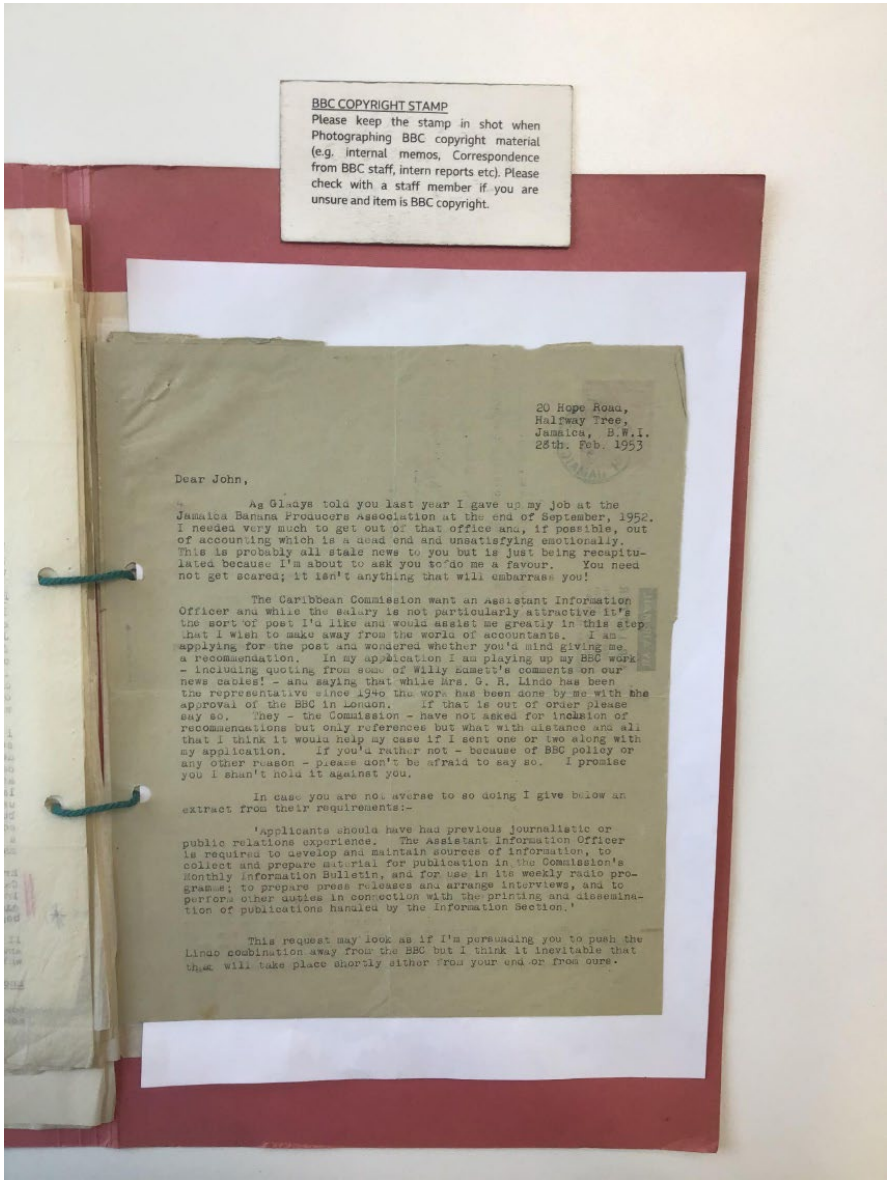


Figure 4.8. 11 February 1953, Letter from Gladys Lindo to Grenfell Williams

- 11 February 1953: Gladys rescinds her resignation because Cedric has not been offered a job in Canada and asks Grenfell Williams if she can stay on, adding what will transpire to be a significant post-script enquiring whether there might be a job for Cedric in England. 'P.S. What would you say where the chances of Cedric's picking up something worthwhile in England?'[188]



20 Hope Road,
Halfway Tree,
Jamaica, B.W.I.
28th. Feb. 1953

Dear John,

As Gladys told you last year I gave up my job at the Jamaica Banana Producers Association at the end of September, 1952. I needed very much to get out of that office and, if possible, out of accounting which is a dead end and unsatisfying emotionally. This is probably all stale news to you but is just being recapitulated because I'm about to ask you to do me a favour. You need not get scared; it isn't anything that will embarrass you!

The Caribbean Commission want an Assistant Information Officer and while the salary is not particularly attractive it's the sort of post I'd like and would assist me greatly in this step that I wish to make away from the world of accountants. I am applying for the post and wondered whether you'd mind giving me a recommendation. In my application I am playing up my BBC work - including quoting from some of Willy Sumet's comments on our news cables! - and saying that while Mrs. G. R. Lindo has been the representative since 1940 the work has been done by me with the approval of the BBC in London. If that is out of order please say so. They - the Commission - have not asked for incamion of recommendations but only references but what with distance and all that I think it would help my case if I sent one or two along with my application. If you'd rather not - because of BBC policy or any other reason - please don't be afraid to say so. I promise you I shan't hold it against you.

In case you are not averse to so doing I give below an extract from their requirements:-

'Applicants should have had previous journalistic or public relations experience. The Assistant Information Officer is required to develop and maintain sources of information, to collect and prepare material for publication in the Commission's Monthly Information Bulletin, and for use in its weekly radio programme; to prepare press releases and arrange interviews, and to perform other duties in connection with the printing and dissemination of publications handled by the Information Section.'

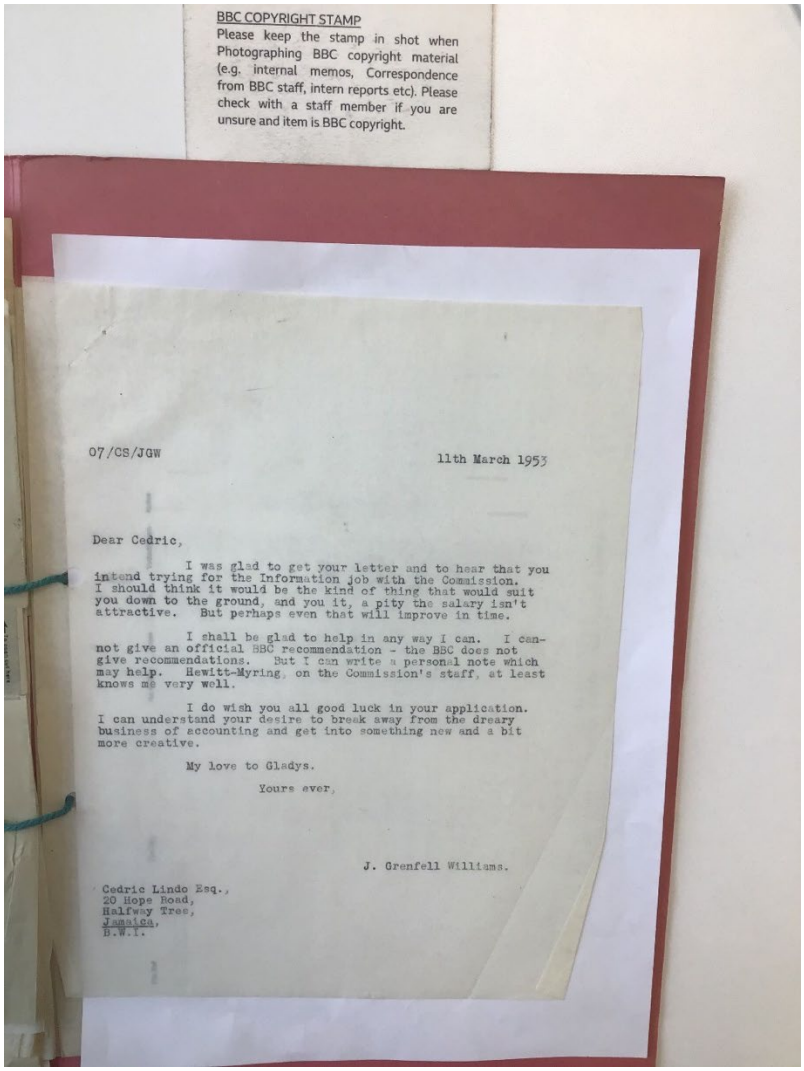
This request may look as if I'm persuading you to push the Lindo combination away from the BBC but I think it inevitable that that will take place shortly either from your end or from ours.

Figure 4.9. February 1953, Letter from Cedric Lindo to Grenfell Williams

- 28th February 1953: Cedric writes to Grenfell Williams requesting a recommendation

[188] Gladys Lindo to Grenfell Williams, 11 February 1953.

'playing up my BBC work—including quoting from Willy Edmett's comments on our news cables!—and saying that while Mrs G. R. Lindo has been the representative since 1946 the work has been done by me with the approval of the BBC in London'. The letter ends with Cedric simultaneously acknowledging that both Lindo's have been working for the BBC when he writes: 'This request may look as if I'm persuading you to push the Lindo combination away from the BBC but I think it inevitable that this will take place shortly either from your end or ours'.[189] This moment reveals the reason and the recommendation that actually began the story of Cedric in the role of BBC literary representative when it was in fact Gladys.



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07/CS/JGW

11th March 1953

Dear Cedric,

I was glad to get your letter and to hear that you intend trying for the Information job with the Commission. I should think it would be the kind of thing that would suit you down to the ground, and you it, a pity the salary isn't attractive. But perhaps even that will improve in time.

I shall be glad to help in any way I can. I cannot give an official BBC recommendation - the BBC does not give recommendations. But I can write a personal note which may help. Hewitt-Myring, on the Commission's staff, at least knows me very well.

I do wish you all good luck in your application. I can understand your desire to break away from the dreary business of accounting and get into something new and a bit more creative.

My love to Gladys.

Yours ever,

J. Grenfell Williams.

Cedric Lindo Esq.,
20 Hope Road,
Halfway Tree,
Jamaica,
B.W.I.

Figure 4.10. March 1953, Letter from Grenfell Williams to Cedric Lindo

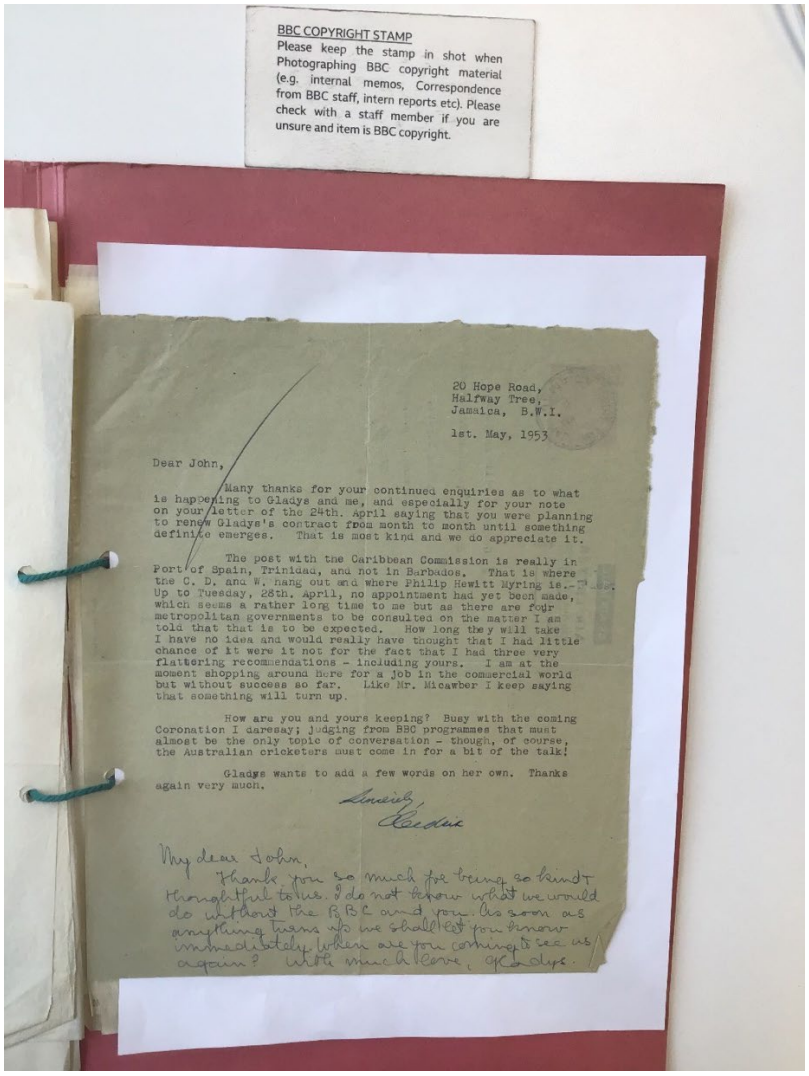
[189] Cedric Lindo to Grenfell-Williams, 28 February 1953.

- 11th March 1953. Grenfell Williams replies to Cedric's request for a recommendation 'I shall be glad to help in any way I can'. In doing so he also confirms that Cedric has been employed in the dreary business of accounting and not in the work of literary representative, by saying 'I do wish you all good luck in your application. I can understand your desire to break away from the dreary business of accounting and get into something new and a bit more creative. My love to Gladys. Yours ever, J. Grenfell Williams'.[190]
- 16th March 1953: Cedric replies to Grenfell Williams thanking him for the prompt reply and explaining 'I hadn't really expected an official recommendation from the BBC and possibly hadn't expressed myself well. Your few words are exactly what I wanted and say far more than I would have dared say for myself'.[191] The details in this letter also confirm that Cedric has been formally employed in accounting, he compares the salary of the new job he is applying for 'it isn't really much of a drop from what I was getting in the Accounting line. We'll see what the gods decide'.[192] Finally, this letter closes with mention of the trip to the UK that Gladys has been arranging with the BBC 'It looks as if that trip to the U.K. about which Gladys and I have been speaking for years has now been further postponed but if this job doesn't come off anything may happen. Gladys sends her love and with renewed thanks and the best wishes from me,

  Sincerely,

  Cedric'.

[190] Grenfell Williams to Cedric Lindo, 11 March 1953.
[191] Cedric Lindo to Grenfell Williams, 16 March 1953.
[192] Cedric Lindo to Grenfell Williams, 16 March 1953.



20 Hope Road,
Halfway Tree,
Jamaica, B.W.I.

1st. May, 1953

Dear John,

Many thanks for your continued enquiries as to what is happening to Gladys and me, and especially for your note on your letter of the 24th. April saying that you were planning to renew Gladys's contract from month to month until something definite emerges. That is most kind and we do appreciate it.

The post with the Caribbean Commission is really in Port of Spain, Trinidad, and not in Barbados. That is where the C. D. and W. hang out and where Philip Hewitt Myring is.- Up to Tuesday, 28th. April, no appointment had yet been made, which seems a rather long time to me but as there are four metropolitan governments to be consulted on the matter I am told that that is to be expected. How long they will take I have no idea and would really have thought that I had little chance of it were it not for the fact that I had three very flattering recommendations - including yours. I am at the moment shopping around here for a job in the commercial world but without success so far. Like Mr. Micawber I keep saying that something will turn up.

How are you and yours keeping? Busy with the coming Coronation I daresay; judging from BBC programmes that must almost be the only topic of conversation - though, of course, the Australian cricketers must come in for a bit of the talk!

Gladys wants to add a few words on her own. Thanks again very much.

Sincerely,
Cedric

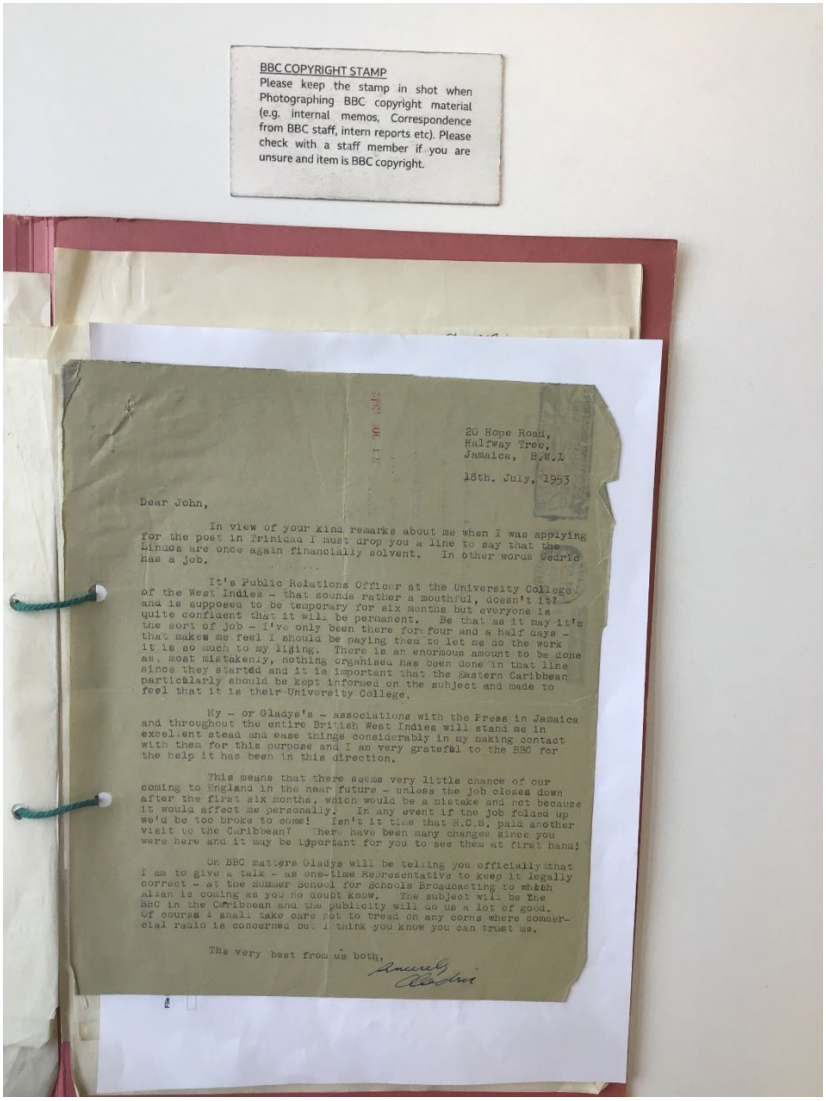
My dear John,
Thank you so much for being so kind & thoughtful to us. I do not know what we would do without the BBC and you. As soon as anything turns up we shall let you know immediately. When are you coming to see us again? With much love, Gladys.

Figure 4.11. May 1953, Letter from Cedric and Gladys Lindo to Grenfell Williams

- 1st May, 1953 First Cedric writes 'Dear John, Many thanks for your continued enquiries as to what is happening to Gladys and me' and then Gladys adds by hand, expressing their gratitude 'Thank you so much for being so kind and thoughtful to us. I do not know what would we do without the BBC and you. As soon as anything turns up we shall let you know immediately. When are you coming to see us again? With much love, Gladys'.[193]

[193] Cedric and Gladys Lindo to Grenfell Williams, 1 May 1953.

- 13th June 1953, Cedric writes to Grenfell Williams to say he didn't get the job in Trinidad.[194]
- 19th June 1953, on her birthday, Gladys writes to again rescind her resignation because Cedric did not get the job he had applied for in Trinidad despite the recommendation 'playing up' his role at the BBC.[195]



20 Hope Road,
Halfway Tree,
Jamaica, B.W.I.

18th. July, 1953

Dear John,

In view of your kind remarks about me when I was applying for the post in Trinidad I must drop you a line to say that the Lindos are once again financially solvent. In other words Cedric has a job.

It's Public Relations Officer at the University College of the West Indies - that sounds rather a mouthful, doesn't it? - and is supposed to be temporary for six months but everyone is quite confident that it will be permanent. Be that as it may it's the sort of job - I've only been there for four and a half days - that makes me feel I should be paying them to let me do the work it is so much to my liking. There is an enormous amount to be done as, most mistakenly, nothing organised has been done in that line since they started and it is important that the Eastern Caribbean particularly should be kept informed on the subject and made to feel that it is their University College.

My - or Gladys's - associations with the Press in Jamaica and throughout the entire British West Indies will stand me in excellent stead and ease things considerably in my making contact with them for this purpose and I am very grateful to the BBC for the help it has been in this direction.

This means that there seems very little chance of our coming to England in the near future - unless the job closes down after the first six months, which would be a mistake and not because it would affect me personally. In any event if the job folded up we'd be too broke to come! Isn't it time that H.D.H. paid another visit to the Caribbean? There have been many changes since you were here and it may be important for you to see them at first hand!

On BBC matters Gladys will be telling you officially that I am to give a talk - as one-time Representative to keep it legally correct - at the Summer School for Schools Broadcasting to which Alsan is coming as you no doubt know. The subject will be The BBC in the Caribbean and the publicity will do me a lot of good. Of course I shall take care not to tread on any corns where Commercial Radio is concerned but I think you know you can trust me.

The very best from us both,

Figure 4.12. 13 July 1953, Letter from Cedric Lindo to Grenfell Williams

- 13th July 1953. Cedric writes to Grenfell Williams, with the news that Cedric has been appointed to a job at the University of West Indies, Mona campus, in Jamaica. 'The

[194] Cedric Lindo to Grenfell Williams, 13 June 1953.
[195] Gladys Lindo to Grenfell Williams, 19 June 1953.

Lindos are once again financially solvent. In other words Cedric has a job'.[196] This job and the means by which Cedric achieved it have proven to be instrumental in compounding the narrative amongst Jamaican academics at UWI, such as Baugh and Morris, who believed that it had been Cedric not Gladys working in the role of BBC literary representative for the past decade. Cedric's letter of recommendation from Grenfell Williams and his own efforts to play up his involvement in place of Gladys' become the official understanding required for Cedric to gain and maintain his much-desired employment in the literary world.

- 21st July, 1953. One last letter in this sequence is worth noting if only for posterity, from Grenfell Williams to Cedric congratulating him on the appointment at UWI. He expresses regret that Cedric and Gladys won't be coming the England 'just yet'. In fact, due to Cedric's appointment, Gladys and Cedric will not make the long-awaited trip to London until 1956 by which time Grenfell Williams will have passed away.[197]

1956

The Lindo's visit to the BBC in London in the summer of 1956 marks the other key moment when Gladys' contribution is overwritten by Cedric. During their visit, Gladys receives a letter addressed to the Hotel Meurice in London where she and Cedric are staying paid for by the BBC. This is a crucial document as it legally proves Gladys' term of employment with the BBC, even though they are simultaneously proving their ignorance of its nature in other internal memos and in the title they name her in which is not representative of the role she has held. On 14th August 1956 Gladys Lindo is sent a short letter officially informing her that her role is over and thanking her specifically with 'warm appreciation of

[196] Cedric Lindo to Grenfell Williams, 13 July 1953.
[197] Grenfell Williams to Cedric Lindo, 21st July 1953.

the work you have done in Jamaica in the ten years since you took over these responsibilities'. The letter opens with reference to 'the arrangements agreed between us' which are not made crystal clear in the written record that is sent to confirm them.

Furthermore, the moment when Gladys Lindo is officially acknowledged for her service is also the moment she is relieved of her position and nominally demoted from the reality of her role of significant agency and responsibility to 'part-time assistant'.[198] This is critical to an understanding of how the significance of her contribution has been lost from history. At key moments such as the termination of her role she is not given full written acknowledgement of her title or work, similarly on her death she is not given an obituary or acknowledgement in the newspapers or publications concerned with persons of interest or significance in the field.

Reference: 07/RWPC

Dear Mrs. Lindo,

In accordance with the arrangements agreed between us, I am now writing formally to give notice of our intention to bring your present contract to an end on 30th September 1956. From 1st October 1956, your husband will take over the duties of part-time assistant in Jamaica.

May I take this opportunity of expressing our warm appreciation of the work you have done in Jamaica in the ten years since you took over these responsibilities.

With all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

(R. W. P. Cockburn)

Head of External Broadcasting Administration

Mrs. G. R. Lindo,

[198] Cockburn to Lindo, 14 August 1956.

c/o Hotel Meurice,

36 Lancaster Gate

W.2.

JMA'

Cedric now replaces his wife and is officially appointed to the role, in a much more publicly and professionally recognised manner. Cedric goes on to receive the recognition and reap the rewards for Gladys' achievements in the role over the previous ten years.

My analysis of the 1953 and 1956 revelations regarding Cedric's journey from a role in accounting via a position at UWI and eventually to replace Gladys in her role as BBC literary representative in terms of how this sequence of events contributed to the loss of Gladys Lindo relate to many aspects of this research. Firstly, it occurred to me that Gladys was not duped by Cedric. She instigated and was intentional in creating the situation where she was trying to get Cedric a job at the BBC. In this way, Gladys can be understood as having been at least partly responsible for contributing to her lack of recognition. Gladys may well have got exactly what she wanted by steering events to pass her role on to her beloved husband. It is difficult to tell when drawing only on professional correspondence exactly what Gladys' feelings about continuing in the role were. It is my intention for further research to visit Dublin and find the letters held in David Hendriks' archive from Gladys, which I suspect will supply a different sensibility, offering some personal context for these decisions and how they were made. It may also be possible to shed light on the home situation of Gladys and Cedric by speaking further with her relatives, particularly her niece and goddaughter, Nicolette Taylor. Nicolette, Micky (A.L.) Hendriks' eldest daughter, lived for a time with Gladys and Cedric and is therefore the oldest surviving relative who may have inside information about their lifestyle during this period.

The job Cedric secures in 1953 at the University of the West Indies is particularly significant because this provides an explanation of how two of the main proponents in Jamaica of the narrative that Gladys had never been the BBC literary representative, Eddie Baugh and Mervyn Morris, came to believe this. Morris and Baugh are writers and academics, employed and involved at the very educational establishment where Cedric began constructing the narrative that he had always been the BBC literary representative in Jamaica.

Gladys Herself

It transpires, then, that Gladys was an influential agent in her own achievements being attributed to her husband, Cedric. She orchestrated her own removal from the BBC role in order that it be passed to her husband, younger and in search of more enjoyable work and financial recompense. In what can be considered the ultimate expression of her agency, Gladys used her knowledge and influential position accrued over thirteen years at the BBC in order to hand over the role to her husband when it suited their personal circumstances for him to take the lead from her and allowed the narrative to take over that it had always been him.

As personal insights from her relatives have revealed, Gladys herself wasn't motivated by a need for recognition or financial reward. Her commitment to the work of furthering the literary development of writers in the anglophone Caribbean was based on genuine interest in this work and her suitability for it. Gladys loved reading, according to her granddaughter, Maxine and according to the hundreds of letters penned by Gladys to the BBC between 1943 and 1956 she was possessed with a great skill, insight, and knowledge in Caribbean literary matters.

Her needs being met in terms of financial security and self-confidence, Gladys' life choices were regularly driven by her own convictions. This is evident throughout her personal life in terms of her choice to divorce her first husband, raise her sons alone, change

her name to suit her sense of self or allegiance, remarry to a younger man, support her homosexual's son's relationship, and choose and donate to charitable causes aligned with her own beliefs in an independent manner – as Maxine explained in terms of her charitable work with two elderly sisters, and Felicia articulated in terms of her unusual (for her family) socialist leanings. [199]

This attitude can be applied to understand Gladys' professional contribution and her own influence in her role being overlooked at the time. Gladys' motivations in her life were in the interests of protecting those she loved and living in an authentic way. External validation was something she was able to do without, and was not the reason for her contribution. Due to this, Gladys did not operate in a way which prioritised her own reputation, which contributed to her remaining largely unknown other than to those writers and the few colleagues she directly corresponded with. As mentioned above, many of whom were the writers who were unsuccessful or outside of the main area of amplification in London at the time, so her methods and position conspired to conceal her contribution.

As Gladys became older she was aware of Cedric's life without her. She became ill. She cared about Cedric and wanted him to be secure when she was gone, making arrangements for him to stay on in the house she owned, and it seems that Gladys chose to hand over the interpretation of this role, and then the role itself, to her husband, too. First, in their shared interests in terms of the balance of their finances, happiness, in light of their heath and age difference, and later in his interests, when he lived on after her. Gladys may not have realised or particularly wanted Cedric to end up receiving credit for all of her work, but this factor was not a central concern for her as she made decisions which ultimately led to this outcome. She may not have minded, she may have been unaware, she may have minded

[199] Interview with Maxine Williams, June 2021; Interview with Felicia Pheasant, November 2021.

but still considered this the necessary, best, or inevitable outcome. In this way, Gladys contributed to her own invisibility during her own time.

Having identified and analysed the factors that contributed to Gladys Lindo's role being overlooked during the years (1940s and 1950s) when she was working as the BBC literary representative in Jamaica, it is my contention that these powerful forces combined to mask the role she played and the significant matter of a Jamaican woman having influence on the direction of anglophone Caribbean literary development at a vital moment in its history.

Record Keeping Practices and Critical Discourse

In the final section of this chapter, I acknowledge that record keeping practices and the types of record which are privileged have shaped the lines of critical discourse and created a mainstream narrative that has further contributed to the loss of Gladys Lindo's legacy, by burying her beneath repeated cycles of publications that dismiss her and failing to question and revisit the evidence and assumptions on which her exclusion was based, in order to recover and restore her role.

Having already identified how naming practices privilege and promote the lineage of the patriarchal line, the disruptive effect this brings to bear on women going unnamed and acknowledged for their achievements in their lifetime, it is possible to chart how this impacts what does and does not follow by way of celebrated legacies, critical attention, and publications. It has been established that institutional records privilege male names and centre achievements in the UK, and I argue that critical attention has followed and repeated these errors and omissions, further entrenching these biases instead of critiquing them. Furthermore, women's stories are less likely to be told, named, or privileged in official records which has adversely affected women's achievements being discovered and critiqued.

In a related point, it is apparent that women's voices and assertions are less often listened to and picked up (in the archive and in critical works), or, when they are they are set apart and presented as isolated exceptions which do not join or alter the mainstream narratives.

I noticed this gendered disparity in terms of critical attention when Jamaican-based academics who knew the Lindos affirmed the account of Cedric's centrality to the *Caribbean Voices* Jamaican-based work, while British-based scholar Courtman's doctoral research in the late 1990s on '*Lost years': West Indian Women Writing and Publishing in Britain c.1960 to 1979* asserted that Gladys held the central role was not given serious critical attention. This proved an important project in terms of recovering the literary women who also interested me.[200]

The unequal treatment of these critical discoveries and interventions, led me to extend my search to the period spanning the 1960s–present in order to include the cycles of recovery that the field of Caribbean literary history has undergone, and the waves of critical attention paid to its development.

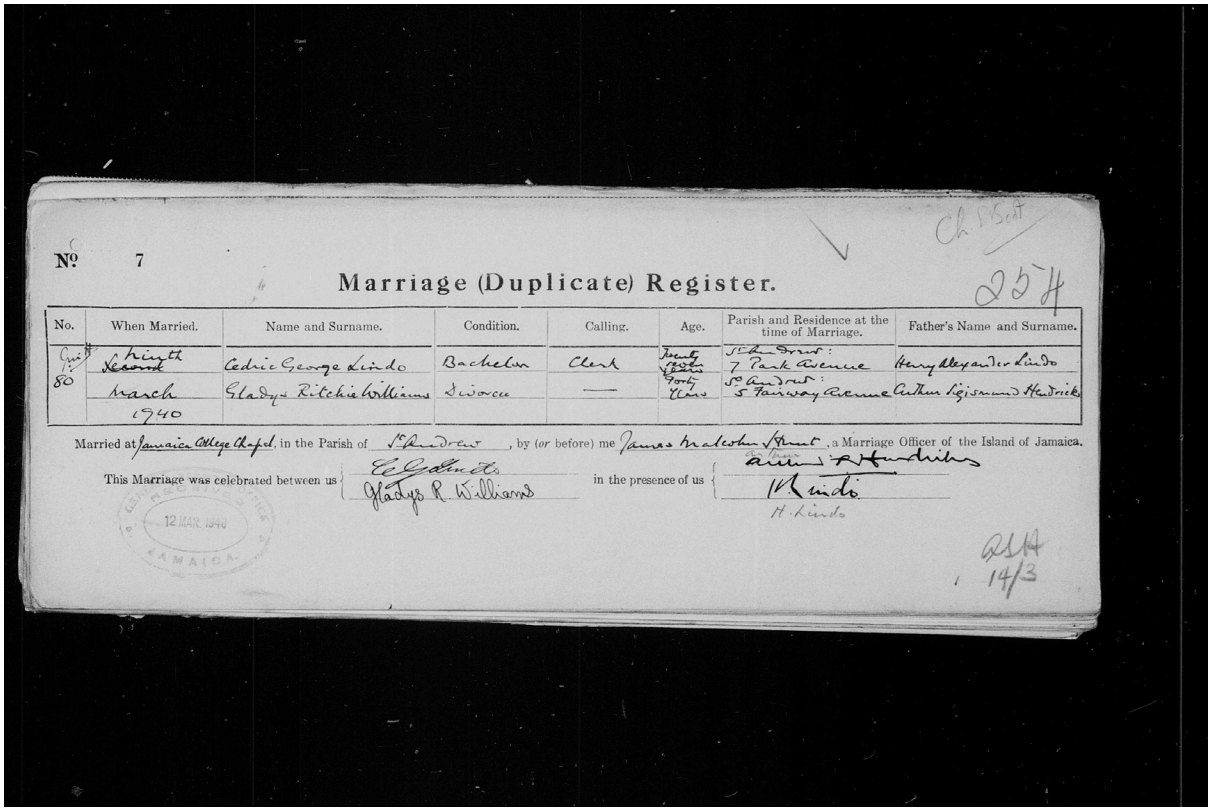
The strong affirmation from Walmsley, a fellow professional woman with direct experience of the workings of *Caribbean Voices* confirmed my conviction that Gladys was much more than a cover story. The way this affirmation had been ignored drew my attention to the role of critical literary practices in further devaluing women's voices and histories.

Women Are Not Given Their Own Archival Collections, Folders, or Obituaries

On death, obituaries rarely privileged professional contributions by women and instead positioned their achievements after their role as wife or partner to a husband, essentially allocating the success of the woman to the larger legacy of the man and

[200] Courtman, '*Lost Years'.*

compounding their historical insignificance. Gladys Lindo's lack of obituary, and the language of the Antiguan poet Hilda McDonald's obituary, whom I shall discuss in Chapter Five are notable for remembering these women at the end of their lives mainly in the context of marriage. Interestingly we do not see this in Una Marson's obituary due to her having not been defined by her marriage which she entered very late in her life and left very soon after. Additionally, marriage records and passenger records also create a disparity between men and women. In the marriage register of Cedric and Gladys Lindo we see that Gladys is listed as having no 'calling' while Cedric is listed as a 'clerk'.



№ 7

Marriage (Duplicate) Register.

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Condition.	Calling.	Age.	Parish and Residence at the time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.
80	Ninth March 1940	Cedric George Lindo	Bachelor	Clerk	Twenty Years	St Andrew: 7 Park Avenue	Henry Alexander Lindo
		Gladys Ritchie Williams	Divorcee	—	Forty Years	St Andrew: 5 Fairway Avenue	Arthur Sigismund Hendricks

Married at Jamaica College Chapel in the Parish of St Andrew, by (or before) me James Malcolm Hunt, a Marriage Officer of the Island of Jamaica.

This Marriage was celebrated between us { E C Lindo / Gladys R. Williams } in the presence of us { Arthur A Hendricks / H Lindo / H. Lindo }

12 MAR 1940 JAMAICA

Figure 4.13. Cedric and Gladys' marriage register, 1940

Sources: Swanzy and the Lindos in Contemporary Criticism

Until now, the Jamaican side of the BBC *Caribbean Voices* story has not been paid sufficient attention to give space and voice to the story of Gladys Lindo or her husband Cedric. The voices that are in the mainstream have been motivated by an interest in the figure

of Swanzy and how *Caribbean Voices* contributed to cultural nationalism.[201] Courtman and Walmsley discussed Gladys Lindo in 1998, as recorded in Courtman's doctoral thesis; Walmsley confirmed that it was Gladys, not Cedric, doing the work, but Walmsley's insight has not gained traction in the mainstream narrative. In the interview with Courtman, Walmsley explained how the process worked in practice and, in doing so, confirmed the very particular and individual agency to Gladys:

> [T]he possible contributions for *Caribbean Voices* had to go to someone called Cedric Lindo in Jamaica and those that he thought were suitable were sent in. In actual fact, it was his wife Gladys who controlled what went on and it wasn't Cedric at all. And she had a down on George Lamming and there's a whole lot of rather scummy literary history there which hasn't actually reached circulation.[202]

Not only does Walmsley state that it was Gladys who 'controlled' what went on, but she also goes so far as to say that it was not Cedric 'at all'. Walmsley spent three years in Jamaica in the 1950s as a teacher at Westwood High School and maintained close contact with the many writers she worked with in the region in her subsequent roles (following a short period at the BBC) as editor for the Longman Caribbean Series, informal agent for Kamau Brathwaite, respected honorary member of Caribbean Artist's Movement (CAM) and writer of a book on CAM, making her a reliable source of insight into the workings of the literary world in Jamaica and the Anglophone Caribbean. She was familiar with both the United Kingdom and the Caribbean, trusted, and would likely have had privileged personal access to realities that may have been concealed from public or professional bodies such as the BBC. Such was her standing that Walmsley was conferred with an honorary doctorate by UWI at the Mona Campus in Jamaica in 2009. The citation for this award records her

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[201] Nanton, 'What Does Mr. Swanzy Want?'; Griffith, *The BBC*.
[202] Courtman, '*Lost Years',* 290.

contribution to CAM and demonstrates the esteem in which she is held by Caribbean scholars: 'Dr. Anne Walmsley has long crossed over from being a distant enthusiast or detached observer of the still flowering Caribbean literary and artistic tradition: rather we can comfortably recognize her as an integral and active component of the Caribbean Artists Movement'.[203] Despite Walmsley's statement in 1998, no one has yet picked up, explored, and integrated the meaning behind this dropped stitch that appears to unravel the whole cloak. The acceptance of unsubstantiated reasons to explain the exclusion or, indeed, explain away the presence of a woman at the forefront of meaningful literary work and decision making in Jamaica is a significant problem, one that highlights the need to interrogate how lines of critical attention can be subconsciously shaped by cultural and gender-biased expectations.

James Procter's 2016 work in the BBC Written Archives and work by Campbell on Swanzy's Ichabod diaries, sought to address this issue by prioritizing detailed attention to archives, which gave rise to new and important knowledge. Material from Ichabod, Campbell explains, 'is best deployed as a resource which can be read into and at times against the other archival materials. It provides endless interesting corroborations and also some curious counterpoints to information in Swanzy's letters, and the details of scripts of his various radio broadcasts in the 1940s and 1950s'.[204] The work on Swanzy's private papers by Campbell has yielded more insights into the dynamic between Swanzy, Gladys, Cedric and other key figures involved with *Caribbean Voices*.

Why Has Gladys Lindo Remained Hidden?

Another key reason for Gladys persistently being overlooked is that researchers have

[203] Anne Walmsley Collection.
[204] Campbell, 'Mr. Swanzy Goes to Jamaica'.

tended to follow mainstream, male-focused narrative lines in the *Caribbean Voices* and Swanzy archives, narratives that extend existing lines of interest. In following the existing paths in their search, scholars looking for Swanzy found what they were looking for and entrenched the erasure of Gladys. The fact remains that there was an important onus on scholars to acknowledge the full extent of what Swanzy had achieved on behalf of Caribbean writers and their writing. Swanzy has since received this critical attention, and the NGC (National Gas Company) Bocas Henry Swanzy Award has been named after him, which means that other notable Caribbeanists are measured against him and his role and achievement. Indeed, Walmsley was the 2018 recipient of the Swanzy Award for her distinguished service to Caribbean letters. Swanzy was an influential ally for many Caribbean writers and an ambassador for their publication, and the writers who sought to elevate and celebrate him may well have been unaware of the role that Gladys Lindo played. At this juncture and from this perspective, Gladys was not being wilfully or intentionally excluded. Many of the Caribbean writers who were in a position to voice and be heard in the 1950s and 1960s were in the United Kingdom and may never have gone through the process of submitting their work through Gladys Lindo; therefore, they would be unaware that they were doing anyone a disservice in attributing the success of *Caribbean Voices* solely to Swanzy.

Critical Attention Focuses on Henry Swanzy

Based on Campbell's recent review of Ichabod, it is evident that Swanzy's proximity to Gladys through correspondence and while living with her for a fortnight in Jamaica did not incite him to 'see' her.[205] This may explain why Swanzy was renowned for being humble about his own singular significance in shaping the field. In 'What Does Mr. Swanzy Want? Nanton described how 'The knowledge and experience which his task entails and the ideals

[205] Campbell, 'Mr. Swanzy Goes to Jamaica'.

which he held out for the programme were studiously played down in public by Swanzy'.[206] Years later, Rob Waters (2016) described Swanzy's discomfit at being lauded for his role, but it is not possible to know if he felt any discomfort because of Gladys' lack of acknowledgement.[207] Nanton uses Swanzy's correspondence with Gladys as the basis for his argument that Swanzy was a singularly vital ambassador for the changes to Caribbean writing brought about by *Caribbean Voices* without engaging with Gladys' side of the conversation. There are hundreds of letters from Gladys challenging and changing Swanzy's aims and motivations. Is it really to be believed that the whole sweep of the programme was made solely by Swanzy and not in dialogue with his main correspondent? It is important to note that Nanton does place Gladys in her professional role when he quotes Cedric Lindo as 'the husband of his [Swanzy's] official agent Mrs. G. Lindo'[208] but the potential significance of this information is diminished by the linguistic foregrounding of Cedric:

> Twice month manuscripts were sent to Swanzy in London via Jamaica. Selections were made there and edited by Swanzy, and the rest returned via the official agent in Jamaica with comments about their quality, style or relevance for the programme. In 1951, Cedric Lindo, the husband of his official agent Mrs. G. Lindo, estimated that there were 200 authors on file across the region.[209]

Nanton explicitly identifies 'his [Swanzy's] official agent Mrs. G. Lindo' but no reference is made to this being a significant contradiction to an existing narrative and no further exploration of Gladys' contribution follows.[210] Instead, Cedric is brought into focus. Cedric was the speaker at the PEN club in 1951 and therefore the quotation must be correctly

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[206] Nanton, 'What Does Mr. Swanzy Want?', 65.
[207] Rob Waters, 'Henry Swanzy, Sartre's Zombie? Black Power and the Transformation of the Caribbean Artists Movement', in *Cultures of Decolonisation: Transnational Productions and Practices, 1945–70*, Ruth Craggs and Claire Wintle (eds.), 67–85 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
[208] Nanton, 'What Does Mr. Swanzy Want?', 63.
[209] Cedric G. Lindo, 'Writing for the BBC Caribbean Voices', *Gleaner*, 20 February 1951.
[210] Nanton, 'What Does Mr. Swanzy Want?', 65.

attributed to him, but referring to Cedric Lindo by his full, first name in contrast with the less personal 'Mrs G. Lindo' keeps the figure of Gladys at a relative distance, an effect compounded by the absence of any exploration of her work or inclusion of her words.

Critical Narratives Don't Interrogate the Assumption that it Was Cedric not Gladys.

Gaining access to the personal papers of Donnell in early 2020 provided additional insight into how the story about Cedric Lindo became entrenched. Gladys died before Cedric, and in his later years he moved to a new address in Kingston, Abbey Court, from which he continued to work and correspond, including with literary professionals in the field and a number of researchers eager to learn about the exciting time in the mid-twentieth century for the development of Caribbean literature. Cedric had worked at UWI and was recognized in his own right as a source of knowledge in this area. Access to the details and style of writing in these later letters offers a useful point of comparison, as we can be sure that they were not written by Gladys. Having access to letters penned by Cedric allows for some close analysis of the handwriting, style, tone and taste as compared with the earlier letters to Swanzy. In the letters to Donnell written after Gladys' death, Cedric claimed the role entirely as his own, making no reference to a 'we' or to his wife having a role in the work. Tellingly, his description of how he fulfilled the BBC role does not match the content of the letters sent to Swanzy, suggesting that Cedric did not know how detailed elements of the relationship or role had been conducted. There were numerous instances in which Gladys pushed for Swanzy to give a more fulsome reply or advocated for a particular cause, which does not align with Cedric's description of the role as merely a 'coarse sieve' in his letter of 15 August 1991:

> Now to your questions. It was not a matter of my recommending poems to Swanzy which he rejected. I sent on to him all but the quite unusable poems and stories and it was expected that his rejections would be numerous. Frankly I did not think that any

> of the women poets deserved the adjective 'good', but some were, shall we say, passable? He did not give reasons for his rejection nor was it expected that he would do so. I was a sort of coarse sieve merely to cut down on his work.[211]

This description does, however, reflect the tone of the early reports sent to Swanzy in 1946, which were brief and formal, listing titles and authors with very little accompanying narrative or persuasive analysis. Cedric also states that he showed no support for 'any' of the women, which does not correspond with Gladys' more nuanced view and attempt to represent samples of work by women who had already been rejected by Swanzy.[212] Cedric's description echoes the manner of an entry he contributed to Savacou in 1973, while Gladys was still alive, for Frank Collymore's eightieth-birthday edition, in which Cedric makes much of the connection he feels with 'Colly'; yet the sensation on reading his dedication is of a connection claimed with very little content.[213] Why didn't Gladys submit a piece? Her contribution could have contained more relevant insights due to the parallel roles that she and Collymore played in terms of the editorial, gatekeeping and caretaking duties conducted in their respective work for BIM magazine from Barbados and *Caribbean Voices* from Jamaica. Cedric's prominence in society and the public sphere within critical circles has surely contributed to obscuring Gladys' work, during her lifetime and beyond it.

Feminist Interventions Are Not Incorporated into the Mainstream Critical Narrative

In a chapter entitled 'A Bridge Between', Anne Spry Rush allocates the BBC role at least in part to Gladys Lindo and draws on multiple archival sources to demonstrate that 'in 1941 the BBC created the part-time position of West Indian representative, which, until it

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[211] Letter from Cedric Lindo to Alison Donnell, 15 August 1991.
[212] Cedric Lindo.
[213] Cedric G. Lindo, 'Frank Collymore by One Who Does Not Know Him', *Tribute to Frank Collymore*, special issue of *Savacou*, edited by Kamau Brathwaite, nos. 7–8, Jan./June (1973): 17. *Digital Library of the Caribbean*, dloc.com/AA00058563/00006/6?search=savacou+%3dcollymore+%3dbirthday. Accessed 9 February.2020

was discontinued in 1963, was filled alternately by Cedric and Gladys Lindo, who were based in Kingston, Jamaica'.[214] Spry Rush describes the reality of the situation that this dedicated research process has revealed, and introduces some of Gladys' other literary work in Jamaica which begins to reveal Gladys more fully and in her own right.

However, in the key critical texts about *Caribbean Voices* which have followed, and to which I referred when seeking to contextualise the discovery of Gladys' name in the Swanzy archives at the beginning of my research project in 2018, the narrative does not change to incorporate Spry Rush's clear articulation about Gladys, or indeed Courtman and Walmsley's. Cedric continues to be featured, quoted and cited more often than Gladys; for example, in the index to Griffith's *BBC and the Development of Anglophone Caribbean Literature, 1943–1958* where the ratio is sixteen to three in Cedric's favour.[215] Throughout this detailed history of the work, Griffith states that all the letters to Swanzy attributed to Gladys were actually the work of Cedric. This explanation is supported by an interview with Wycliffe Bennett, former secretary of the Jamaica Poetry League and Cedric's friend, who 'offered a detailed account of the sub-editor's rationale for listing the BBC appointment in his wife's name, thus affirming that it was Cedric rather than Gladys who actually functioned as the regional sub-editor'.[216]

Summary

My decision to conduct and situate this research and to develop and contextualise my findings with minimal reliance on the critical narratives has been informed by the issues evidenced and analysed above. Opting instead to rely on alternative archival sources and create new ones to directly counter the bias of archival research and critical lines of enquiry

[214] Rush, *Bonds of Empire*, 182.
[215] Griffith, *The BBC*.
[216] Griffith, T*he BBC*, 35.

which have failed to create a context within which Gladys Lindo can be seen and believed has been absolutely essential to the richest restoration of Gladys' legacy, and in gaining an understanding of the complex accumulation of the reasons for its loss.

The choice not to confine Lindo's recovery within the same limiting practices and narratives which create, contribute to, and continue her concealment has yielded exciting results and mapped out a successful methodological route connecting the past and the present, which has so far demonstrated promising results for its potential create the conditions within which women's voices, interpretations, achievements, and assertions can better be recovered, and centred. Furthermore, providing the possibility of a new set of standards for the context and conditions into which we reintegrate the women we recover, in relation to one another, and in a manner that reflects the priorities, methods, and aims women have expressed and identified for themselves, their work, their reputations, their relationships, and their literary legacies.

CHAPTER FIVE:

IMPLICATIONS, CONCLUSIONS, APPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

I have come to believe over and over again that what is most important to me must be spoken, made verbal and shared, even at the risk of having it bruised or misunderstood.
–Audre Lorde in her speech 'The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action' in *Your Silence will Not Protect You*

Introduction

The implications of Gladys Lindo's recovery are far reaching. The implications of recovering Gladys Lindo's literary life story are numerous, as are those of the process it has been necessary to undertake to recover her legacy and the reasons for its loss.

The recovery of Gladys Lindo's literary life story yields significant new information, shifts long-held misconceptions, and redraws the map of the journey of Caribbean literary development in the twentieth century. As well as this, the recovery process required to restore her legacy has revealed important information about the reasons for its loss and signposted similar experiences for literary women working in the Caribbean during the twentieth century and, perhaps even more usefully, in the contemporary field.

Therefore, further to the consequence of the recovery of Gladys Lindo as a significant agent of literary development in the Caribbean through her role as the BBC Literary Representative from 1943–1956, it appears that the circumstances of her loss, the reasons for her lack of recovery, and the methodological approach necessary to recover her legacy have illuminated a much bigger picture depicting Caribbean women's literary work and legacies, and the way in which their roles continue to be underestimated in terms of skill, agency, and consequence, putting their future legacies at risk of being lost.

As well as the recovery of Gladys Lindo and the connotations of her female,

Caribbean based role being reinstated and subsequently reconstituting our understanding of Caribbean literary history in terms of the BBC, *Caribbean Voices*, and the individuals and processes who have been understood and acknowledged already for developing the field, Gladys' recovery has provoked the necessity to seek out and centre women's voices, domestic and personal archives and histories, and prioritise local knowledge in Jamaica over official records in the UK and male-focused critical narratives. This has brought to light a significant situation currently occurring in the realm of contemporary Caribbean literary practice and promotion, which is that there are similarities between the experience of Gladys Lindo that led to her legacy being lost and the experiences of those of the literary women working in similar roles in the anglophone Caribbean today.

Choosing to situate, analyse, and understand Gladys Lindo's contribution and lost legacy by comparing it with Una Marson's experience and recovery in the comparative case study in Chapter Two was an intentional intervention against the way in which I have perceived women's recovered legacies have been isolated and failed to gain traction in the main narratives. This comparison revealed patterns and enabled the development of a hypothesis about how and why Caribbean women's work in the mid-twentieth century was hidden. When I began to situate Lindo and Marson's experiences in contrast to other literary women in the region and employ the methods successful in recovering Gladys Lindo, new information was brought to light about other mid-twentieth century women working in Caribbean literature, namely Anne Walmsley and Hilda McDonald. New information and insights about Walmsley and McDonald were revealed by the recovery of Gladys Lindo's legacy, which gesture towards the positive implications of this recovery approach for finding other women's lost legacies. By intentionally creating a framework in which women's experiences are viewed in relation to each other, and crucially, not constricted within an existing narrative constructed on patriarchal terms, a strongly evidenced reality has become

apparent about the experiences and processes which led to the invisibility of literary women's work and words in the Caribbean in the mid-twentieth century.

On the strength of these realisations about the women from the mid-twentieth century, and in order to discover new lines of narrative about them, it was necessary to seek the insights of contemporary Caribbean literary women, and in opening up this channel of enquiry it became eminently clear that the implications of Gladys Lindo's loss and the challenges of her recovery are related, recognisable, and still applicable to the contemporary literary scene for Caribbean women.

Summary

Gladys Lindo's recovery is significant in its own right. Restoring a Black, Jamaican married woman to the professional role of BBC Literary Representative during a period of remarkable growth in Anglophone Caribbean literary history is significant in itself.
Her story alters the story entirely. Moving us from an understanding of this period as being male and UK centric. Gladys' identity and her agency in it relocates agency to the Caribbean, specifically to Jamaica. This puts the Caribbean lens over the literature of the time and ensures a new understanding of the origin and centrality of the taste-making and selection of this material as being from a Caribbean viewpoint, not London centric in the first instance.

The reinstatement of Gladys Lindo and the accompanying awareness of her methods and contribution alters the existing narrative about how Caribbean literary development occurred in the mid-twentieth century. Shifting it from a UK, male centric endeavour to one of transnational exchange with agency on both sides shaping the process and the content.

The methodological approach required to fully recover Gladys Lindo has implications of its own. The necessary journey to find and discover Gladys Lindo's life, work, and legacy drew stark attention to the way that critical practices failed to recognise and recover Gladys

Lindo, and the repercussions of this realisation have been far reaching.

One significant implication of Lindo's recovery has been the revelation that women's insights into her potentially significant role have been ignored and marginalised and prevented her acknowledgement sooner. Issues of equality of voice in critical literature in terms of who is listened to, amplified and able to influence the narrative have been brought to the fore.

The process it became necessary to devise and follow in order to find the fullest scope of Lindo's legacy has enabled and led to the recovery of materials relating to under acknowledged literary contributions by other women in the Caribbean in the twentieth century, such as Hilda McDonald and Anne Walmsley.

Thus, a further outcome of Lindo's recovery in this way is a method and model of recovery which can be used to identify and recuperate more and different kinds of evidence about the work of literary women in the Caribbean during the twentieth century.

The fact that the route to Lindo's recovery organically led to more materials by and about women implied that her case was not an isolated one and spoke of a pattern of experience and methods which connect women and tell a bigger story about what they contribute to the development of Caribbean literature and why it has been underestimated until now.

A further consequence of Lindo's recovery in relation to other women in her time was the realisation that women's stories and working methods in the twentieth century could be meaningfully related to the contemporary situation for Caribbean literary development. By combining this understanding with the necessity to use oral history techniques to make space for women's voices to tell their story of Caribbean literary development Lindo's recovery led to the discovery that the contemporary experience of women working in Caribbean literature bear an important resemblance to their twentieth century counterparts, and there are vital

lessons to be learned and changes that can be made to improve the contemporary set up based on the information contained within the recovery of Gladys Lindo and the reasons she was lost.

Ultimately, a major implication of this recovery now has been to lead us to the knowledge that the reasons that Gladys Lindo's significant contribution has been overlooked are still having an impact today on the contemporary stage of Caribbean literary culture.

In this final chapter, I present and analyse the implications listed above, draw conclusions, and make recommendations for the application and development of these findings.

Implications of This Recovery

There are implications of finding Gladys Lindo; implications of learning who Gladys Lindo was and of how she did what she did; implications of how I found Gladys Lindo, implications of discovering how she was hidden; implications of the challenges I faced in finding her; and implications of conducting research in the manner required to discover and recover her.

Of these categories, there are also implications for a number of different areas. There are implications of all of the above for knowledge, for women, for record keeping and naming practices and for the critical field, for research methods, for transnational models of exchange, and perhaps most urgently, for women working in the contemporary Caribbean literary sector, in terms of an increased awareness of and attention to the privileging of particular places, resultant patterns of creative migration, and the renewed awareness of the potential for literary institutions, prizes, publishers, festivals, and individuals to wield considerable influence and agency in the direction of the development of literary culture.

Implications for Knowledge

The implications for knowledge relate specifically to the recovery of the literary life story of Gladys Lindo and to the difference her confirmation in the role of BBC literary representative in Jamaica during the mid-twentieth century makes to our understanding of Caribbean literary history.

This research has recovered and reconnected the lost literary life story of Gladys Lindo. We now have extensive knowledge based on evidence identified and created from multiple sources about Gladys Lindo's heritage, identity, motivations, and relationships, in addition to information found and analysed from her extensive correspondence which represents her professional contribution. From this we are able to gain new insights about how the personal and professional elements of Gladys' identity informed, enabled, and influenced her work.

This investigation has uncovered extensive evidence via multiple channels to confirm that Gladys did perform the role of BBC literary representative from her home in Jamaica on behalf of the anglophone Caribbean between 1946–1956, having worked in other capacities for the BBC since 1943. The substantive nature of this body of evidence dislodges the pervasive narrative which has denied her this role until now. We have learnt that Gladys' husband, Cedric, also worked for the BBC and in the role of literary representative, for a brief period before Gladys' ten-year tenure, and afterwards when she helped orchestrate the transferral of her position to him in 1956. We have gained knowledge by the simple act of being able to read the letters from Gladys to the BBC and Caribbean writers with the confidence to attribute and interpret them to her, unmarred by the doubts and dismissals which have tainted her voice until now. In restoring Gladys Lindo to her role, we have new knowledge of the methods she employed to make a significant difference to the professional development of Caribbean writers, writing, and literary cultures.

We have learnt that the process which created and sustained the BBC *Caribbean Voices* programme was influenced in design and implementation by a Jamaican woman living in Jamaica. This in turn reveals that the enormous success of the programme, and of the reputations and publications that grew out of it, were based on meaningful transnational exchange between someone with a female, Caribbean perspective and the already acknowledged influence of celebrated Anglo-Irish BBC producer, Henry Swanzy. We know that Gladys Lindo provided literary representation for Caribbean writers in the region to further their professional ambitions, which also tells us that without Gladys Lindo the landscape of Caribbean literature would have been drawn from a much more limited and likely London-centric pool. Furthermore, we have seen that it was Gladys Lindo's advocacy, insight, and skill that led to some of the most celebrated innovative and important expansions in terms of how Caribbean writing was being redefined during the mid-twentieth century. We know that many, and we also know precisely which, interventions should be allocated to Gladys Lindo whose knowledge of and commitment to supporting Caribbean writers' interests broadened the scope of what Swanzy believed Caribbean literature could be, in terms of content, style, form, and scene. Gladys expended huge amounts of effort and energy in trying to educate the cultural gatekeepers she corresponded with at the BBC in a seemingly endless attempt to dispossess them of their hazy, exoticized view of Caribbean cultures, identities, and realities. Knowledge of Gladys' subtle art of adjustment, correction, and redirection in her reports and correspondence reveals that the shift in Caribbean literary tropes was in part down to her influence, Gladys was instrumental in how Caribbean writers and writing was being redefined at an important moment in Caribbean – UK literary history.

We also know from restoring the details of Gladys' contractual terms, salary, responsibilities, and tasks, that Una Marson's departure created significant challenges for the BBC in terms of their ability to connect and engage with a Caribbean audience. This

knowledge has been concealed until now and has been restored by comprehending how heavily the BBC relied upon Gladys in Jamaica to gather and select content, provide feedback, information, and guidance on Caribbean cultural realities. Marson had mourned the lack of appreciation she received from BBC colleagues before her return to Jamaica, noting that despite the quality of her introductions, cultural connections, and her ability to bridge complex cultural worlds to improve the reputation of the BBC and its popularity amongst a huge variety of listeners, she remained underappreciated and underpaid. Knowledge of the often-disappointing level of awareness, support, and appreciation of Gladys' role by the BBC offers new knowledge about Marson's experience.

We have knowledge of how Lindo's methods were shaped by the restrictions and challenges she faced, and how her necessary methods, of letter writing shaped the nature and resulted in many successful long-term interventions in the realm of complex cultural relations.

The knowledge we have gained about Gladys Lindo's personal identity restores the fact that a significant role was designed and delivered by a non-white woman from her home in Jamaica. This substantially alters the long-held understanding about who wielded agency and influence on the direction of Caribbean literary development in the mid-twentieth century.

The discovery that someone has been lost from a position of such influence, about whom there is extensive evidence in the form of her correspondence with the BBC, tells us that Gladys Lindo is not the only woman who has been overlooked. Having to recover someone as significant as Gladys Lindo warns us against framing her recovery as a one-off pioneer instead of part of a pattern; her loss cannot and should not be understood in isolation. To attempt this would limit the truth of what has been revealed, a situation in which the loss of Gladys Lindo's individual legacy is only one element.

A further conclusion that can be drawn from this research project in relation to knowledge of Gladys' role is this. For us to have lost someone so significant, well-evidenced, and formative to the development of Caribbean literature suggests that we are missing others. Historical events and record keeping practices conspire to conceal people, particularly the women, and the contemporary critical practices and cycles of literary recovery which returns again and again to the secondary literature are not fit for the purpose of recovering the women that we know we are looking for.

How Gladys Lindo contributed to the development of Caribbean literature can best be understood in relation to the experiences and legacies of other women, both at the time and since. The implications of Lindo's recovery and the connected experiences of other women also inform our understanding of the wider narrative of Caribbean literary development and can contribute useful information and parallels in thinking about how the field is developing now and how it can be improved.

By learning about Lindo's life and work and recovering her significant legacy we have restored more than her half of the history of *Caribbean Voices*, we have gained a whole new appreciation for the process of long-term, meaningful, cultural exchange that shaped the whole field of anglophone Caribbean literature at a crucial juncture in its development. The discovery of letters demonstrating Gladys Lindo's rich and important literary legacy lingering in the same BBC Written and Swanzy archives from which the major critical publications about *Caribbean Voices* and the development of Caribbean literature at the BBC have been sourced, is both surprising and somehow expected. In this context and under these critical conditions, Gladys Lindo has been much too easily denied her rightful position in the narrative. We can clearly see how an awareness of Gladys' significant and useful interventions from Jamaica have been denied to us, having been completely eclipsed in large part by powerful patriarchal assumptions. If we continue to follow and work within systems

and rely on narratives which repeatedly cheat us of the legacies of a figure as significant and richly-evidenced as a Jamaican woman like Gladys Lindo, based on hardly any evidence to the contrary, then we are responsible for our own losses. Who and what else might we have lost? This leads to the implications of this recovery for women.

Implications for Women

This research has revealed the significant extent to which women in the mid-twentieth century have contributed to the creation of the unique transnational anglophone Caribbean literary landscape we have now, and the lack of awareness and perpetual dismissal of the existence of this significant work of the past.

We now know more about the experiences of women in terms of their roles in Caribbean literary development during the mid-twentieth century. We know a lot more about the type of work that women were expected to be satisfied with during this time, with many women with incisive literary talents often being assigned to positions beneath the standard of their aptitude. We see this when Marson is given an assistant role by Cecil Madden and paid badly for it, and when she expresses frustration that her quality contributions don't alter many people's perception of her as someone who should be grateful for the role she has. We also see it in Anne Walmsley, who explains in the Book Trade Lives interview how she was overlooked for a role at Faber and is ashamed to say that she cried. The following week she was booked on a boat to Jamaica, wearing a pair of jeans for the first time in here life, as she writes in her journal in a cabin next to a room full of racehorses who are also moving to Jamaica. While in Jamaica, Walmsley begins a lifelong involvement with the writers and artists in the region, one of whom, Kamau 'Eddie' Brathwaite asks her to be his 'unofficial' literary agent when she returns to the UK, a role she takes on and conducts with diligence and

to great effect for Brathwaite's popularity and renown, for the rest of his life in Barbados.[217] Gladys Lindo is another example of women with literary talent and aspirations beyond what is assumed of her, and in her case, she is able to fulfil a significant role, but again, it is one of 'unofficial' agency. Talented, adventurous, and ambitious women are to be found in the Caribbean during the mid-twentieth century in unusual, singular roles mostly of their own devising, from which they conduct extensive and influential literary careers characterised by innovation, connections, and representation of Caribbean writers and writing.

The cost for these women who rejected the minor roles and lives expected for them, such as the indistinguishable secretary or the unappreciated assistant, was a tendency for them to exist and operate in isolation, in positions they fashioned with their own intuition, and in places which enabled their freedom to do work which was aligned with their interests and capabilities, but which also, seemingly necessarily, possessed a unifying quality when considered together, of considerable agency which went unspoken, improperly remunerated, and ultimately, deniable or dismissible, as Marson and Lindo both experienced at the end of their BBC posts.

This 'unofficial' agency persists today in the working methods of Caribbean women in similarly characterised literary roles. Justine Henzell's initial lack of concern for recognition described in Chapter Two echoes the attitudes apparent in Lindo and Walmsley in particular, a sentiment loudly echoed by Rebel Women Lit Founder, Jherane Patmore's assertion about not seeking approval from unwelcoming spaces or literary systems which don't suit you[218]. In Patmore's decision to create Rebel Women Lit as a queer friendly community for book aficionados in Jamaica who experiences herself as othered traditional or institutional forms of literary engagement, we see echoes of Gladys in Jamaica, miles from

[217] British Library Sound Archives, NLSC: Book Trade Lives, C782.
[218] Jherane Patmore, interview, June 2021, Jamaica.

the BBC's UK offices, we see Marson, returning to Jamaica and creating The Pioneer Press, a publishing venture of the Gleaner Company, serving as its general editor from 1949 to 1953 publishing a list of affordable editions of work by Jamaican authors.[219] And we see Anne Walmsley, in her cabin on the way to Jamaica to look for the Caribbean voices that spoke to her from the books she selected in London for an unseeing T.S. Eliot at Faber, unaccepting of the outdated, ill-suited limitations of what women and Caribbean literature could be. Happily, Patmore's experience does demonstrate considerable progression, mainly defined by her independence from any affiliation to an institution on which she relies or feels marginalised by.

Women, it seems, in this position of having to choose between a desire to do meaningful literary work in alignment or acknowledgement and support, might not have been able to easily conceive of themselves pursuing literary careers of their own. We can see that of the three, only Marson pursued independent, creative literary work, while Lindo and Walmsley remained in enabling, advocacy roles for writers and writing, their own pens wielded in support or representation , or for critical or academic, purposes in the case of Walmsley who went on to pursue a PhD and edit a book which is representative of this expression of literary engagement, CAM[220] recognises the contributions and talent of a whole swathe of Caribbean literary individuals between 1966 and 1972 and the anthologies Walmsley created of Jamaican literature also demonstrate her propensity to gather, connect, and celebrate writers and bring them together.

It is pertinent to bring in the Antiguan writer, Hilda McDonald here, for another perspective of women in terms of their own writing in the mid-twentieth century.

Hilda McDonald (Antigua) was a poet, who received recognition for her work during

[219] 'The Pioneer Press', https://nlj.gov.jm/BN/Marson_Una/bn_marson_umv_016.pdf.
[220] Walmsley, *The Caribbean Artists Movement.*

her lifetime but very little acknowledgement in her obituary or in terms of any literary legacy or critical attention. She was only discoverable in the field in terms of her literary life story when her grandson, the writer, Ian McDonald, cited her as a crucial influence in a newspaper interview. This prompted me to reach out to Ian McDonald who referred me to his sister, Robin McDonald, with whom it has been possible to piece together the literary life story of her grandmother, Hilda, using letters and recollections from Robin's recollections and letters passed down from Robin's mother. Hilda McDonald's literary legacy is worthy of critical attention on its own terms, and requires contextualising specifically in its Antigua setting, which I intend to continue beyond my doctoral research project using the materials recovered. In terms of this thesis it is important because the terms of her loss and recovery demonstrate that the loss of literary women's legacies from the Caribbean in the mid-twentieth century are multiple, related to one another, and demonstrate a pattern with parallels which continue today.[221]

The realisation of the potential implications for contemporary Caribbean women with regard to the parallels between their experience and the experiences of Caribbean women from the mid-twentieth century whose legacies have been lost, led to the discussion of a potential network or project connecting myself and some of the women I discussed these ideas with in in Jamaica in June 2021. The current thinking is to map out a timeline of the women who have been creating these positions of 'unofficial' agency which connect writers in the UK and (mostly) anglophone Caribbean countries since the twentieth century, and potentially earlier if this turns out to be the case.

From my own perspective, having gathered so much information and valuable insights on my professional journey since 2011 and my doctoral research journey since 2017, about and from women working as 'unofficial' agents of anglophone Caribbean literature, I

[221] Robin McDonald, interview, May 2021.

would like to share these findings beyond academic channels and begin to see how others respond and interpret the discoveries. It is my intention to create a forum in which to share and celebrate the contributions of women to this project, by creating an installation in Jamaica or Trinidad in 2023 for people to engage with the materials I have gathered and the patterns that relating women's experiences of 'unofficial' agency in Caribbean literary development have begun to make. I am eager to reveal the previously unrecognised role of 'unofficial' literary agent, in recognition of the work of women from the twentieth century, and in support of the ongoing development and acknowledgement of a female-led transnational literary ecosystem based on my findings and women's needs and experiences.

Implications for Record-Keeping Practices and the Critical Field

The major implication for record keeping practices and for the critical field is that the two have conspired to create a burgeoning critical narrative which has repeatedly compounded the loss of Gladys' legacy. The mainstream critical narrative has contributed to further concealing rather than drawing attention to evidence that speaks of her agency, covering the gaps where her contributions should be.

Through the methodological approach I developed to enact the recovery of Gladys, the focus was shifted drastically from a UK centric to transnational understanding, highlighting a complex and effective communication via long-term correspondence. This suggests the need for an overhaul of record keeping and research practices to ensure that we restore the balance of contributions from women, the Caribbean, and other marginalised figures whose contributions have been hidden from history and are repeatedly being buried by research and writing practices which continue existing lines of critical enquiry without returning to the original source material to look for new information.

Moving outward from official archives held in Birmingham and Caversham that

recorded only parts of Gladys Lindo's professional life to search for her fuller story and recover her significant contribution I uncovered numerous articles which related to her father, husbands, and sons, from which it was possible to map more of her timeline and her journey through life by association to them. This provided a platform from which to look for Gladys in her own right; through the travel records of her first husband and sons it was possible to discover her as their wife and mother, with her first surname of Williams.

It is notable that focusing so exclusively on the men in London during the boom in Caribbean literature in the mid-twentieth century has caused scholars not to ask certain questions of the archive. Due to the difficulty of looking for what is not there and the mid-twentieth century practice of women only being featured in association with the men they worked with, I searched entire collections at the BBC Written Archives and The George Padmore Institute in order to ascertain the scale of the critical exclusion and find names, rejections, or suggestions of why women were not featured with which I could create a skeletal, shadow historical narrative of women's literary involvement in the Caribbean during this period. I approached these archives looking for unknown names and particular writers or writings who had not reached the mainstream via the literary launching pad of *Caribbean Voices.*

Yet by asking those questions about what women's role might really have been and looking for answers in the alternative domestic archives as well as by creating new sources for legitimation through the oral history interviews, I conducted, I have uncovered a powerful woman from the mid-twentieth century whose agency and influence shaped the field of Caribbean literature and the transnational network on which it still relies.

Implications for Methodological Approach

These investigations have informed a better methodology for finding other women by

providing a model which has proven successful in surfacing materials about women I was unaware of in name or significance.

An argument for the use(fulness) of a new methodological approach devised to find and centre women's contributions. This is animated by the retrieval of materials relating to Anne Walmsley and Hilda McDonald, which provides evidence of the model's effectiveness and to practice what I preach in terms of situating women in context as opposed to isolation.

In this section I relate the loss and recovery of Gladys to the experiences of other women at her time, by identifying how Anne Walmsley and Hilda McDonald's lives and legacies relate to Gladys'. For future projects I plan to use the extensive data I have gathered about both women to create comparative case studies of the legacies of McDonald and Walmsley similar to the case study of Marson in relation to Gladys Lindo featured in Chapter Two. In a future publication I plan to present what I have revealed about the four women's (Una, Gladys, Anne, Hilda) working methods, processes, considerable achievements, and provide close analysis of them individually, creating a framework in which it is possible to identify similarities and patterns in their experiences of working to support, develop, and indeed write Caribbean literature in the mid-twentieth century as a woman.

The process to their selection has been an organic one, through my research using oral history techniques and online and domestic archives. Encouragingly, the methodological approach I have devised to uncover Gladys' legacy in a more holistic/multifaceted way has proven successful in surfacing the work and legacies of other women the extent of whose writing and contribution has yet to be understood.

The routes we take in research are vital and impact what we discover. Who we talk to, what we make space for, and where we look.

Preparing comparative case studies will provide a tangible means of answering and illuminating two of the key research questions of this thesis which I would like to continue

exploring in my work on restoring Gladys Lindo's legacy. Having understood in Chapter Three what Gladys Lindo contributed to the development of Caribbean literature and how and why she did it, and in Chapter Four explored why her legacy has been lost, there is more that can be understood about Gladys Lindo's methods and her experience by considering it alongside other women who were working at the same time. Specifically, when considering the final key research question which gestures towards further work that will follow on from this project, 'what are the implications of Gladys Lindo's recovery?' it is necessary to take a wider perspective and situate Lindo's reputation in context. For these reasons I intend to address the methods and experiences of Anne Walmsley and Hilda McDonald in future publications, with attention paid to the influence of their respective cultural identities, locations, roles, relationships, level of success, and their legacy experiences. By focusing on the same questions asked of Gladys' life and legacy I hope to provide clear comparisons and contrasts between their practices and experiences, and enact my belief that women's legacies should be restored in relation to each other even when they were unable to connect in reality.

For the purpose of this thesis, I have situated my recovery of Gladys Lindo, the BBC Literary Representative in Jamaica amongst other literary women of the twentieth century working in the UK and Caribbean, to ask: how many pioneering women will it take before we see the pattern? I argue that women are not the exception to the rule that 'women don't do meaningful literary work'. It's my contention that women were regularly at the heart of the twentieth century literary world in the Caribbean and the UK, but their lives, work & stories were almost always unacknowledged and concealed because their professional contributions and methods had to be. We should, by now, expect lots of women to be there - innovating and adapting due to necessity and skill—and expand our approach and narrative accordingly to include them.

Returning to the work of Michel-Rolph Trouillot in 'Silencing the Past: Power and the

Production of History' (1995) that has been my most useful guide in this work, it would appear that silences around Gladys have entered the record at two of his proposed four moments. Arguably 'the moment of fact creation (the making of sources)' does not silence Gladys as she left documentary evidence of her professional work. The 'moment of fact assembly (the making of archives)' is when her visibility is obscured by the naming issues and by the fact that she can only be found within larger archives that do not highlight her presence, yet it is most clearly at 'the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives)' when Gladys Lindo is exiled from the historical record. My own efforts to restore Gladys to the narrative of Anglophone Caribbean literary history have hopefully countered her earlier loss and enabled a recovery in 'the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance).[222]

Anne Walmsley's experience of travelling to the Caribbean in the 1950s resulted in her becoming an expert in Caribbean literature, was employed on her return to England as the first Caribbean Editor for Longmans, and has a lifelong literary career in Caribbean culture. Walmsley has been acknowledged for her work during her lifetime for having made a significant difference to the nature and content of publications and professional reputations of Caribbean writers, but still works and is understood in the same capacity of 'unofficial' agency which has in the past lead to the disappearance of literary legacies which resemble hers. Noting this and learning that the literary life story of Hilda McDonald has largely been overlooked due to occupying an undefined space in literary life and knowledge of it being held in domestic archives belonging to female relatives, has led to the understanding that women's legacies have been lost because of lack of recognition in their time and methods unsuited to their recovery since.

By drawing comparisons between the experiences of Lindo, Walmsley, McDonald,

[222] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past,* 26.

and Marson with a number of contemporary women working as gatekeepers and literary facilitators in the anglophone Caribbean today it has been possible to further extend the scope of our understanding of the effects and implications of Lindo's recovery.

What Vital Work Did Women in Publishing and Broadcasting Perform in the Caribbean That Has Been Overlooked to Date?

We have learnt that women were doing vital work in broadcasting and publishing during the mid-twentieth century to bridge the distance and improve cultural understanding and communication between the attitudes and institutions of the colonial metropolis and the realities, intentions and requirements of writers in anglophone Caribbean countries moving towards independence.

Una Marson and Gladys Lindo both held significant positions of influence at the BBC at a time when it was difficult for women to have senior positions, especially if they were Black, as Marson and Gladys both were, or married, as Gladys was, to her second, much younger husband. Their work to promote Caribbean writers and writing, and to engage with a UK audience from a Caribbean point of view about the realities of their experience was often underappreciated, poorly recompensed, and taken advantage of during their time. Their respective legacies were both at risk of disappearing after their deaths partly as a result of the lack of acknowledgement given to their achievements during their lives, but Marson has since received significant attention for her writing and impressive social and cultural advocacy work, resulting in the publication of her poetry, plays and numerous works dedicated to understanding and commemorating her life and work. Until now, Gladys Lindo's vital work has been overlooked and repeatedly denied to her, which has resulted in a serious lack of attention to or engagement with the extensive, rich correspondence in her name which

provides a detailed history of the impressive achievements of her career as BBC literary representative in Jamaica.

The similarities between the methods, motivations and experiences of Una Marson, Gladys Lindo, and Anne Walmsley when considered in parallel reveal a pattern of behaviour by literary women in the mid-twentieth century that might best be described as an independent, 'unofficial' literary agent, or ambassador on behalf of Caribbean writers. All three women dedicated their working lives to the promotion of Caribbean voices. Marson and Lindo originally from Jamaica, where Gladys settled and Una left and repeatedly returned to throughout her life. Walmsley, by comparison, was born in England but followed her interest in Caribbean literature and her love of overseas travel to Jamaica when her ambition for a position of editorial influence at Faber was thwarted by the employment over her head of another male, Oxford graduate. Walmsley did vital work at Faber in her role as one of many female secretaries, all of whom were known only as Miss <Surname> and whose talents for selecting and editing new manuscripts went similarly unremarked upon. Walmsley recollects in an interview for Book Trade Lives her experience of working for free on submissions to the publishing house in the hope that her selections and insights would earn her the recognition for her editorial eye. Sadly, this was not the case, and Walmsley found herself embarking on a long boat journey to Jamaica where she had applied to teach at a school for girls. Walmsley was motivated to act by her own interests and ambitions, and a conviction about her own ability to succeed in a role with literary agency. This motivation also drove Gladys and Una to pursue their career paths, and the combination of this sense of personally derived agency with a cultural context that expected less of and for women in publishing and broadcasting created an isolating experience for all three women, that is in fact very relatable when considering the three women alongside each other.

Women were weaving a web of connection, making introductions, representing writers' interests, and providing platforms and publications for Caribbean literature to maintain and define its own canon, and recentre and refer to themselves and their experience in Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, as opposed to looking to the 'mother country' for approval or guidance.

Women often performed assistive or behind the scenes duties in support of writers' development. There are far fewer women writers from the Caribbean during the mid-twentieth century than men, and this research has revealed numerous instances of women contributing substantially to the creation and maintenance of the systems and processes which support the careers and writerly development of their male counterparts. Some examples which have come to light during this research project include Doris Brathwaite who compiled and published a bibliography of her husband, Kamau's literary works and Anne Walmsley who worked as his unofficial literary agent in the UK, ensuring bookings, payments, and publicity materials represented his name and work satisfactorily. These examples of the hidden work of women to support the success and ensure the smooth running of a Barbados-based male writer's international reputation are representative of the ways that women tended to be integral to the success of the writers they supported, whilst simultaneously downplaying the importance of this kind of work and receiving no formal title, financial recompense, or return in support of their own literary ambitions. Interestingly, Walmsley waits until she is in her late 50s before writing her own book or getting married. This is telling, many women work in supportive or representative roles in service of the development of mostly male literary endeavours, suggesting a pattern of behaviour related to earning or proving their worth and expertise, before and if they ever make space for their own voice to develop.

What connects the women I have discovered more about on this research journey seems to be a strong sense of self and conviction, and a notable lack of preoccupation with

recognition and legacy. If I was forced to generalise, I would suggest that in the mid-twentieth century there was more of a male preoccupation with leaving a legacy, whereas for women, even and especially for Walmsley and Marson who married late and did not have children, the much greater motivator seems to have been getting the systems and representation right by improving the connection, articulation, or reach of a writer or work.

This pattern was brought to my attention while conducting interviews with women working in literary roles in Jamaica during my visit to look for information about Gladys in June 2021. Following the recommendations of the women I interviewed for my next interviewee revealed a previously invisible to me network of female literary producers, publishers, authors, and editors, who also shared that while they were aware of the individual women I had interviewed so far, the connection and tangible association between them was undeclared.

This led to the realisation that a useful outcome of this research for contemporary Caribbean women would be to communicate some of the hidden information I had discovered about the experiences of isolation and under acknowledgement by their twentieth century predecessors. The response from many of the interviewees to learning that a Black woman had been the BBC literary representative during the boom in anglophone literature attributed to the talents of Henry Swanzy in London was one of muted surprise. Considering the significance of Gladys' contribution and the scale of the loss in terms of the methods, inspiration, and model Gladys' achievement should have provided for women wishing to work in literature in Jamaica prompted Justine Henzell, Tanya Batson Savage and Kellie Magnus to each reconsidered their earlier assertions about not minding whether they received recognition or the credit for the work they did as long as they supported good writing and made a difference to the field.

Tanya Batson Savage, Founder of Blue Banyan Books expressed her disappointment after the interview on behalf of her younger self for being robbed of Gladys Lindo as an example of a Black, Jamaican woman who conducted meaningful literary development work for Caribbean writers with a Caribbean-wide and global reach via the BBC grounded in its Jamaican context. Batson Savage 'knew all about Una'[223] but if anything, her decision to make her name by moving to the UK was a cause of anti-inspiration for most of my contemporary respondents. In part two of a six-part epic interview with Jherane Patmore, Founder of Rebel Women Lit, Patmore stated quite loudly 'don't knock at their door'[224] during a discussion about young women with literary interests seeking approval or admittance from institutions or gatekeepers who echo the colonial power dynamic which discourages self-determination and fixes the standards of what constitutes good writing and privileges product over process.

The privileging of product, and of tangible, literary work be it publication or presentation at an event or festival, over process, privacy, contribution, support, engagement and exchange for the sake of learning, connection, and improvement of skills, confidence, perhaps a piece of work, seems to work in favour of male preoccupations with leaving a legacy, and as Justine Henzell suggests, men and women may tend towards different expressions of interest and commitment to literary development, but 'the problem comes when our strengths are viewed as weaker, less valuable, than men's strengths'[225]

What Processes Helped to Keep Women's Contributions Hidden?

Naming practices, women's heritage and histories are regularly and repeatedly lost, changed, and replaced by the privileging of the patriarchal surname.

[223] Tanya Batson Savage interview, June 2021.
[224] Jherane Patmore interview, June 2021.
[225] Justine Henzell interview, June 2021.

Record keeping traditions in birth, marriage and death certificates and obituaries which rarely feature women's professional achievements.

The lingering assumption that women weren't meant to be in professional spaces, in some cases their sense of gratitude at being 'allowed' stopped or made it hard for them to ask for the recognition or recompense that their work deserved. We see this when Marson wants to be treated better based on the skill and connections she brings, for which she receives racially motivated discrimination at the BBC which contributes to a mental health breakdown.

The assumption that women didn't really 'belong' in positions of influence contributed to Gladys' contributions and achievements being mistakenly assumed to her husband Cedric or to Henry Swanzy.

Contemporary Caribbean

A major consequence of recovering Gladys Lindo's lost legacy has been to bring contemporary Caribbean women's voices to the fore, resulting in attention being drawn to a comparable contemporary situation for women working in the Caribbean in literary professions. Animated by oral history interviews with contemporary literary women in Jamaica.

Finally, I situate the implications of Gladys' recovery and what it has revealed about women and the Caribbean in terms of literary work and legacies in the twentieth century in relation to the experiences of contemporary literary women working in anglophone Caribbean literary development today.

In doing so, I will draw attention to the interconnected themes which have emerged through this extensive research process to recover Caribbean women's contributions to literary history from the twentieth century until the present moment.

The recovery of Gladys Lindo has important implications for those concerned with contemporary Caribbean literary development.

The parallels between what is happening now and what was happening then are numerous.

Through listening to the voices of contemporary women in the Caribbean it has come to light that like Gladys Lindo, women often continue not to name themselves or be named. All of the women I interviewed were unaware of Gladys Lindo's Jamaica based role. This drew attention to the importance of legacies being passed on to other women so that inspiration can be passed on, and to avoid each generation reinventing the wheel due to a lack of access to information about what came before in terms of women's roles, gains, processes, and means. It seems vital that women reconsider removing themselves from their own reputation, as Gladys did in the service of Cedric's desire for the role. While this may have served Gladys individually and relationally, from a critical perspective the knowledge forfeited by her lost and contested legacy has been damaging for the progress and self-confidence of women in the Caribbean who have been looking to find ways to play an important role in developing literary culture. It is important that women are aware of the moments when silences about them have previously and can still enter history, specifically with a heightened awareness of the ways in which they revoke their own right to recognition and increase the chance of their own legacies being lost. This research has revealed that contemporary literary women benefit from an awareness of the literary legacies of women who preceded them that they have not been privy to due to some of the choices that were made by and about them during their lifetimes and afterwards. It is my contention based on an interpretation of the changing attitudes of interviewees when I informed them of the significant legacies lost already, that knowledge of the process which leads to the loss of women's legacies and exclusion from literary history will encourage women now and in the

future to think again and consider prioritising their titles, their acknowledgement, and ensuring that their name is always listed, their title and contracts reflective of the status of their role, and that others are aware of their responsibilities. Consider the case of Gladys, whose legacy was locked up in her letters, but completely unknown to anyone in her family, colleagues in the UK, even Swanzy. It is a pertinent time to pay attention to the consequences of women's disappearing legacies, if not only for them in honour of their achievements, then for the women who wish for a path to follow and to build on their achievements. In a scaled-up analogy of the experience of how women's legacies are lost through name changing practices which still tend to privilege the continuation of the male line, here we see how whole generations of women in Jamaica have been unaware of the achievements and robbed of the methods and mastery of one of the most influential agents of literary development in Caribbean literary history, Gladys Lindo.

Research in Jamaica in June 2021 brought to light and connected the experiences of women who work to facilitate and promote literature from the region. Each of the women were often known to each other in an individual capacity, but to call them a connected network is not quite accurate. The women know of each other, and sometimes collaborate, but there is no outward framework of recognition of their cohesion as such, for them to rely on or, crucially, for them to pass on to the next generation.

The requirement identified and undertaken on this research journey, to shift focus to an understanding of Caribbean literary culture which foregrounds and connects Caribbean women's voices and experiences is illustrated by Bishop's rationale for focusing on Jamaican women writers.

> JB: Well, why not the focus on Jamaican female writers? Why not hear what we/they have to say? I think oftentimes people forget how submerged women's voices actually are in Caribbean literature. If we go back to the so-called 'Golden Age' of Caribbean

literature it is almost all male, and we seem now to be in another age where the main voices given space in Caribbean and Jamaican literature are male voices. There are complicated reasons for this, but they all in one way or another revolve around sexism and misogyny, and the undermining of female voices and female creativity, and oftentimes other women are complicit in this. Class, as well, plays a powerful role in this. What women produce/ed is oftentimes more easily discarded and seen as 'less than'. In addition, a man and a woman can produce the exact same thing or a woman can produce this thing and it is overlooked and a man takes it, runs with it and wins a gazillion awards and is celebrated. Of course, there are enthusiasms and outbursts, where attention, and particularly lip-service, is paid to women's creativity but it never seems to be in any sustained way. The serious producers, it seems to always be asserted, are the male producers. So much needs to be deconstructed and looked at. When will women's writing and women's work and women's worth be 'serious' enough? 'Hard-hitting' and 'enduring' enough? As much as those new masculinist traditions of today themselves are rife with anxieties! In this regard, the interviews of Christine Craig and the biographer of Eliot Bliss, Michela Calderaro, speak very eloquently to these questions. As Craig points out in her interview, so many men are quick to give empty lip service, but not much more, to women writers. Calderaro unpacks the various ways that Bliss was thwarted, over and over again, in seeking to get published and how she died leaving behind boxes and boxes of unpublished work. I am not sure it is that much different for many Jamaican, and other Caribbean women writers today, than it was for Eliot Bliss, back when she was writing, so that is why the focus on female Jamaican writers'.[226]

The women involved in meaningful literary work in the Caribbean during the mid-

[226] Bishop, The Gift of Music and Song, 21.

twentieth century were characterised by qualities of independence, innovation, and conviction, and seemed to accept that isolation and invisibility were the price of doing the work they wanted to do, or perhaps not even register it due to the progress they were making. Due to lacking the connections with other women like them which might have identified their predicament as a pattern, women's literary lives have existed, been lost and found in isolation. Contemporary women in the Caribbean are wise to the forces that limit them and increasingly aware of its implications, as demonstrated by Bishop's analysis and the findings throughout this research project. Caribbean literary women no longer accept these limits or their implications, and are moved towards new ways of foregrounding, acknowledging, and connecting women's literary agency, to ensure that it moves past the 'unofficial' and becomes a representative legacy that lasts.

Conclusion

We are now in possession of an intricate understanding of how Gladys Lindo made a difference to the development of Caribbean literature, based on evidence which clearly demonstrates that her contribution was consistently accomplished and innovative. Furthermore, the influence of her representation of Caribbean writing had far-reaching impacts and benefitted hundreds of Caribbean writers, and many more listeners, across the anglophone Caribbean countries.

Lindo also made a difference to the development of Caribbean literature through her advocacy for Caribbean writers' real need to set their own standards for what constitutes Caribbean literature, as opposed to the views of gatekeepers or establishments in the UK.

Lindo made a difference not just by what she did and how she did it, but also by being genuinely motivated by her passion for literature and a genuine desire to improve the standard of writing and interpretations of the Caribbean experience through the literary arts,

by providing the conditions, connections, introductions, and support for Caribbean writers in the region to develop, support themselves financially, and remain in the Caribbean to write.

It is instructive to consider how the development of Caribbean literature would have been different without Gladys' contribution. Without her, writers in the region would have had no local person with whom to correspond about their writing. This would have resulted in an increased dependence on UK literary gatekeepers such as Swanzy for approval and guidance, and very likely reduced the number of writers in the Caribbean whose work reached his desk in London or travelled back to the Caribbean over the airwaves, due to Swanzy's requirement for Caribbean writing to feature what he defined as 'local colour' before he was challenged by Gladys to reconsider this definition of what constituted Caribbean writing.

Likewise, without Gladys, more aspiring writers from the Caribbean would either have given up or migrated to the UK or overseas in search of editorial support and opportunities to promote their work and develop their craft.

Gladys made a significant difference to the direction of Caribbean literary development by representing writers who remained in the region and creating a system which supported their development, enabled the extension of their literary prospects overseas, and allowed them to remain in the Caribbean to write. By centring herself in Jamaica as the BBC literary representative, Gladys centred Jamaica and the Caribbean in its own development. By encouraging Caribbean writers to define what constituted Caribbean literature on their own terms whilst simultaneously influencing BBC literary gatekeepers to include new ways of defining the Caribbean voice.

It has been possible to discover information about who Gladys Lindo in terms of her professional role by finding, testing, creating, and connecting multiple sources of evidence to build a substantial body of knowledge that confirms the extensive professional

correspondence with the BBC between 1943 and 1956 signed by Gladys was indeed written and guided by her own hand and agency. New knowledge has also been acquired and shared with regard to Gladys' personal identity by finding and exchanging information with her relatives. By seeking context for Gladys' experience from women using oral history interview techniques instead of attempting to situate her within the context of the critical narrative that has compounded the loss of her voice and legacy, I have allowed the threads of Gladys' story to start in new places and shape a narrative about her life and work which centres the experience of Gladys. I have created a context for Gladys' story to emerge and exist in a different context to the one that concealed her by privileging domestic archives, listening to female relatives, and asking contemporary literary women in Jamaica to set the perimeters and share their own stories of its literary history, Combining the knowledge gained about Gladys' professional and personal experiences has created the possibility for new insights to emerge from their interactions.

We have gained considerable insight into why Gladys Lindo's legacy was lost, by identifying and interrogating the influence of a wide range of varied causes to establish the contributing factors, at the time and since, which shaped the invisibility of Gladys' professional role during her lifetime and resulted in the ignorance, confusion, and denial which has surrounded her professional legacy ever since.

Asking what literary women were doing in the mid-twentieth century led me to Gladys Lindo. In finding Gladys Lindo, I discovered a woman working in a position of considerable influence in the field during the mid-twentieth century whose role had been denied to her in the critical discourse. In finding Gladys Lindo in this position, a gateway was opened to understand the experiences of women in the Caribbean working in the literary professions at this time; Una Marson, Anne Walmsley, Hilda McDonald. These related discoveries of women's work in the mid-twentieth century, and the context provided by

engaging with oral history interviews, transcripts, sound archives, and alternative online and domestic sources provided answers to questions about why we had lost Gladys, at the time and since, which also applied to why we lose other women's legacies and why the records and naming practices, and archives, research methods, and critical cycles of research fail to recover them and regularly compound their loss in in the creation of a dominant critical narrative which excludes them and serves to further diminish the traces that remain. Further to this, the connections made with Gladys' relatives and through a chain of interviews with contemporary literary women in the Caribbean, led to a realisation that there are significant and concerning parallels between the contemporary situation and the mid-twentieth century experiences of women in the literary sector that resulted in the loss of their legacies. In response to this I have identified some interventions, plans, recommendations, useful applications, and potential future projects to undertake in collaboration with women in the Caribbean literary sector.

I conclude the thesis with suggestions for future lines of enquiry related to the information and implications brought to light through this research and outlined in this thesis.

I have demonstrated that Gladys Lindo and other women in the Caribbean have been key agents in the expansion and development of Caribbean literature since the mid-twentieth century, whose contributions have been woefully misunderstood and continue to remain under acknowledged.

I have chosen to contextualise the recovery of Gladys Lindo's legacy by considering it alongside the experiences of other literary women. This is to oppose the tradition of recovering women as 'one-off' pioneers and in doing so suggesting that they are not part of a larger pattern of professional practice or necessary to an understanding of the main story.

My intention here is to recover and make firm that which wasn't available to these women in the mid-twentieth century. That is, a level of visibility that enabled connections to

be made between them. Where male networks defined the field, were formed, celebrated, sustained, and expanded, female literary professionals and writers often worked in isolation, behind the scenes, anonymously, under pseudonyms, under their husband's name, or in secret. As we have seen in previous chapters, in the eyes of many, Gladys Lindo wasn't known or acknowledged in her role, so her potential to connect or relate to others, especially other women, was slim.

In addition to this, in response to my methodological approach which prioritised the voices of contemporary women in the Caribbean, it has come to light that the lived experience of the mid-twentieth century women's invisible contributions are echoed in the lack of hearing or amplification given to the contemporary critical interventions of women and to the importance of the roles literary women in the Caribbean are playing in the present.

Recommendations and Useful Applications

This thesis calls for a new approach to the archive, which includes a consciously raised expectation of women's potential for cultural intervention in the Caribbean.

I also advocate for the recovery of women's lost legacies not to be framed and set apart in isolation as a one-off, exception to the rule which excludes the understanding of women as part of the story and denies even the possibility of the restoration and reintegration of women's legacies changing the mainstream narrative.

Without wanting to reduce the accomplishments of women from the past who deserve boundless praise for achieving anything under the rules and expectations of oppressive social and cultural structures, I don't believe that it helps us to understand women's contributions to label every one of them an exceptional individual. It stops us from seeing the pattern and realising how many overlooked women there are. How many pioneering women does is take to change an assumption?

The long-term written correspondence between Gladys and the BBC in London was a successful, lasting model of transnational exchange between the UK and the Caribbean, which, despite colonial history and power imbalance, created a forum in which the two sides were able to gradually assimilate their cultural complexities and integrate new ideas and create meaningful outcomes for cultural collaborations. This epistolary model and some of the methods used by Gladys Lindo to communicate her perspective to the BBC in London to gradually bring about a change in understanding and attitude about the life and literature of the Caribbean provides a useful model for policy/institutions/other industries who are interested in creating a long-term supportive learning environment for employees in different cultural and political settings.

In response to the findings and connections made during this research project it is my intention to establish a literary prize in Gladys Lindo's name which recognises and rewards the 'unofficial' literary agency of women in the Caribbean. This is currently under discussion with Gladys' relatives and an advisory board of women drawn from those who have engaged with this project as interviewees and advisors. The Gladys Lindo Prize for Literary Agency will be based in Jamaica and its existence will contribute to the reinstatement of her legacy.

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