#### HALF-DROWNED TEXTS:

# A (RE)-VISION OF PRINT COLONIALISM AND PUBLISHING FOR THE POST COLONIAL TEXT

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the the Degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Arts and Science

TRENT UNIVERSITY

Peterborough, Ontario, Canada

© Copyright by Justine-Marie Williams 2023

English (Public Texts) M. A. Graduate Program

May 2023

#### ABSTRACT

#### Half-Drowned Texts:

A (re)Vision of Print Colonialism and Publishing for the Postcolonial Text

Justine-Marie Williams

Through an exploration of shared stories, hauntings and the sea, this study outlines the idea that an ideological shift is a necessary first step to address the impact of colonialism in the publishing industry. This thesis draws sustained attention to the ways in which colonialism has an inextricable material effect on the publishing industry, and focuses on the myriad ways this past material and ideological holdovers shape the frameworks of book production. The vestiges of colonialism continue to be carried forward as a constitutive element of the present, creating a complex situation of material forces and conditions that need to be negotiated to create a more inclusive and diverse literary landscape that accurately reflects the experiences and voices of marginalised communities. Referring to something both subtler and more apparent than reformation, this thesis argues that a shift in ideology is necessary to address the impact of colonialism on literary culture. The shift proposed by this thesis is inspired by the ocean, specifically the Caribbean Sea. As it invites a rethinking of traditional capitalist publishing practices by acknowledging the historical limitations and systemic inequalities at the emergence of postcolonial West Indian literature. This shift involves moving towards alternative literary production and study that are more generative, appreciative, and beneficial to minoritised groups whose histories make themselves known in the present, inscribed into our stories in an accumulation of tides.

Keywords: Postcolonial literature, Tidalectics, Hauntology, literary situation, West Indian Literature, Henry Swanzy

(ii)

# Permissions

Materials from the Henry Swanzy Papers at the University of Birmingham Special Collections appears by permission of the *Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham.* 

accompanying photography provided by Suzanna Missenberger, Jamaica, 2022.

To Walcott, Brathwaite and the 2.7 million km<sup>2</sup> of the Caribbean Sea

# CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	(ii)
PERMISSIONS	(ii)
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	(v)
CONTENTS	(vi)
LIST OF FIGURES	(vii)
REFLECTIONS ON WATER	1
CHAPTER 1	5
Establishing the Frameworks	11
Theoretical Approaches	15
Publishing as Situation	15
Publishing as Liminality	17
Endnotes	22
CHAPTER 2	24
Publishing as Colonial Framework	24
Archives as Silence, Location as Text	32
The BBC's Caribbean Voices (Historical Insert)	42
Publishing as Haunting	46
Endnotes	73
CHAPTER 3	74
Movement as Institution	74
Tides as Decolonial Framework	77
Movement as Creole	81
Publishing as Oceanic	87
Endnotes	98
APPENDIX	99
WORKS CITED	103

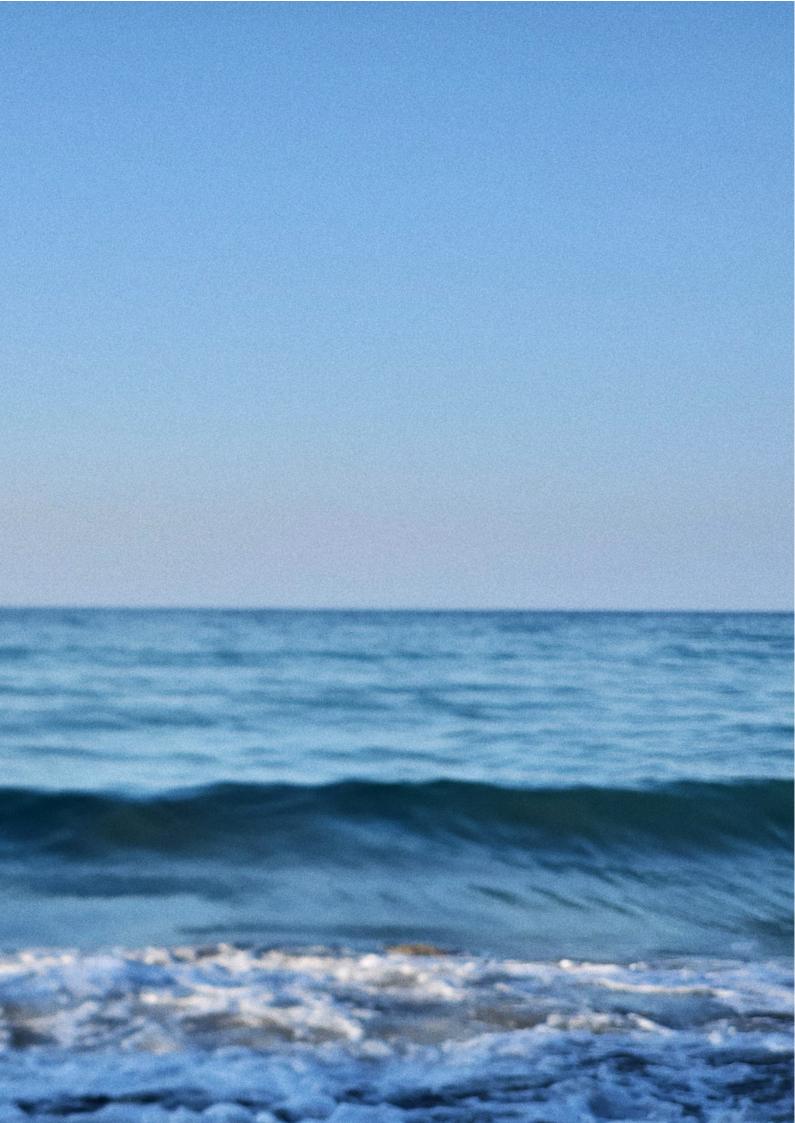
Figure 1.1 Darton's Communication Circuit

- Figure 2.1. Letter from Henry Swanzy 20th of January 1949
- Figure 2.2. Letter from Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo 20th of January 1949

Figure 2.3. Letter from Gladys Lindo, 27th of January 1949.

Figure 2.4, 2.5. Letter from Henry Swanzy 21st June 1949.

- Figure 2.6. Letter from Henry Swanzy to Derek Walcott 9th of Febuary 1949
- Figure 2.7. Letter from Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo 7th of March 1949
- Figure 2.8. Rejection letter from Johnathan Cape Limited
- Figure 2.9, 2.10. Letter from a Caribbean Voices listener to Henry Swanzy, 3rd of April 1952
- Figure 2.11, 2.12. Letter from Henry Swanzy to Frank Collymore 25th of March 1954



# **REFLECTIONS ON WATER**

As with the beginning, able to be borderless, centred, legible and unifying without explanation, water comes to the forefront. A freed rhythm of unknowns that language has yet to collapse. Word and spirit, in a violent collision, crash against shores. The ocean is a storyteller.

Our most potent metaphor, where it appears in ancient creation myths, is that the primaeval waters are often associated with chaos, disorder, and creation. Creation becomes tantamount to setting order to the chaos, or, in other words, to classify and critique the disordered, liminal, watery substance of preor conscious being into its subsequent, knowable, created forms—remembering that in all creation myths, it is often the spoken word that is the crucial divine tool used to calm the primordial ocean and initiate creation. The word, language and storytelling rely on death and resurrection, movement in its constant emergence. The end of one tidal motion is to create space for the next.

Literature and storytelling are something that moves, has happened, is happening, the representation of something(s) or somebody(ies) changing. The word here, language, refuses to sustain formlessness —Allah's utterance to the earth and sky, commanding them to "come together, willingly or unwillingly"— in turn, refuses to account for those trapped at the eroded shorelines of history and memory. This utterance encompasses how literature, as this material representation of the first creation act, allows the past to continue through the state, through ideological, and economic structures and shows the detrimental effect on that which the word brought into form unwillingly in an extractive resource of creation. For the beginning of colonial empiricism, it seems the best way to create was not to try and erase the words but to co-opt them so entirely that they could no longer be used in revolution. The taken-for-grantedness of literacy undermines how the word produces the

permissible modes of being. These are incomplete and impermanent, imbued with heavy history's uncertain and ambiguous presences. Literature has limits in accounting for the long-standing company of the past, vestiges of slavery and colonialism, written into the present. How does the literary space account for this palimpsestuous re-writing of histories on those undone by the word? The theme of the spoken word as the key mechanism of creation is pervasive across the ancient world, so speaking of all its appearances would be nearly impossible. For this, it is enough to recognise that the word was considered the primary force by which creator or creators set order to the churning waters the first time.

The creative power of the spoken word is a wide-ranging belief that the spoken word continues to change the physical world through utterance, prayer, cures, law, and legislation, as it had done during creation. Word, language and literature become the materialisation of the past in the present, a spilling, keeping, haunting and echo of that primaeval water. Thus, mythologies are tempered, stories translated into different languages, produced in different locations and then neutralised, used as the tool of empire. So what is the violence enacted through the published literary industry as it is? As I look to these contexts for new frames, however, these radical visions are ensnared by the violent limits of the colonial imagination that impose stagnancy on a process that is supposed to be a cycle of moving regeneration. Palimpsests are ubiquitous. From ocean crossings, currents, seas, and shores are ever-changing. Swirling tides and waves, rising and falling.

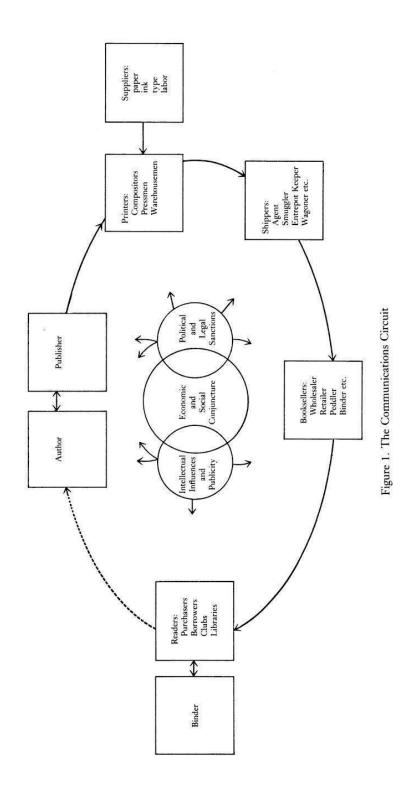
I locate myself in this offering as a West Indian writer and reader at that place where the ocean meets the shore by thinking about accessibility, identity, world-making, and the limitations and possibilities of literature and publishing. I connect the tentative expressions of theory, practice and history in an auto theoretical turn to challenge the dominant approaches of publishing practices while beginning to envision new ways for Caribbean literary culture to think outside of the colonial imagination, "to make visible, open up, and advance radically distinct perspectives and positionalities that displace Western rationality as the only framework and possibility of existence, analysis, and thought"

(Mignolo, Walter, and Walsh). In other words, this thesis looks at the publishing process' violations of the postcolonial's creative and political literary potential. In articulating an oceanic application of creating a postcolonial publishing process, I seek to serve the building tidal wave of a more regenerative, decolonised and better world within our current one. This pathway is not linear, as crafting this thesis has shown me, and embracing the language of the oceans meets the need to understand the multiplicity of strategies, experiments and simultaneous methods of addressing and providing diverse imaginings to enrich these movements, to "weave together, reshape, separate, flow back, and come forward again" (McDougall 58). There is no singular plan, or product, (or thesis); instead I am constantly reminded that movements are always at once occurring, a multiplicity of routes and pathways and that there is generative capacity in contradiction. No singular word brings greater adaptivity and responsiveness; what is needed is the integration of decolonial imaginative vision and practical application that challenges infrastructure and catalyses a new radical imagination, and escapes the dualistic utterance of 'no alternative' and reclaims not only history but the future. Are there new (before) discursive tools of literature, publishing and storytelling being uncovered by literary activism that, in reclaiming and cultivating this imaginative capability, envision the creation of a postcolonial system of storytelling beyond capitalism that disrupts the imperial projections and limits of the use of the word which are incompatible with the forward movements of an independent, decolonised, primaeval potential?

In other words, how can the ocean write?

There is a certain 'taken-for-granted-ness' of literature, where through language occurs a devastating, beautiful illegibility to the ideological currents that grant legitimacy to words that end up in print. The impact of print on social and cultural history is a field that now resembles the meeting of frothing, hot salt with cold winds in a hurricane. Getting lost in the overlapping waves of thoughts, theories, and archives when read through different disciplines and backgrounds takes us further and further into the deep to understand, as Robert Darnton outlines in his 1982 essay "What is the History of Books?" as the purpose of "the new literary history," that is, "to understand how ideas were transmitted through print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behaviour of mankind..." (65). The arrangement of studying books as material objects invites a "mood of expansion and a flurry of fresh ideas" (Darnton 65). which helps our understanding of literature as a moving force in history. Attending to the materiality of text can be extended and expanded to include a range of analytical inquiries. Histories, cultures, and sociopolitical agencies involved in textual production, dissemination, and consumption affect not only the content of the text but its purpose, use and effect in the world.

Darnton outlines the general pattern of book production as a "communication circuit" (Figure 1). The sense of enterprise in creating books, which transforms and affects the text, moves through each phase of the circuit from the author to the publisher, navigating through the printery, distribution centres, booksellers, and finally, readers. Within this intimately-connected circuit are systems bridging historical, economic, political, and cultural actants. It is from this sea of interconnected relations produced within book production that literary historians of the Anglophone-postcolonial Atlantic, such as Ian Baucom, prove that "the history of the English novel comprises not only a history of the rise of fiction but a continuing history of the vicissitudes of what constitutes and counts as a fact" (220).



According to Figure.1, Darnton's circuit encapsulates the entire publishing process. While it can be adjusted to apply to all book production variants, it encourages book historians to analyse each phase. Through the relations enmeshed within this geo-political world of print, Darnton stresses that parts do not take on their full significance unless they are related to the whole.

Darnton suggests that each phase is related to:

- 1) Other activities that a given person has underway at a given point in the circuit,
- 2) Other persons at the same point in other circuits,
- 3) Other persons at other points in the same circuit, and
- 4) Other elements in society

#### (Darnton 67)

Acknowledging these relations opens the publishing industry to consider all the intrahuman systems, functions and political connections that are, materially and ideologically, related to a more robust understanding of print production "in a sort of ghostly, fictional afterlife" (Baucom 217) and they show how literary texts affect these human conditions.

As such, Darnton's circuit has been the starting ground for many efforts to analyse the structures that produce books and the conditions of the systems related to them and a more extensive understanding of how the textual object "has shaped man's attempts to make sense of the human condition" (Darnton 80). Engagements with this structure have led to further developments, such as widening the book historian's object of study to include: attention to the human roles (or functions) that facilitate the movements of texts through the publishing process, the addition of textual production and dissemination to the literary critic's interpretations of meaning, as well as an increased awareness of the complexities of the collaborative networks behind finished texts (Low, "Book History" 12).

However, the imperial and colonial histories that facilitated the Anglophone text still need to be recognised and realised. Many structures critical to the proliferation of imperial and colonial dominance are visible in each text's movements. At the same time, a complete investigation of the

contextual materialities associated with publishing postcolonial texts remains impossible. It is conditional on their fulfilment within the industry's primary focus: capital expansion.

Treatment and support of Anglophonic literature require probing into the exploration of those publishing situations and literary histories. The need for ideological adjustments to the process and attitudes of literary creation is illustrated throughout this meditation on West Indian literature and the contradictions within its creation and sustainability. This thesis moves particularly to examine the political ideologies that support the material processes and infrastructure that sweep these texts up, only to drown in their limits, that is, to showcase how the sea of connections involved with the production of the postcolonial text, publishing, cultural, educational, and literary institutions—and the individuals involved in these-are crucial to understanding how postcolonial texts emerge in print (Low, "Book History" 28). This particularly applies to those whose histories of written recollections are first accounts foregrounded in legacies of dehumanisation. The publishing industry struggles to address the imperialising systems that dominate the institutional capacities of literature. In this offering, I wade through what I believe is one of the more significant locations identified in the circuit for the postcolonial literary situation to consider, the publishers. The initial emergence of West Indian literature as a postcolonial literary event intimately intersected with intrahuman politics of race, class, capital, geography, and language. Book history thus expanded to address how texts were curated to negotiate the sociopolitical conditions (imperial, economic networks of trade, and power). Postcolonial and Anglophonic publishers relied on these historical relation patterns to depict the concurrency of underdeveloped colonies and objections to the troubling histories.

Baucom further outlines the peculiarities of the cosmopolitan's interest in the creative pursuits of postcolonial nations' efforts to recover their lost narratives, cautioning:

For what is lost is not only lost in damaged or unrecorded time, it is also frequently lost in space, unseen not merely because time, measured chronologically, continues its implacable, imperturbable march but because the extent of geographic space and the constraints of politically organised sightlines on history intervenes between the witness and the unforgettable spectacle of what has not been witnessed.

```
(Baucom 218)
```

To not attend to how the dynamic literary text animates personhood and politics (Snaza 6) allows the far-reaching range of violence to continue moving through the functions of the publishing industry without considering the limits, confines, and the bottom of the emptiness in these narratives. I argue for a need to redefine how colonial legacies within the publishing infrastructure continue to drown out the cultural and sociopolitical concerns of postcolonial literature through its ability to serve and protect the hegemony of the empire. This consideration includes a dive into the routine functions of the publishing industry, which have proven to be mutually beneficial to the continuation of empire and imperial practices. Our inattention to the structures involved in publishing literature allows the industry to present itself as far removed from the histories that structure our present world and to project itself as a wholly equal and democratising space. However, moving even within this curated space is the undercurrent of Western economic imperialism (Nottingham 139). Nathan Snaza writes in Animate Literacies, "literacy in such new spaces--is an assemblage of territorialisation or rather deterritorialisation for bodies to mingle and collide. This is politics" (Snaza 148). The publisher remains a powerful political facilitator for constructing cultural and national consciousness through literature. Moreover, the interdependent relationships among writers, publishers, and institutions dedicated to the curation and funding of politically engaged literature are equally enmeshed within the systemized economic goals of the industry.

A static headlock is created from the publishing industry's economic endeavours. Despite creativity being the source of cultural and postcolonial literary flourishing, its connection to the industrial production of texts turns it into a product of imperialism used to access the material resources published. Literary theorist Glyne Griffith writes of these publishing conditions as "the dialectical struggle between language as self-reflexive object and language as unself-conscious representation [that] combines with the discursive force of imperialist ideology to complicate narrative construction of personhood and selfhood" (Griffith, "*Deconstruction*" ix). A permanent relationship between canonical, internationally known, accessible literature and institutional authority is also a permanent relationship between these nations and their colonial pasts.

Institutionalising what enters the national canon of culture may act as an instrument for inspiring community or a vehicle for repressive ideologies. In *Literary Theory*, Terry Eagleton explains how institutionalising literature conveys "timeless truths" and a superiority that coincides with "high imperialism." A nation's literature is meant to prop up its sense of national "cultural superiority," whereas having national literature is an imposed limitation on a single narrative or set of narratives that put forth a particular idea of nationhood and culture (Eagleton 25-6). Similarly, Glen Coulthard investigates Canada's desire to re-capture Indigenous communities within this national framework, emphasising the unbreakable connection between publishing and colonialism. Coulthard writes that "in such conditions, reconciliation takes on a temporal character as the individual and collective process of overcoming the subsequent *legacy* of past abuse, not the abusive colonial structure itself" needs attention (109). Exorcising the colonial past's ghostly presence is what preoccupies literary academics and critics today. Awareness of these structures embedded within the publishing industry asks us to draw the connections between the primary effects and unconscious political events, wherein the conception of what is publishable complicates the identity of those whose stories are not available or chosen to participate.

Additionally, even when writers are participating, the inherently extractive nature of the publishing industry views them from the margins as an untapped resource of voices to be transformed into textual commodities. Foundational practices commonplace in the publishing industry perform both as a means of gaining capital and, more insidiously, as a means of cultural domination and assimilation. A focus on this undercurrent calls into question how the influence of these spaces' cultural and historical legacies of domination of these spaces are reified within the authority of a publishing house. The persistence of structures pre-conditioned by racism, class, and gender normativity flourishes at these centres. Here, the unspoken and unexamined assumptions about *what matters and who cares to* ensnare us in the undertow. This pattern continues in loops of palimpsests. Texts and writers on the margins face a challenge in decentering colonisation in the literary world, which demands new movements that can create more comprehensive frameworks enabling creative, experimental practices and ideological shifts in attitude. By navigating the "vast and swirling scene of

collisions among bodies and agencies" (Snaza 8) that flow between the lines of print, writers can explore alternative paths of writing and producing literature, moving beyond the boundaries set by the colonial past.

#### **Establishing the Frameworks**

Jamaican poet Olive Senior, delivering the Keynote address at BOCAS<sup>1</sup> Literature Festival 2013, proposes, "Literature does not ask 'What is it about?' It asks, 'How do we tell it to make it real?'" (Repeating Islands). The function of literature is not to present the world just as it is but, at once, to present it as it was, could be, or from another's view. West Indian writers continue to explore the limits of language not only to re-address the struggles of the past or their impact on the present but also to write many shimmering futures into reality. Making the West Indies 'real' was the authors' first undertaking to capture the region outside the colonial gaze, expressed through a lush, multilayered vision as a continued mode of resistance.

We need writers to remind us who we are and what we are not. Collective memory is an urgent need if total oblivion is to be avoided. In inheriting the tongue of the colonised world, we had to cut it to fit our mouths; language for the Caribbean writer is a balancing of using the signified authority of the coloniser while deploying it for our voice, uses and identities. This literacy situation, an exchange between listener and speaker, conquered and conqueror, presents as the seabed of postcolonial literature. The creative fiction of stories that first emerged in West Indian literature, such as V.S Naipaul's *Mystic Masseur*, George Lamming's *Castle in my Skin* or Derek Walcott's *Omeros*, reflect but re-enact the power relations of Caribbean society. It is the expression of a submerged unconsciousness attempting to use this new tool to devise ways of writing itself into existence in dimensions that realism alone cannot account for. This ability to transcend the prescribed signs and signifiers of the written word to cater to the expressions of a collective unconscious in unregimented

and unedited flow is vital for those previously silenced, to devise their own modes of communication and representation. In studying West Indian Literature, the ability to compare its essential concerns and methodologies with the current concerns and practices surrounding its emergence and treatment is crucial to pinpointing the pitfalls of the publishing industry. Re-examining the political situations underpinning the formation of the literary West Indies should concern many literary historians. In this cultural and linguistic erosion situation, it is a writer's responsibility to break this silence. A shift in possibilities within the centres of language and reading is required, but often marginal communities are not heard when it comes to creating remedies. When I first encountered West Indian literature in a way that I could see as separate from other literature, I was in the first year of my undergrad at UWI Mona. It was a poetry collection, a delectable suite entitled "Sections of an Orange" by Anton Nimblett. It was then that I started to understand the importance of being able to see and hear the echoes of yourself in language. Coming out of the high school setting where the classics and Shakespeare were more the focus for our English-based examinations, reconnecting with West Indian literature made it known to me that the literature of one's own country or region is what helps a person to know and understand the world, and as Kenneth Ramachand states within his pioneering work, The West Indian Novel and its Background, "that it could do so more comprehensively and sensuously than the literature of other countries" (24). Comparing tastes I have known intimately from my backyard, hearing a rhyme scheme that could fit in my mouth unencumbered and having that relatability made the reading experience enlightening. I realised I had been craving self-knowledge from reading literature from my region.

The literature of the West Indies cannot be examined outside of the contexts that shaped it. Imperialism in its colonial and neo-colonial waves continues to inhibit not only the region's economic and political liberation from Euro-American ideals but also the culture and language that define the tides of self-definition, innovation and validation. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o explores this in "Decolonising the Mind," specifically focusing on how the African language, stories, and subsequent literature define cultures and peoples. Thiong'o emphasises that "language was not a mere string of words" (286); language is what gives people identity. The choice of language is central to defining a people's

relation between themselves and the world. Similar to how Thiong'o describes the fate of Africa being decided around conference tables oceans away, the literary works of the Caribbean are torn through in cubicles, negotiated and edited to speak convincingly of the "other" in the languages of imperialist imposition.

We remain caught in the whirlpool of trying to articulate our culture, history, and self outside colonial terms while still using colonisers' language. "English became more than a language: it was *the* language, and all the others had to bow before it in deference" (Thiong'o 287). Before beginning my studies at a Canadian university, my undergrad was spent studying a wide array of West Indian, African and other postcolonial literature written in English. As a result, my department changed to be renamed "Literatures in English," rejecting the common title of "English Literature". This may seem a subtle distinction, but the department's position to update the name speaks to the refusal to subscribe to the assumption that English is the natural language of literature and occupies an unassailable position in our Caribbean and African literary works. Instead, this distinction reminds us that the language we read with is merely a medium, a tool, and a penalty of the colonial project. It reminds us that writing in English as a West Indian or African author is an experiment of swallowing new tongues to carry our voice.

To share and record these stories requires having to learn the ways of bending this new tongue around the taste of thousands of dialects, sounds, and unique oralities at the risk of sounding "wrong" or egotised as a new, innovative use of the language instead of emulating another language in itself. Nigerian author Gabriel Okara speaks to the African writer's deliberate use of English as an approach rather than the only means of writing:

As a writer who believes in the utilisation of African ideas, African philosophy and African folk-lore and imagery to the fullest extent possible, I am of the opinion that the only way to use them effectively is to translate them almost literally from the African language native to the writer, into whatever European language he is using as his medium of expression... a writer can use the idioms of his language in a way that is understandable in English.<sup>2</sup>

It is in this way that these cultures serve to enrich the English language, but the articulations of the postcolonial remain subservient to it. To use English as a literary language does not have to mean

submission to colonial dominance. Instead, writers can utilise innovative methods of publishing and language to create new literary traditions. This requires embracing the diversity of dialects, sounds, and oralities that make up the literary landscape and finding ways to incorporate them into the written word without sacrificing uniqueness. Okara emphasises the importance of utilising one's native language and translating it into English in a literal and effective manner rather than attempting to emulate the English language to create a truly diverse and inclusive literary space.

Throughout the next chapter, I move to examine how the treatment of early West Indian literary works by publishing institutions primarily followed the established colonial paradigms of extraction and dependency; as Thiong'o writes, "To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relation to others," to be "seen and defined by (or reflected in) the culture of the language of imposition" (286-87). The paradox of location is central to the negotiation of West Indian literature's history, preservation and futurity; to be constantly engaged with imperial infrastructure while aiming to fashion a unique voice is counterproductive. The decentralisation of the primary publishing locations (London, New York, Toronto, Paris) is crucial to the movement necessary for a postcolonial literary culture. Such a structural framing would locate the archipelago's literary processes specifically to a West Indian context, accounting for the particularities inherent to this geo-political space, and impact the creative, cultural and production industry of West Indian literary works. Publishing houses in the region are few and far between in previously colonised countries which make up the Global South where the capital startup to fund these houses is an unimaginable expenditure. The importance of using language and literature to understand oneself is left unexamined for those having to import their own words.

In an apologia addressed to Caribbean Publishing, Ghanaian poet and literary critic Kwame Dawes addresses how the Caribbean or African writer fulfils the role of imaginative reconstruction of our histories, dispossessed in time and word (2013). In it, Dawes speaks forcefully on the need for a change in publishing from producing to preserving, in particular, a way that reflects the constantly changing, shimmering surface of the Caribbean's literary works and culture in its mode of production, circulation and interpretation. Dawes suggests that the requirement of indigenous publishing houses

and established literary communities for producing Anglophone postcolonial texts is due to the influence of imperial politics, operationalised and institutionalised within the production systems, even in the wake of independence. Literary critic Nathan Snaza's notion of the *literacy situation* helps me ground these rushing ideas by centring on "how events of conscious meaning production are inseparable from a much wider field of relations and movements" (17). Making the region's sociopolitical history a critical consideration for the production processes of Anglophone literary works within the contemporary capitalist processes of the publishing industry pinpoints the ability to negotiate the tensions that arise in the written word's function as a decolonising mode of resistance while simultaneously being implicit in furthering the English colonial project.

#### **Theoretical Approaches**

#### **Publishing as Situation**

In this work, I elaborate on the need to seek more comprehensive ideological frameworks that enable creative, experimental practices to write and produce literature differently. The Anglophone West Indies' literary emergence was incredibly significant in establishing a West Indian identity separate from the narratives previously imposed by former mother countries. However, when wading through the process of first publishing this body of work, select entities and moments surface as influences that worked directly against these postcolonial interests, the ongoing consequences of which remain unaddressed. While exploring the interconnected historical, political, and cultural aspects of literary production—its networks and collaborators—I am interested in analysing how these processes are involved in the inscription of colonial thought, modernity and nationhood in the texts produced by the English-speaking Caribbean. I am interested in defining how the involvement of colonial institutions at the time of the Anglophone West Indies' literary emergence shaped the

cultural and political capacities of these texts, their navigation of the capitalist world system and how this impacts West Indian culture today.

Situating West Indian literature within a field of material objects and conditions provides a comprehensive perspective on how the legacy of the empire mediates the publishing industry's swirling pool of historical, political and economic influences to interrogate what Snaza calls the *literacy situation*. This notion analyses the emergence of literature from what he defines as "the scenes of pre- or a conscious collision and affective contact" through which "intrahuman politics of race, class, gender, sexuality, and geography shape the conditions of literacy events that animate subjects and the political relations with which they are entangled" (24). This concept asks us to examine how literature moves; as he notes, the "events of conscious meaning production are inseparable from this much wider field of relations and movements" (Snaza 17). Movement is central to the emergence of West Indian literature: of peoples, power, cultures, politics, and of course, the stories over water, from the continent to the archipelago, to London.

Snaza challenges our shared conceptions of literature and the publishing process with close readings that question the relationship between reading and strategies of imperialisation. The ideological processes shape our publishing and literature ideas at work within and beyond literary production. He situates the publishing process within a larger historical context of colonial power. He deconstructs how the politics of race, class, gender, sexuality and geography shape literature's emergence conditions. A sustained attention to the complex and even contradictory movements involved in producing West Indian literature mobilises an indictment of the print industry's maintenance of imperial frameworks that diminish this body's political and creative capacities into narrowly conceived textual commodities. Preserving marginalised literature in the systems of the contemporary globalised world shows how tracing the liminal processes that imprint the literary form affect how we can re-imagine publishing today through access, communication, mobility and culturally productive political awareness.

#### **Publishing as Liminality**

The term 'liminality' comes from the Latin meaning 'threshold'. The idea of the threshold holds significant meaning in postcolonial studies evoking images of passages, doorways, crossings and no returns. The threshold marks a place of change, "a region in which there is a continual process of movement and interchange between different states" (Ashcroft 117); it would be an unusual place to stay permanently. Liminal spaces become the in-between location of significant change where new meaning is said to be produced. Liminality has specific importance in postcolonial theory as it identifies the intervening environment in which cultural transformation can occur. It can relate to "a range of physical sites including several which have had particular importance in the postcolonial experience" (Thieme 144). I conceptualise a metaphor to capture the political and ideological processes necessary to serve the postcolonial text. Such methods of publishing and writing must involve a conscious effort to critically engage with the past, to learn from it, and to reimagine ways of being and doing that move beyond its limitations. It requires a willingness to confront uncomfortable truths, challenge existing power structures, and embrace new perspectives and situations in this space. Ultimately, this approach recognises that the past is always present but does not have to dictate the future.

Homi K. Bhabha, in particular, has stressed the importance of the liminal space in *Location* of *Culture* (1994). Referring to the liminal as a disruptive transitory 'in-between' space, characterised by its indeterminacy, hybridity, and potential for change, he describes this process as a space that "displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives" (Bhabha 211), a "third space." This third space becomes a location that resists assimilation but also fosters the creation of unusual archives and new modes of reading and demands specific interpretive strategies for these texts found on the margins. As quoted by Snaza, Seigworth, and Gregg also conceptualise that from this space, "Affect arises in the midst of *in-between-ness:* in the capacities to act and be acted upon" (1). The literary world has crested into a liminal space intent on now giving a manner of attention that also attends to the affective political agencies that work within literacy to express its ever-shifting wonders and uncertainties. This location is prime for the

cultivation of a new network of ideas as it rejects anything fixed, allowing us to go beyond colonial binary thinking, moving from a place of exclusion to one with a better capacity to accept and "affirm alternative possibilities for performing literacy and literature" (Snaza 65).

The word *liminal* draws on the ideas of other disciplines, and I use it here to invite the widening of the frames typically used within literary studies. Inviting this departure from the usual expectations of literature's institutional capacity into these liminal spaces allows for aspects of literature's messy entanglements to be foregrounded where they tend to be put aside in usual scholarship. Again, this view and production of literary studies emphasise movement rather than stasis, and again I think of the water. Liminality has also been outlined by psychologists Mary Watkins and Helene Shulman in their book, *Toward Psychologies of Liberation*, which speaks specifically to what happens at the disruptive moment of a shift when we are in the aftershock of knowing things will never be the same, seemingly marooned in these uncertain liminal spaces, and asking what action we can take in this in-between stage to produce new and discursive forms of meaning. Liminal spaces call for an unsettling process of becoming with purposeful avoidance of what Bwa Mwesigire, in his article "What is Literary Activism? (Or who keeps the Master's House)" chooses to terms, "epistemic disarticulation," meaning resistance to reinscribing the same failures to acknowledge multiple modes of knowing and their unique credibility (4).

I want to share a tangentially related image that I returned to repeatedly as I thought of how to represent and speak of this shift in ideological attitude and proposed methodology. Film-maker Julie Dash's *Daughters of the Dust (1991)* stunned me with a flurry of subtly mythic images. However, one seemingly inconsequential one crystalised and drew together a collage of ideas into one haunting still. In this cinematic collapse of time, the themes of memory preservation, story and how memory is passed down through generations are central to the lives of the Peazant family as they remember their history of slavery and beyond. Director Dash, in the opening text, tells us that "Gullah communities recalled, remembered and recollected much of what their ancestors brought with them from Africa," defining the integral nature of stories and oral tradition, further explored in the film through the use of out of time narrations and natural dialogue in different dances of dialect

and accents. The language, prayers, and stories—these cultural texts and *situations*—evolve through the passing down of these traditions. These traditions are not static or recreated perfectly, flowing through imperfect memory and influenced by recent experiences. The perceived 'fixity' of texts and textual production is challenged as we watch how they change through the different generations and can even be expected to change in the future with the character of The Unborn Child. Bhabba describes this evolving process by stating:

The reason a cultural text or system of meaning cannot be sufficient unto itself because the act of cultural enunciation— the place of utterance—is crossed by the difference of writing. ....It is this difference in the process of language that is crucial to the production of meaning and ensures, at the same time, that meaning is never simply mimetic and transparent.

#### (Location 36)

The image of this film that has become so impressed upon me is a long pan of an indecipherable depth of water, shimmering in the light captured on grainy film, slightly tinged in indigo. We follow the camera panning up the length of a smooth, carved, dark wooden statue semi-submerged in the murky water. We do not know who carved the beautiful curves and face of the statue, what it means, why it ended up as a fragment simultaneously hidden away and also saved by the water, but we now have this fragment; this half-drowned, "presence of the past" remains here with us. What can we do with it now? In many ways, this statue represents a cultural and even textual object, a function of memory that can be shared and, in the context of literary studies, has its own affective force to be remembered, read, or translated within this murky idea that literacy and literature are an ever-evolving process. Any attempt to isolate the issues we face now, in this time and space, will find its inaugural moment already dependent upon a history of politics that has been installed prior. These systems wash up and drift into the present in an ontological disjunction wherein the concretised beliefs of the past, which have formed the foundations of what we culturally and socially perceive as the norm, are unsettled against what we know now. We are haunted by our ability to identify this presence that makes some of our established certainties, and situations vacillate, that some unresolved aspect of history makes itself known to us.

The unsettling histories behind the literature we read, even the language we read it in, have become less of a given as critical attention from postcolonial theorists centre the liminal spaces these ghosts are found in. Understanding colonial relations and specifically examining the postcolonial literature of non-white diaspora can suggest how the colonial past continues to affect the present in a kind of 'ghost story' (Matsuoka and Sorenson 4). In pursuing a radically different dissent than that of colonial authorities, I believe that one's questions can be confabulated in this space to distort the conditions of resistance to explore new framing possibilities. In the liminal, even the seemingly incoherent possibilities can be questioned. Can memory, like history, be qualified? What does it mean to talk to ghosts? Furthermore, to note the specificity of *talking* with ghosts, the need to *hear and be heard* by the spectres of this space alludes to the perceived connections and transitions of orality to text and the usefulness of still attending to these tensions when exploring literary historiographies.

The fluidity in the literary space today facilitates alternative sites and frameworks created specifically to fit the contexts of the postcolonial writer in subjugated spaces to achieve new horizons. The space of writing and literature that addresses colonialism through new storytelling and activism requires a new model for a thriving publishing enterprise in our region that is not predicated on the values of the marketplace but that values the preservation of knowledge for present and future generations with the intent to move with them this time. For texts and writers on the threshold, careful attention is required to piece together insights ravaged at the margins. Toni Morrison, in her interview for the Nobel, uses the metaphor of remaining at the margin, but claiming it as central to call for this radical shift of perspective in which those who occupy the threshold, those marginalised, postcolonial literary spaces, "[claim] it as central, and let the rest of the world move over" (visonaryproject). Letting the world move over, however, implies an unspoken marronage, the slow and stilted work of recovering lost and forgotten works in order to remap these liminal spaces into a hybrid capable of housing the ideological and political concerns of those disadvantaged by the imperialist structure of the book market as it is today.

Bridging the gap between the Western systems of literacy and those the West left behind is an ongoing process that calls for movement and innovation that cannot stay still. This dialectic

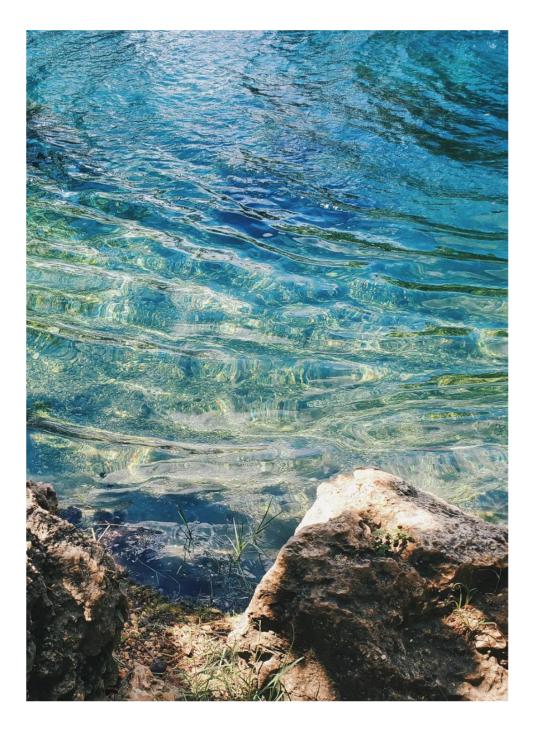
encounter creates new hybrid expressions of literacy, which in turn challenge the beliefs of the coloniser's essentialist claims of an inherent purity of the culture. Constructing something outside the bounds of colonisation's definitions of culture and language requires diving deeper into this liminal space. It requires discovering discursive writing tools and literary frameworks that give way to the new materialities necessary for the creation of true postcolonial literature, unreliant on colonial models of extractive production. We need to reframe how we can read ourselves, through ocean crossings, currents, and seas, to how others read us and how we can write ourselves into existence on ever-changing shores. Thinking through how a wider framing of the study of literature to include the political and social hierarchies that are treated as if separable from literacy is required. Many half-submerged texts are waiting at the mouth of the river to rush in.

This presence of the past that runs undercurrent to our perception of progress as a straightforward movement, as if from phase to phase, has seldom been processed in frames of theorisation that complement its fluidity. Arising from a resistance to the statist, economic limits of textual production, to theorise this framework demands a new approach, one committed to the legibility of movement, fluidity and the limitlessness of the textual object. This thesis proposes a postcolonial publishing framework that involves the antifoundational, counter universalising, political approaches from theorists such as Snaza, Kamau Brathwaite, and Derrida, and the ideas of hauntings, waves and movements in situations to produce "an affective and imaginary countervision and counterknowledge" (Baucom 223) to the Eurocentred institutional capture of literary production. The grammars of the sea, hauntings and liminal situations offer a vocabulary for this elusive, fading or otherwise invisible identity that continues to resist the uniformity of the Western canon. Disrupting colonial notions moves towards a framework where the literary imagination is considered a political tool for identity-making and cultural reformation. To centre freeing the postcolonial subject in renaming the world in their own language and story, bringing together the liminalities of literary criticism, book history, and cultural studies, not to answer these questions in definite ways, but to observe these texts in flux and allow the prescribed expectations of literature to be challenged, means to "lose solidity, become uncertain, and start trembling" (Snaza 6).

## Endnotes

1. The NGC Bocas Lit Fest is the first major literary festival in the southern Caribbean and largest literary festival in the Anglophone Caribbean. The festival's name derives both from the Spanish word for mouth, *boca* (apt for storytelling) and also references Bocas del Dragón (the Dragon's Mouths), which are the narrow straits off Trinidad's north-west peninsula that connect the Gulf of Paria to the Caribbean Sea. For centuries, the Bocas were the gateways connecting Trinidad to the Caribbean and the Atlantic Ocean. "Bocas Lit Fest - Celebrating Books, Writers and Writing from the Caribbean and the World." *Bocas Lit Fest*, www.bocaslitfest.com/.

2. Gabriel Okara, Transition 10, September 1963, reprinted from Dialogue, Paris.



My tongue was a stone at the bottom of the sea, my mouth a parted conch/ from which nothing sounded -Derek Walcott, *Omeros* 

## **CHAPTER 2**

#### **Publishing as Colonial Framework**

The strategic use of print to establish social and political dominance in the colonies remains well articulated and fundamentally unchanged within the publishing industry's infrastructure today. How the trade and mass-market publishing industry are shaped reinforce the imperial strategies of what it meant to be cultured, educated, well-read, and even human. This legacy disallows literacy collectives to take shape outside of statist capture, which asks how the *new world* of words was shaped and reflects whose image? The ability to record our expansion, thoughts, and beliefs through words is predicated by the lasting legacies of imperialism and colonialism. Awareness of the political structures embedded within the publishing industry and of ongoing dispossession from imperialism is what preoccupies literary academics and critics today.

The value of books and their importance in fostering community is often overlooked by the primarily capitalist, commercial supply chains enabled by the mainstream publishing industry. The freedoms offered by the literary space, how we give language to feelings and humanity to history, are influenced by the rigid economic logic that systematically reinforces the cultural hierarchies within this unexamined authority. Marginalised spaces such as the Caribbean, Latin America and African countries are excluded from participating due to histories of imperial strategies of *who and what is essential* persists through systems pre-conditioned by racism, class structures, and gender normativity that influence how these publishers treat marginalised literature. The foundational practices commonplace in the publishing industry arise from these unaddressed colonial paradigms that perform both as a means of gaining capital and, more insidiously, as a means of cultural domination and assimilation.

In his essay, "Notes on Printing & Publishing Literary Books," Andrew Steeves, bookmaker and Nova Scotian publisher, asks, "*What is literary publishing for*?" This question was one that I had immediate answers for but struggled to articulate not only for this thesis but to understand the sociopolitical responsibility of publishers at this time to readers, the broader human and non-human world, to address the colonial agencies that penetrate the literary frameworks and production. Moreover, while I answer Steeves and other questions in a somewhat indirect and lyrical way, ultimately, the sociopolitical impact of literature is a complex and nuanced layering of issues and ideas that read entire lifetimes. Steeves answers his question by writing, "I publish literary books because I think they can help the community to understand what is happening to it and through it, articulating what it is like to be alive, here, at this time and in this place" (4). Focusing on this current that moves beneath the curated ideologies of the publishing industrial complex means attending to the sociopolitical responsibilities the industry neglects in its interpellation of postcolonialism as a marketable, literary category, rather than a critically deconstructive, political practice.

Literary publishing is a political function in culture. Recognising this, writers, publishers, and readers take a book from a commodified impartial source of pleasure, or information, to a tool with cultural purpose—its own "blended cultural-technical phenomenon" (Steeves 6). With this understanding, literary historians, theorists and critics I lean on heavily, such as Nathan Snaza and Gail Low, can actively interrogate publishers' motivations, histories and actions, scrutinising the material systems and processes of the institutional production of literature and how they affect the political agencies of storytelling and the cultural role of literature within the dynamics of contemporary capitalism. The commodity function of the publishing industrial complex relies on imperialising strategies such as dehistoricisation, manufactured exoticism and the aestheticisation of marginal identities and places to participate in the commodity exchange. These strategies are fostering uniformity when the very basis of postcolonial Caribbean and African literary work is to disrupt the world in which these stories are situated. The publishing framework, as it is today, repurposes the intentions of postcolonial work to protect the industry's interest in the imperial project of accumulating capital and maintaining the cultural hierarchy.

This chapter looks back at once and speculates about other outcomes by assessing the processes central to commodifying marginalised identities and postcolonial thinking under the neoliberal, capitalist systems employed in literary production. I delve into the intricate relationship between materialism and postcolonial literature by paying sustained attention to the distinct literary situation that emerges from the political, historical, and material conditions that produce such texts. Specifically, my exploration focuses on the post-war era, spanning from 1943 to 1958, when West Indian writers harnessed the power of literary culture to construct an uncanny transnational force and develop a political practice out of words on the cusp of regional independence. Finally, I attempt to briefly outline this period's historical and political arrangements surrounding the emergence of African and West Indian Anglophone literature in the English metropolis. This unique literary moment not only reflected the complexities of negotiating these interconnected changes to culture, identity, and politics, defined by the post-war period's violent and profound transformation, but also consolidated the function of literature through their means of production.

For the English-speaking Caribbean, the post-war period intimately revealed how the patterns of empire fixed the archipelago's relation to the world, only reproducing the same uncontested hierarchy of Britain's superiority and the West Indies' inability to create an autochthonous identity. Reflecting on the production of Caribbean literature is to analyse the purposeful construction of a subservient culture, timelessly exploited by the operations of economic forces that not only influence what content comes to define marginalised spaces like the West Indies but inhibits the creative political expression that could inspire a cultural and political identity that is truly independent, outside of its colonial functionality. This methodological approach that combines literary theory with practice, focusing on the publishing *process*, embraces a dialectical understanding of these works' political agency. I am interested in how books are *made* and how they are *used*.

Within a select essay of *The Book World*, literary historian Nicola Louise Wilson furthers this critical engagement with the material forces by considering these processes within their diachronic contexts as "complex multilayered exchanges between communicating hubs," as objects that "enable trade in desires" and that question how an inquiry of the peculiarities of the print marketplace can

only be asked through "the language of consumption" (34, 35). Such inquiries demonstrate the need for Marxist aesthetics to critically relate the internal textual world to its organising structures of production. A materialist assessment of the Anglophone-West Indies literary emergence questions literature's institutional capacity to define marginalised spaces like the West Indies by examining the ideologies underpinning these texts' production. This critical conception of language and literature helps negotiate how "the positing of authorship as a singular agency by literary criticism masks, (perhaps), the consultative and collaborative nature of publishing as an enterprise" (Low, "Publishing" 9). Reconceptualising literary texts as objects moving parallel to external political and economic pressures attempts to analyse the publishing industry's appropriation of imperial apparatus to shape marginalised works' artistic and political potential to align with the industry's economic interests.

Literary critic Raymond Williams most notably proposes the development of a "cultural materialist" critique of analysing capital within the English literary tradition, defining "cultural materialism" in a continuation to his seminal work, Culture and Society, in a paper entitled "Marxism, Structuralism and Literary Analysis" as "the analysis of all forms of signification, including quite centrally writing, within the actual means and conditions of their production." (Williams 64). His work moves to refine the integration of Marxian theories into literary criticism to address the need for the institutions of cultural production to attend to their objects of analysis within broader historical contexts that acknowledge the abstract and concrete impacts of a literary text as always moving and not merely determined the site of economic, politico structures and experiences. In terms of exploring the history and the complexities of language through a dialectic that can process this interplay of groups, objects, resistance and experience, Eagleton similarly speaks to the need of such a critical practice, a genuine shift from regarding the literary text as "expressive" of an underlying ideology or historical situation to viewing the text as a "production" or transformation of these elements writing: "The literary text is not the 'expression' of ideology, nor is ideology the 'expression' of social class. The text, rather, is a certain production of ideology" (Eagleton, "Towards" 171). Recognizing the specificities of the postcolonial experience within Anglophone literature and how the institutional frameworks constructed by the British Empire continue to restrict the regions, peoples, and literatures

of cultures haunted by imperial dispossession provides a structural anchor for examining alternate frames that reflect the West Indian regional desire for autonomy and true independence. This plays out specifically, in a Gramscian sense of building up the capabilities of the local West Indian creative and cultural economies to challenge the hegemonic assumptions and norms of publication differently. My aim is to articulate fresh ideas and visions that envision a future for this work which is distinct from the neo-liberal urge to duplicate frameworks that align with the colonial state and markets operating within the capitalist system.

The literature of the West Indies inherently politicises the capacities of the written word since these narratives account for the region's complicated past in so particular a way as to situate these happenings as having tangible implications of the present. The reflexive integration of the socio-political, historical, geographical, and regionally-specific elements characteristic of West Indian reality within the aesthetic attitudes of these texts should likewise be reflected in the systems that influence their production as textual objects. However, the institutional practices designed to establish the West Indian literary heritage were primarily developed using the systems and processes of London, that is, through the acquisitions, management, and curatorial editing of publishing systems abroad.

Under materialist assessment, these developments prompt a re-thinking of these texts' emergence and the extent to which the influences of British imperialism affected their creation. While providing access to a strong literary tradition, its materials, and highly developed theoretical understandings of literature, London's framework of literary production has not developed much over time to account for the presence of the conflicting tensions between the colonial and postcolonial at work in the content and production of this literature. Attending to the continued relations and associations between the history of colonialism and the production of English Literature from the colonies is a necessary engagement to revisit the seemingly naturalised systems between the present and the past we received. This is particularly visible through the British publishing industry's ability to shape West Indian literary culture in material, critical, ideological and historical imperatives through a political and capitalist intervention that commodified and

deradicalised the full extent of the region's social transformation. Decolonial thinking and decolonising pedagogies have gained renewed momentum to rectify the injustices of the past and their present effects by demanding institutional accountability.

This work implicates the aspects of industrial/institutional systems that aid in perpetuating imperialist notions of social hierarchy, disenfranchisement based on the colonial model of resource extraction, the unequal distribution of resources, along with the cultural and political subjugation of ex-colonies. Literary institutions maintain a powerful position in providing a shared communicative entry point to understanding marginalised cultures and experiences, providing representations of people, histories and events (re)imagined in their own voice. The absence of thriving literary institutions in the West Indies or unconditional access to these works within the region's cultural mainstream is, as Ramchand laments, "the continuation of a long history of economic and cultural absenteeism" (Ramchand xxvii), a failure in publishing that affects postcolonial literature's radical capacity to affect political and material change.

Reflecting on the *literary situation* through a politically informed, theoretical perspective re-situates the British publishing industry's critical role as one of the largest public spheres of engagement for Anglophone writing from ex-colonies. The extent to which their authority continues to constrain the full development of these bodies of work, the refusal to tangibly address the inherited consequences of British imperial rule, remains a sensitivity that informs my exploration of the socio-political conditions influencing the systems of the publishing industry complex. These systems' predisposition to maintain and model British sensibilities over the written word in local, international and transnational engagements by dominating the institutions of literary production and distribution suppresses cultural innovations in textual practice, material aesthetics and accessibility for minoritised groups. In this way, the Communications Circuit Darnton proposes in the figure shown in Chapter 1 is made inaccessible to minority groups because their location, race, gender, or orientation are not influential enough to affect the capital incentive of publishing; their stories are too small. Author of *In the Dream House*, Carmen Maria Machado, writes about the precarity of small stories within cycles, such as Darnton's circuit writing, "Sometimes stories are destroyed, and

sometimes they are never uttered in the first place; either way something very large is irrevocably missing from our collective histories" (4).

Reading these works in relation to their historical and political situations, commercial intentions, and underlying frameworks opens a more insightful depth of inquiry. My desire to further explore how this body of work came into being by locating it within the larger socio-political factors that, in the critical moment of the postwar years, influenced the shaping of West Indian literature for years to come is indicative of a prolonged need for systematic change aimed at retooling the materiality of this work in local spaces and mainstream production, in matters of inclusivity, decolonial thought and authentic diversity. Questions of editing practices and preferences, distribution politics, marketing, sales and more emerge as part of the text itself because these usually invisible processes are fundamental in shaping the textual object. In the next section, I examine the literary relationship between England and the seemingly hopeless and 'history-less' situation of West Indian literature by re-examining the inadequately addressed problems within the Anglophone publishing framework that reflect this unresolved dialogue with history. The removal of production power from the colonised literary imagination is an inextricable legacy of colonialism that continues to haunt the world of books and publishing, where the publication of marginalised work today is an act of resurrection, to be still breathing despite being drowned.



If I am getting ready to speak at length about ghosts, inheritance and generations, generations of ghosts, which is to say about certain *others* who are not present, nor presently living, either to us, in us, or outside us, it is in the name of *justice*. –Jacques Derrida, "Exordium," *Spectres of Marx,* xix

## Archives as Silence, Location as Text

The Caribbean presents a problem for literary studies in that the archives that document the formation of the West Indian literary tradition, the establishment of now iconic writers and the facilitators involved in the multilayered process of producing words are scattered, privatised, and potentially have yet to resurface. Sifting through history would ideally be sitting in a room with the decades packed in ordered boxes, thumbing manilla folders in whispers while connecting the past and present through a bathymetry of words. However, the scattered attempts of tracing an indigenous culture of book buying and writing within the islands, in the forms of grant-to-grant funded stints of university organisation self-made blogs or forgotten storage boxes, locating established and thriving literary and cultural production locally reflect the capabilities of the current systems of literary institutionalisation for the postcolonial.

Archipelagic philosopher and poet Édouard Glissant describes such an engagement with history that brings together the myriad forces converging to create these searchable moments in time and space as a "poetics of relation". Rather than remaining bound to the individual axioms of nationality, race, and gender, conversing in a horizontal, often transoceanic, dialogue with other cultures, languages and value systems develops a more insightful, multimodal representation of history for marginalised nations and specific to Glissant (and the interests of this work), West Indian subjectivities (Glissant 1997, 44-46). However, as prolific Trinidadian writer V.S Naipaul bitterly writes in a series of essays, *The Middle Passage* (1962), "*History* is built around achievement and creation, and nothing was created in the West Indies" (Naipaul 28). This is a contentious claim one instinctually wants to disagree with, but cannot; the West Indies was and continues to be defined in terms of its relationship with Europe, and still depends on metropolitan entities to create the materials that shape our culture. The unequal distribution of literature in the world is directly tied to location.

To illustrate how political and cultural influences produce literature, Darnton's Communication circuit relies on establishing the circuit at a central point for the publishing industry and its readers. These publishing centres—also centres of research, scholarly discovery and

production—are found primarily in the industrialised countries of the Global North, which dominate the means through which culture, thought, and imagination arrested in print are produced and distributed. The gap between these centres of literary production and readers, writers and stories that are oceans away, i.e. centralised control of the publishing houses, printers and networks of distribution located in the Global North means the rest of the world, the Third World, remains at the periphery of these global systems of knowledge, its production and collective story.

My approach is primarily inspired by issues that deal with the sociopolitical, cultural, and economic questions of authorship, publishing histories, canon formation, and the locations of power and capital in the production, distribution and reception of texts in the literary marketplace and how these factors affect literary culture in the Caribbean. Philip Altbach posits in Literary Colonialism: *Books in the Third Word* (1975) that the unequal distribution of publishing power is predicated on several factors, including "historical events, economic relationships, language literacy, and the nature of our educational systems" (485). For the postcolonial book connecting these factors to the world of books and publishing, and the ways through which the book itself materialises involves searching publishing archives for reports, editorial correspondence, the continuous piecing together of movements that gave way to the creation of a vivid literary tradition, located now only through scattered, disparate fragments over decades, nations and international waters, while reflective of the Caribbean's chaotic plurality across space and time; the results include many gaps and silences. Learning to deconstruct the fictionality of the terms imposed upon history's conversations with West Indian Literature is not a choice for histories that were forcibly interrupted and scattered overseas. The empirical desire for history to foster ontological certainty, linearity, authority, and order within its text are characteristics denied to Caribbean readers by the project of colonialism itself.

Exploring the postwar publishing contexts and disseminating texts from London is crucial to the literary histories and futurities of the postcolonial book. These works significantly predicate the approaches designed to systematise the production and accessibility of literary traditions. These approaches, meaning the systems on the backend of literature, politics, financials, and these processes of institutionalisation, are predicated by factors that are often unexamined but are still highly

influential to the cultural ideas, theorisations, and storytelling that surround the (ongoing) systems of production and distribution of the works themselves. Interrogating the silence resulting from a lack of the region's material capabilities is connected unproductively to lacking access to local, coherent, historical documentation compared to the "vastness of the mother country's past and the richness of its treasure" (Goldman and Saul 646). This continued intervention of colonial legacy asks us how to rewrite history from silence. Or rather, is it possible to write the history of a particular silencing?

Archival research always has the potential to redefine silence by positioning a text within its *situation* and further examining both texts and their contexts in motion. Using the archive's location as a synecdoche, Derrida combines the theoretical with political implications to deconstruct the inherent imperial processes that remain silently at work within the consequences of a text's institutionalisation. My experience of the archives was through paid scans, photos and extrapolated summaries from email correspondences or quotations of documents found in other books and digital archives that have disappeared within the course of my writing this thesis or, even worse, continue to decay in the cardboard storage boxes I was unable to access. I share some of my experience here to question the continued permissibility of the British publishing industry's unquestioned authority, capital capabilities, and intentional commodification of postcolonial Anglophone literary cultures to articulate imperial forces within their methods of production, specifically, the articulation between the legitimising functions contingent with this colonial model and a certain co-dependence. I am questioning the responsibility—or lack thereof—apparent within the dynamic power imbalance of colonialism's material role in shaping postcolonial works.

Centring on the institutional shaping of West Indian literature, locating these archival holdings is not enough to analyse the assemblage of colonising forces that shaped the emergence of West Indian literature through the imperial publishing model. It is the conditioning of a dominant framework that Mark Fisher, cultural theorist, advances in his argument for a contemporary hauntological perspective; he perpetuates that not only is this colonially modelled system the remaining viable authority to publish and engage with this literature, but also that it is "impossible even to *imagine* a coherent alternative to it" (*Capitalist* 2). The suppression of the capacity to imagine

alternatives ossifies the process. It influences not only the production of books but also hinders the continued development of postcolonial identities and national cultures genuinely independent of their colonial mothers.

The postwar era of rapidly changing ideas on things such as independence had a profound impact on literature, as writers worked to formalise innovative ways of recounting this experience of trauma and fading memory by developing interjections to the written word's capacity of remembering and recording that could hope to respond to the "undermined power of reason to understand the world and the ability of language to represent it, thereby shattering the very foundations of fiction as it had been practised hitherto" (Santiáñez 33). Moreover, the Second World War's destruction of pre-established notions of reality, values, and culture created a *situation* that called for a complete rethinking of our understanding and representation of phenomena as far-reaching and complex as the war in the twentieth century in language. To conceptualise the "unsayability" of war, literary experiments and producers of this era cultivated the written word to measure how language's limitations constrain the writer.

The influence of critics, theorists and the industry of book publishing itself highly transformed approaches of literary analysis, interpretation, and evaluation to make meaning from the unprecedented impact of what World War literary scholar Nil Santiáñez terms "absolute war" and how this created a site for, "common understanding, for a shared humanity" (Santiáñez 6). The emphasis on the literary form— through interpretive analysis of motifs, devices and techniques— placed great importance on the curation of texts and their interpretation to work as an aesthetic object independent of historical and political context. The use of a Formalistic approach to literature at this time pairs well with the substantial need for escapism during the postwar years and the substitution of art and literature to reflect a universality through a formal system built upon the elements of text, reducing the influence of external factors such as historical, biographical, political and cultural contexts. The suspicion in Formalism's refusal to address the sociopolitical and ideological concerns of language, its shifts and variances over time, cultures, translations and waters facilitated the later turn to literary approaches that instead centred the political importance of literary texts and the factors that engage in

its production. In other words, there was a shift from only dealing with the words on the page to the textual world but also to questioning how this textual world was produced. How did these words end up on the page?

The correlation observed between the shift in writers' approaches and literature gave rise to a revolutionary rethinking of the arbitrary and constructed nature of the arts (literature included) that worked to deconstruct the textual objects' function as part of ideological systems of power. The advancement of new ideas to literature's significance engages critically with how meaning is produced in the movement of language across texts and narrative engagements through significations that change across factors such as time, culture, and geography, a process that inherently necessitates movement and fluidity. As such, the literary object is irrevocably intertwined with cultural, political and historical implications. With this understanding, the production of meaning in literature relies on the movement of material issues to the page, through which the inherent fluidity of text creates a pluralistic regard to meaning long after the words have been printed.

At the beginning of the postwar years, the literary endeavours to determine single, self-evident and universal meaning by the dominant culture were met with suspicion by places such as the Caribbean and Africa, whose previous existence in the global consciousness was manufactured solely by these dominant locations overseas. The collapse and relocation of power within the framework of global capitalism—after the end of England's official colonial regime in the West Indies at the cusp of independence—influenced the reception of any claims to a foundational, philosophical unity that failed to account for the Caribbean's indigenous perspective; however, without indigenous publishing industries or frameworks, the dependency on England remained intact. The centrality of London to the emergence of Anglophone Caribbean literature (and safely presumed for the Francophone and Hispanic Caribbean) in the post-war period intimately reveals how the conditions under which this literature emerged merely cemented and extended the already established colonial relationship the region had to the world through the channels erected by the British Empire. As remarked on by Trinidadian John La Rose, one of the first independent black publishers in Britain, in a letter to a friend (1969), "The old publishing firms… grew up within the colonial preferential

market, and not only gave us the world but told us how to use it" (Personal Papers of John La Rose). The industrial publishing circuit fails to account for how the complex, affective relations of transnational socio-political, geographic and economic histories significantly shaped writer's attitudes, particularly from marginalised spaces, about how they make meaning through literature.

Formalist critical appreciation of texts would excuse the importance of these agencies on the literary work produced. However, addressing the mobility of these external factors in the production of literature is vital to salvaging a solid identity and cultural history for the English-speaking Caribbean. The *literary situation* of the West Indies, like many other postcolonial nations, encompasses several overseas locations, along with their comparative colonial histories and systematic extensions into the social processes of identity, representation and the sociopolitical formation of culture. In demonstrating these shifts in literary engagement, Santiáñez and others developed a transnational methodology wherein the movement of culture, ideas and modes of communication created new understandings of literature's social and political meaning. Somewhere within the systems of competing colonial regimes, politically and economically motivated displacement, and the inherent diasporic politics of (un-)belonging that concern these narratives, the experiment of publishing West Indian literature begins with earnest in London, which, as Kenneth Ramchand later laments, "was indisputably the West Indian literary capital" (81). In this way, publishers are an integral part of the colonial tradition.

Transnationalism has grown essential to the study of identity and community dispersed across a now increasingly widened socio-spatiality to explain better the ranging propensities for the retention and transformation of culture across borders. A literary engagement with this notion works to conceptualise the relationship between literature and the publishing industrial complex's social, political and economic frameworks of production. An appreciation of transnationalism maintains the agencies of the infrastructures and cultural processes that shape the cultural practices and subjectivities of transmigrant works. An attunement to the overlapping waves of social and political dynamics that move within the production of literature reworks our understanding of the cultural formation and the extent to which a literary work is influenced by its means of production.

The tentativeness of West Indian literature today, only a few decades old and still evolving, provides us with an intimate case study of what we can call the publishing industrial complex. This situation outlines, among other things, the continued imperial desire of publishing to be the capitalist mecca that leverages the ability to control the shaping, preservation and production of cultural artefacts, thus assigning what has value and what does not. It is the publisher that brings books into the world and also must convince the world to pay for them, making the literary publisher dependent on the taste of its editors, the market and readers to fulfil their primary objective of not only making money but trying to lose as little as possible.

The Caribbean literary canon and the textual world were not established until its arrival within the London publishing industry. Arising from bouts of mass migration during and after World War II, an account of the Caribbean's postcolonial *literary situation* begins in these colder waters. Gail Low's inquiry in her seminal work, *Publishing the Postcolonial*, seeks to answer why London and London-based publishers were so central to the emergence of Anglophone West Indian literature; Low interrogates how these writers were published and so highly received by the metropolitan cultural establishment, and she questions if the metropolis' desire for new voices serving to establish a canon of West Indian writers in London inadvertently caused the underdevelopment of literary culture in the West Indies. These political collisions between the old and new world create a disorienting, trickling kind of modernity that continues to carry the past with it.

In the account Low offers, London was the central, transnational, cosmopolitan marketplace for words after the Second World War. She presents case studies that map a materialist history of the multivalent network that was West Indian local and global literary production to synthesise the commercial and cultural. Political implications of London's publishing industry and larger systems of the cultural organisation as the metropole moved towards modernity while adjusting to imperial decline. She traces this legacy of empire through the disparate fragments and ephemeral materials of minutes, to-do lists, flurries of editor's letters, telegrams and other mundane exchanges of the business that can be found in the archived remnants of the complex sea of connections and networks that underpin the post-war 'boom' of West Indian literature. These explorations into the publishing trade

and its literary processes tether the romantic ideas of literature to the unavoidable realities of the print marketplace, neoliberal capital influence, and the inextricable link of literary production to the ongoing project of colonisation. The materials gathered from the Henry Swanzy Papers at the University of Birmingham Special Collections (under the permission of the BBC) make known, as literary critic and reviewer Patrick Collier states, "The now-inescapable truth that the literature that has survived has always been paid for somehow, has gained its survival in part through the process of commodification; literature has permanently "been attached at every corner to grossly material things" (Collier 879). Patrick Collier's observation that literature has always been attached to grossly material things suggests that the survival of literature is closely linked to its commodification, to capital—that is, its transformation into a marketable product. This highlights the immaterial aspects of colonialism in that the commodification of literature can be seen as a form of cultural imperialism that seeks to impose Western capitalist values on non-Western cultures. Therefore, the production and dissemination of literature is not just a physical process of printing and distribution but also involves the intangible aspects of cultural power and domination.

Situating London's central, material and looming presence in the shaping of postcolonial literature by examining just one example, demonstrated through West Indian literature particularly, of how the submerged connections of the colonial past continue to resurface in the present, is to develop an understanding that the role and responsibilities publishers and the Publishing Industry had, and continues to have, is both "material *and* substantive" (Low, "The Lure" 278). London as a location, with the connections curated by its cosmopolitan nature and history of imperial conquest, became a significant crossroad for diverse cultural bodies, people and their stories. In this way, aspects of colonialism that are seemingly immaterial systems of power and domination can no longer be. The power dynamics between colonists and the colonised are not physical objects but sustained relationships shaped by history, culture, and ideology. The legacy of colonialism can be seen as an immaterial force that continues to shape the social and political landscape. These effects on the economy, political systems, and, I argue, publishing institutions and other cultural industries can be seen as intangible yet very real and impactful.

In this period of imperial decline, the expectations of art and culture were adjusting to the European post-modernist's preoccupation with presenting as 'breaking away from' imperial cultural hegemonies. A deliberately cultivated transition from "imperialism to post-imperialism, postcolonialism and multiculturalism," (Low, "The Lure" 283) is how London moved into modernity, leaving its relation to the past unaddressed or reimagined. With this, the accumulative consequences of its imperial past resurface again and again. The production and circulation of stories through books evolve from within these inherited frameworks in its own blended "cultural-technical phenomenon" (Steeves 6), which I argue is intimately indistinguishable from the story itself and is inherently part of the text we read and, as such colonial legacy occupies both a material and immaterial imposition of ideas and values on the literary world of colonised people. These ideas and values can be seen as immaterial because they are not physical objects but the suppression or erasure of local cultures and traditions. This can be seen as a material effect, as it involves the loss of histories, and cultural heritage, transmitted through language, literature, and storytelling.

Investigating the emergence of West Indian storytelling in London print resurfaces a submerged network of connections between the writers, literary agents, organisations and publishers that formed the literary network that supported West Indian literature in the metropole. This exploration delves into the often-contradicting ways in which the metropolitan-borne publishing networks and connections facilitated and stagnated the movement of West Indian literature as it travelled, along with its writers, from the Caribbean to Britain. The letters and correspondence among this network of literary organisers piece together the exciting and turbulent time of building a tradition among ruins in a location where the collective imagination of the archipelago was subservient. The archival material generated by this generation's now prolific writers, critics, editors and others have become ghosts in the archives, a metaphor made poignant at each passing of our elders. Nevertheless, their spirit remains a formidable force in West Indian literature, in ways we can, from a few decades on, celebrate, critique and be haunted by.

In this literary exploration, the term "ghost" serves as a framework for analysing how the past and present intersect, intending to recover and use cultural histories that have been poorly documented

or partially erased. These histories often focus on colonialism's impacts on diasporic memory, cultural inheritance, and the future. In postcolonial spaces such as the Anglophone Caribbean, where the legacy of colonialism is ever-present, with histories of arrivals, disappearances, and figures that walk into the seas, a range of theorists, critics, and authors have used the framework of haunting to explore these tensions. By invoking the concept of ghosts, and the vocabulary of haunting, they grapple with the lingering effects of colonialism on cultural memory and identity and imagine alternative futures that consider the past's complex legacies.

With this in mind, the following section explores the institutionalisation, production and shaping of West Indian literature by revisiting its emergence in the early 40s and 50s through the Colonial Service's on-air literary magazine *Caribbean Voices*, produced by the BBC. Examining the letter exchanges of production notes between the London and Kingston offices showcases the contradictory effects of having a metropolitan located and systemised production process with the intent to encourage the local, postcolonial, literary culture in the Caribbean. In offering this partial archival reconstruction of the programme's inner workings, my reading of this literary history is not an attempt at providing a complete account of events but a way of examining and illustrating through the theoretical frameworks I am working with. These ideologies facilitate the contradicting processes of producing West Indian postcolonial literature in English. The archival examples demonstrate how the emergence of West Indian literature in publishing reflects the need to create a connection between a shift in ideological attitude and a tangible material result. This highlights the importance of understanding how the industry works to effectively navigate and challenge the dominant paradigms that may stifle the growth and representation of marginalised voices.

## The BBC's Caribbean Voices (Historical Insert)

The significance of the BBC radio broadcast *Caribbean Voices* in legitimising a West Indian literary overture cannot be overstated. In the postwar period of advancing technologies and in a climate of urgency to create and maintain transnational communities within increasingly expanding global networks, radio produced alternative audiences and a sense of community that print alone could not. Especially for regions like the Caribbean with limited resources for producing and disseminating printed material paired with varying literacy rates, this alternative mode of publishing facilitated wider access and engagement with literary materials throughout the region in a way that traditional print media could not.

Controlled singularly by the BBC official network and broadcast to the region through what was known as its Colonial Service, the primary goal of BBC radio broadcasts and publishing was to "project Britain" and "cement colonials to the empire" (Rush 149). This idea of "cementing colonials" expanded through wartime circumstances as BBC officials sought to include the Caribbean within these broader ideas of what and who could be considered British to contribute to the extension of the empire and as an integral asset to British culture. The BBC understood the implications of creating such broadcasts and policies as a corporation in service to the crown and ideals of the British populace. While striving to present to the West Indian audience the best of British and Caribbean culture, the London-based Colonial Service Department of the BBC advanced this vision of a culturally expanded empire sustained by British sensibilities.<sup>1</sup> The success of the *Caribbean Voices* program until 1958 reaffirmed West Indians' place in the British Empire in ways that continue to resonate culturally and politically through the institutional and migratory pathways between Britain and the Caribbean erected through the publishing networks formed at this critical transition to postcolonialism.

The literary situation of the Anglophone Caribbean becomes an intimate map of the movement of colonial power. The following close readings of an archival, literary history of Caribbean Voices through correspondence, scripts and other surviving ephemera observe this particular movement of power by engaging with the complex and often contradictory ideological

influences negotiated weekly in this production of legitimising the postcolonial Caribbean imaginary. Alternatives surface here: there is a way through which publishing postcolonial literary works becomes an industrial reinforcement of metropolitan cultural, intellectual dependency wherein the process of institutionalisation replaces the political agency of self-regulation. This radical decolonisation was constricted under the attempt of traditionally English-privileged abilities of text to constrain the non-linear ocean crossings and wild numinous processes of Caribbean literature that challenged the boundaries allotted by the metropole's framings of the Caribbean as just a reflection of empirical interests.

The BBC was the voice of Britain and, over the examined period, articulated an ideology of Britishness that BBC officials had envisioned when they first experimented with radio service to the broader empire. More than just propaganda, the BBC's explicit goal was to sustain a projection of Britain by carefully constructing what West Indian literary historian Anne Spry Rush terms *"egalitarian* imperialism" (Rush 148). The processes of the BBC's broadcasting worked to further develop the empire through her colonial subjects, cement colonials' loyalty to the British Empire, as they became integral extensions of British culture. The Overseas Office favoured developing local networks and means of production modelled after the BBC; however, the economic reality of the Caribbean made such an infrastructural project impractical. And while Britain refused to cover the costs, British West Indian governments did not have the capital necessary, on their own, to found radio stations and run them. The failure to invest in the local and pursue the development of indigenous production capabilities in the region exemplifies the continuation of systemic dependency on the "motherland."

Another relationship that was cemented was the BBC's relationship with the British government. The BBC Offices began working closely with Empire Service staff reaching out to the Overseas Office, sending memos to the Dominion Office and the India Office (BBC Written Archives Centre) alongside the Ministry of Information, to develop a united program of policies and systems specifically for overseas distribution.<sup>2</sup> In this model, Darton's communication circuit became institutionalised, a location both physical and not, where the impacts of reinforcing messages of egalitarian imperialism were material. This particular circuit within the BBC culminates in a memo

written by R.A Rendall, the head of the BBC's Empire Service and Assistant Head of Overseas Service. He outlines the BBC's definitive corporate policy on empire. The memorandum served as an infrastructural declaration of the BBC's policy regarding Empire matters; as Thomas Hajkowski writes, "A new and improved Britain required a new and improved Empire" (19).

Rendall, commenting on the BBC's purpose, writes that it should not be merely to inspire or to justify the Empire against Axis propaganda or internal criticism but to foster in the British public the will to maintain Britain as an imperial power: "The main objectives must ... be to stimulate interest, dispel ignorance and foster a responsible and intelligent attitude towards imperial problems" (BBC Written Archives Centre). The deliberate construction of a seemingly ahistorical, multinational monarchy and national attitude is described by Rendall in the 1941 BBC Handbook as: "free nations working together in voluntary association" and "proof of the Commonwealth's just claim to be an international region that is at once progressive and humane" (Rendall 38). The Corporation committed itself to promoting an Empire that could seemingly accommodate the turning social and cultural conditions of the time and growing concern of post-war reconstruction—the rise of self-governing, self-articulating, freed and independent nations—by emphasising Britain's reach in size, capital, cultural dominance and ultimately power. The Empire Day edition of the 1924 Radio Times noted, "The Spirit of England rises from the waves. She summons the spirits of Scotland, Ireland and Wales. The four sisters storm across the world to found new nations and colonies" (Hajkowski 27). The contrasting nature of this new relationship with Empire generated unprecedented creative opportunities for West Indians while simultaneously reinforcing their dependency on Britain.

At the heart of the BBC proposal was the suggestion that the British state should encourage the growth of a distinct regional West Indian culture under the prescribed model of a British-inspired Caribbean entity. The intersection of cultural and creative production was critical to forming particular structures and relationships predicated upon political interests and colonial constraints. One can develop an ideological awareness of their conflicting goals by observing and analysing the intersecting limits, needs, and agendas of the metropolitan-based publishing industry and the postcolonial literary island communities. Unfortunately, this sensitivity is often lacking within the

publishing infrastructure and left to a few individuals. BBC officials thus proposed to create a cultural West Indianness—framed and defined by the British imperial system through a department that came to be known as the Colonial Service.

The Caribbean's ambivalence about this metropolitan-prescribed West Indianness, defined by the BBC, was embodied by many of the contentious forces that not only influenced colonial programming but revealed the contradictory ideological frameworks that underwrite the cultural and political production of Anglophone Caribbean literature. The production of Caribbean Voices and its impact on publishing West Indian work made it clear that there were competing and incongruent ideological affiliations between the anti-colonial regional content, aesthetics, languages, and the colonial sensibilities that disseminated these stories. This conflict was particularly evident in the publishing process, where colonial sensibilities often overruled the authentic representation of the region's literature and culture. The economic, cultural, and industrial frameworks of print capitalism and the political and economic control of its creation highlight the navigation of postcoloniality and the movement of colonial power and are reflected in the literary publishing of this body of work.

As was the case for so many programs on the Colonial Service, Jamaican journalist and prominent BBC figure Una Marson came up with the original idea for *Caribbean Voices*. In March 1943, the Colonial Service aired the first broadcast of *Caribbean Voices*. The Caribbean's literary situation, the relationships and systems of the complex erected at this critical moment reflected the newly independent Anglophone West Indies' navigation of their postcolonial demands, acknowledging and supporting their rights as uniquely Caribbean peoples in ways that challenged the legitimacy and might of the empire. Nevertheless, it maintained the region's socio-political structures, which were materially still embedded within Britain, and culturally reinforced by the British sensibilities many still identify with. This cohort of now-canonical writers helped them *imagine* their respective national communities. However, the demands of this emergent literature and the BBC's production system introduced a new set of interrelated constraints and encouragements for the Caribbean's literary development. Unfortunately, no copies of the recorded programme have surfaced, either destroyed or written over by other programmes to save tape in the BBC's closure of the

programme and Overseas Service. Instead, the remnants of *Caribbean Voices* wash up in the archives as scrawled script notes and collections of correspondence, from which we can piece together some silences within the ideological and political resonances that haunt the production of West Indian literature and the larger structures of publishing the postcolonial text that left lasting impressions and limitations for this literature today.

## **Publishing as Haunting**

Here, I want to reintroduce the idea that postcolonial literature is a particular body of work that must always exist alongside the ghosts of colonialism in the walls of the publishing house. The concept of postcolonial literature is inseparable from the lingering influence of colonialism, which continues to haunt the publishing industry even today. The legacies of colonialism remain present in the structures and processes of the publishing house, affecting everything from which stories are chosen for publication to how they are marketed and distributed. Therefore, the ghosts of colonialism continue to shape the landscape of the publishing industry and must be considered when discussing the production and dissemination of postcolonial literature. As such, the sense of the 'always-already' absent presence of the political assemblages surrounding the term illustrates the need for explicit accommodation for converging this intra-human politics within literary production. The notion of haunting is a helpful metaphor to describe the impact of colonialism on the production and distribution of literature, which is often overlooked by the infrastructure of the Anglophone publishing industry. The silent archives of those previously denied agency to read and write in English bear witness to colonial history's sociohistorical and geopolitical consequences that continue to shape literary movements. Literary critics have drawn on Jacques Derrida's concept of spectres to explore the presence of the past in capitalist infrastructure, highlighting the need to confront uncomfortable truths and acknowledge the ongoing material influence of colonialism on the present. Spectres of Marx is also Derrida's first recorded, sustained engagement with Marx and the ideas of Marxism. It is also about ghosts, justice, responsibility for the future, and the irretrievable past with its spectres and hauntings. Hauntology verbalises the spirit of decolonial analysis, where the practices of deconstruction can be thought through the frameworks of ghosts that need to be

exorcised in our literary spaces to uncover how our colonial frameworks still define our present undertakings. The evidence of scattered notes, marked up playbills and unremarkable pamphlets remains somehow the only embodiments of literary value in the region. While these usually haphazard collections of yellowed and crumbling archives hold the representational authority of the postcolonial literary experience, our literary situation was never given the purpose of being recorded in ways meant to last; we learn by speaking with ghosts. The agenda of literary ghost studies is not only to recover these flimsy, transient spectres but to attend to why they still exist as such, as scrawls in the sand before the waves touch the shore, to analyse the haunting effect of the colonial past on the living.

The use of the ghost or haunting pushes at the boundaries of our set language and thought, drawing our attention to what we can do to account for the material effect of the past on the living. Kwame Dawes sketches the importance of doing more than acknowledging these presences: "This is why publishing is necessary. Sometimes publishing is about archiving our culture, preserving a body of knowledge upon which other generations can build" (Dawes 86). Why would this small region of the Caribbean matter enough to be preserved? Because we are part of the disorientation of the world, we are a catalyst. Preserving in this sense also evokes the presence of hauntology to become part of articulating the endeavour "to keep raising the stakes of literary study, to make it a place where we can interrogate our relation to the dead, examine the elusive identities of the living, and explore the boundaries between the thought and the unthought. The ghost becomes a focus for competing epistemological and ethical positions" (Davis 379).

Moreover, a hauntological schema, focusing on these presences or ghosts, encompasses the "dead but not gone" destructive effects of the literary world's industrial imposition and its temptation to dominate, control and systemise signs in a strategy that reflects a failing in European literary production that has been allowed an overwhelming persistence. As a theoretical framework, hauntology helps recognise the problem of these remains - these material and ideological colonial holdovers - that shape and form the language and form of the European entities that overdetermine the stabilising architecture of the publishing industry. These elements remain as material impacts on the present, lurking under the shimmering surface of postcolonial literature. Cultural theory scholar Taija

Mars McDougall catalyses this as "the remains of a horrific past translated into language-made into ghosts and spectres lurking between words" (55). The word remains appears again, and I feel it best aesthetically describes the decomposition already eating away at certain postcolonial literary spaces. That word draws attention to death and decay and how the postcolonial literary space is characterised by deconstruction, disintegration, and the breaking up of language into its elements to be reused for new purposes. Hauntology, focusing on the persistence of the past in the present, can aid in recognising how the publishing industry remains mired in its old ways, despite the changing political and economic landscapes. The infrastructure of the industry, shaped by colonial and imperial capital, continues to operate in much the same way as it was initially designed. This is especially apparent when analysing the influence of capital in national and cultural industries such as publishing, where the past lingers like a haunting presence. Capital is a ghostly figure, an always present entity that hides behind the creative and cultural as an invisible force influencing the who, what and how. To fully grasp the impact of colonial history on the present, it is necessary to re-examine literary practices through a wider lens. This includes acknowledging and accounting for colonialism's "haunting presences" within the publishing industry and how they shape the political and cultural relationships. By doing so, we can better understand how this industry influences and shapes our humanity, from political perspectives to personal identities. Ultimately, reinserting literature into these broader frames allows us to bring sustained attention to these issues and foster a greater understanding of their complex and lasting effects.

We can examine a range of often overlooked agencies that contribute to literary production through a Derridean deconstruction. This broader framing allows us to trace the entities, forces, and connections that operate alongside and beneath the production of literary works, including spectral institutions that shape our perceptions of the process and our politics. With this approach, we can gain insight into how these agencies impact our understanding of literature and our broader societal and political contexts, including the potential for resistance and subversion in the production of postcolonial texts.

Capital has a very material relationship with *how* and *what* we read, especially for those who were silenced and denied the political agency of reading and writing for themselves. These

communities' cultural and mental faculties were shaped by colonial intent through "labyrinth[s] of forces at work... where violence is built into structures and institutions... implemented by persons of flesh and bone" (Mbembe, as quoted by McDougall, 57). When discussing how colonial legacies are embedded in these processes, we must account for the political and economic frameworks that allow these ghosts to emerge. Moreover, we need frameworks that can flexibly cater to the various ways the past continues to flow through the materiality of the present. Reflecting on the politics and poetics of the postcolonial novel's treatment within contemporary publishing—as the region continues to challenge notions of *historylessness*—by representing its sense of self and identity, Goldman and Saul ask the question, "What is the impact of haunting on textual production?" (646). The Caribbean's engagement with the spectrality of political memory, colonial legacies, and history shapes the conventions of literary production, are haunted by the knowledge and bodies previously excluded by Western European paradigms is a permanent, unsettling condition of Anglophone Literature. The use of the written word for the progression of global capital remains hidden behind the institutionalised forces of globalism, identity and hegemony.

Derrida's *Spectres of Marx* inspires this pursuit by imagining how to consciously attend to the "politics of apprehending the historical Other" (Arnold 4) outside liberal capitalism's stagnancy. The stagnating effect of using these received ideologies to govern contemporary literary production and, in equal measure, our imagination via the modes of industrial process silences the radical potential of publishing these "marginalised" stories. In *Spectres of Marx*, Derrida grapples with defining the function of the past in pursuing political change in the present. This text fantasises history as a restless phantom, yearning to be heard, guilting those that sense their presence to do more than acknowledge them, to listen, and let them speak for themselves. Derrida's critique of Marxist ideology asks, what do we do with these ghosts?

In *Spectres of Marx*, Derrida also insists that learning to live means learning to live with ghosts. Living with ghosts situates our implicit involvement in the present with these uncanny histories. By applying the Hauntological framework to book history and archival research, we can

examine the complex relationships between political, cultural, and economic histories and the processes of archival practice, canonicity, and the publishing of postcolonial texts. This approach challenges the publishing industry to confront the ways in which the emergence of a vibrant and diverse transnational literary culture, which challenged colonial hierarchies and created national, regional, and cultural identities, was transformed into marginalized, commodified texts through the institutional transactions of the expanding print capital. To what extent did the publishing industry's impact on West Indian literature shape our representation in literature and our present identities and haunt our capacity to imagine different futures for ourselves? Additionally, as we are increasingly aware of all the ghostly matters the literary process involves, how does the publishing industry, once implicated in the continuation of these violent histories, critically engage with a past that is always there yet never quite present? In a variety of ways, the West Indies is haunted.

By re-examining the contexts in which publishing functions operate, such as the process of moving from unpublished drafts and notes to a final published work, we can make these processes more transparent and visible. The revelatory function of archival research discloses the intentionality and constraints of a particular silencing, as ghosts tend to lurk in the archive's more spacious corners. Derrida's theorisations archive can be perceived as purely metaphysical textualism, but when paired with sustained deconstructive political and material analysis, how the anglophone publishing industry's authoritative structures arbitrate the English-speaking Caribbean's literary form to hamper the national, cultural and political progression of the region can be identified. This works to define how the publishing industry's reliance on the literary culture and practices of Britain create a society and process that are continually adapting and reinscribing meanings of power, enforcing a totalising authority that perpetuates an intellectual dependence on metropolitan cultural industries over the capacities of the postcolonial West Indies' literary imagination. Derrida's reimagination of the archive's capabilities— "historically and contemporarily, politically and literarily" (Glover 117) mobilises my insistence on imagining beyond the established modes of literary production that shaped the West Indian literary tradition at its emergence. Revisiting this critical time of decolonisation is an attempt to assess the extent to which the adoption of Caribbean literary content into the traditional

publishing systems failed to sustain a fully realised and accessible literary culture within the West Indies' *literary situation*.

Rather than laying history's unresolved consequences to rest, silencing the radical potentials of these unheard and politically suppressed voices to the present, often, the content of Caribbean literature insists upon the reader's critical engagement with the processes of inheritance, loss, memory, history, forgetting, recovery and political agency. There are past practices of literary production that align with colonialism and continue to dominate the present. However, a part of the West Indies includes the spirit of West Indian writers that articulates the region's ongoing relationship with a history that noticeably disrupts, subverts and interferes—that can speak to both the present and the future. It is essential to distinguish between these two ghosts, as the former perpetuates systems of oppression, and the latter provides an opportunity to learn from and connect with the rich history of the West Indies. By engaging with the ghosts of the region's past, we can acknowledge and confront the legacies of colonialism and work towards a more just and equitable future.

Captured in Derek Walcott's poem, "The Sea is History," the predilection of the West Indies to resist the constraints of England's colonial authority over the literary form extends naturally to defying the perceived capacity of the written word. Accordingly, Walcott treats literature not only as a criterion of inherited expressions of the past that dictate collected thoughts on culture, politics and identity but also as a forward-reaching action, of the past to the future, in an ongoing engagement with national and cultural becoming:

Where are your monuments, your battles, martyrs?

Where is your tribal memory? Sirs,

in that grey vault. The sea. The sea

has locked them up. The sea is History.

At the location of West Indian literature and texts, 'history' is unrecognisable, fluid or insignificant. With a body of work constructed by multiple temporal and spacial moments, distances, languages and intents, the various transformative processes of slavery and colonialism in the West Indies have dispossessed the region of history. Here, the present could appear at any time; violently empty of its normative meanings, there appears to be no present if we lack a past entirely. The medium of the written word best mobilises the imaginaries of the Caribbean's understanding of the past, present and unpredictable future. Literature is understood as a moving dialectic wherein history, and those it has drowned out, are never dead and gone if their protest can still be heard, echoing in the present moment. When attuned to these power structures, the written word becomes a technology of domination, how the uneven transnational movement of resources and power can be articulated and acted upon through history to the present.

To track the complex and conflicting power dynamics at play in the publication of postcolonial West Indian literature by the metropole, I examine the correspondence between Henry Swanzy, the head producer of the *Caribbean Voices* radio program, and Gladys Lindo, the BBC-appointed literary agent for the West Indies, as well as other contributors to the program. Being the longest-running editor for the programme credited with facilitating the emergence of the Caribbean's regional creative writing, Swanzy, a white, Irish man working abroad for the BBC, was central to West Indian Literature's development even under the limitations of the BBC's infrastructure. Nevertheless, Swanzy, along with other programme contributors, differs from the BBC in how they envisioned their place in the narrative of this developing body of work, namely in the permanence of the metropole's influence on this infrastructure and the encouragement of regional literary counterparts.

Swanzy, in a letter to literary critic Roy Fuller, dated the 3rd of May 1948, addresses the conflicting nature of his role as editor presiding over the development of a regional body of work:

The purpose of the programme, in so far as it has a purpose, is to attempt to build up some kind of contemporary tradition by the exchange of writings between the Islands, and at the same time to give the writers the benefit of some of the critical standards of Europe.

Of course, the relationship is temporary; and the real work can only properly be done in the Caribbean itself $\dots^3$ 

Low describes this letter as "paternalistic" (Low, *Publishing* 98); with its approach of encouraging a region with "no tradition and no canon," Swanzy appears paternal as he attempted to shape and guide the literary output of the West Indies according to his critical standards, which were rooted in European literary traditions. However, I also acknowledge that Swanzy's aim of the *real work* needing to supersede the control of the metropole by establishing indigenous regional infrastructure separates his approach to *Caribbean Voices* from the British colonial establishment he worked for. In the program's stated purpose, Swanzy aimed to build a contemporary tradition of West Indian literature by exchanging writings between the islands and bringing European critical standards to bear on them. However, this approach could be seen as limiting and potentially condescending, as it failed to fully appreciate the unique perspectives and cultural contexts of West Indian literature. The real work of developing West Indian literature could only be done in the Caribbean itself rather than through the lens of European standards imposed from the outside.

Low further expands on Swanzy's reasoning as "somewhat patronising in his characterisation of Caribbean writing and scholarship as underdeveloped in comparison to the *critical standards of Europe*" but also encouraging the establishment of "support structures that would transform writing and creativity from mere personal vocation towards the more complex profession (and institutionalisation) of letters" (98). In one of his first letters to Gladys Lindo (see Figure 2.1) after taking over the programme, Swanzy remarks again on the importance of using *Caribbean Voices* as a facilitator of these systems and programmes to foster a regional literary tradition remarking particularly on the necessity of criticism (Swanzy Papers) to foster the politics, aesthetics and traditions of this literature.

Among Swanzy's letters archived within the Birmingham Special Collection, the tensions from the region's missing local literary development under the standards set by the BBC reveal a more notable self-consciousness of the broadcast's political position. Correspondence between Swanzy and Lindo shows Swanzy's attempts to balance the development of regional creative writing with the

demands of BBC systems of production and the political ramifications when these desires proved contradictory. These letters further exemplify the literary politics involved in using the models provided by metropolitan standards of English literature—expectant within the infrastructures of the BBC programme and other colonial publishing systems—to encourage the organic development of the island's local literary culture and institutionalisation.

Swanzy, as an Irishman, was not one to shy away from colonial politics and recognised that his role required the awareness and sensitivity of a "literary politician" as he remarks in a letter dated the 13th of August 1946. In a series of letters between Swanzy and Lindo, dated from the 20th of January 1949, to the 21st of February 1949, the precarity of metropolitan influence interfering with local literary life on the island is highlighted through Swanzy's self-aware questioning of how to facilitate the political expression of nationalism, development, and self-actualisation that Caribbean literature promised the region. For example, in Figure 2.2, Swanzy writes to Lindo in a letter on the 20th of January 1949 about the tensions in the relationship between the local literary culture and the production of the islands with the interests of the BBC. He suggests the importance of "metropolitan interest" in reviewing literary publications from the West Indies, which can generate more interest in them from the BBC. Swanzy also remarks on their power of reviewing these local literary projects, as even this small endorsement by the BBC's *Caribbean Voices* would prove influential and impact whether or not local literary projects should be seeking their endorsement. Swanzy writes:

I don't want to appear too petty a literary politician, but I think there must be some reciprocal treatment. It may, on the other hand, be worth reviewing as a means of attracting some of the writers represented? Not to speak of stimulating local writing. (I can well understand a certain pique for those on the spot, when an external force like the BBC barges in.

I don't want their performances this month. I am afraid this is turning into a long letter. To finish off the points made in yours. I am sending you a copy of Leda and the Sw which we had to cut because of our new-found prudery. 'm not surprised about the French - they suspect everything Anglo-Saxon! Your Barbados correspondent must have read <u>Not at Night</u> - da you remember that particularly vicious series at the end of the 1920s, which I nead as a boy at school, and which formed my early view of the West Indias as a place where savage, sex-crazed, blood-lusting negroes spent most of their time doing nasty things to beautiful white girls with the aid of bats, goats, cocks, and the general menagery of voodoo? Finally, we can find no trace of <u>Saturay Night</u>, nor can I remember it The gap in June is due to the fact that we used a "local" F.A. fulford, it. in a talk about a Glucana play. Yours sincerely, (H.V.L. Swanzy). Mrs. G.R. Lindo, c/o BBC. P.O. Box 408, Kingston.

Figure 2.2 Letter from Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo 20th of January 1949

Following this, on the 27th of January 1949 (see Figure 2.3), in response to Swanzy's concerns about criticism from the Jamaican literary journal *Focus*, Lindo expressed disappointment with the quality of submissions from local journals, saying they were "not up to the standard that one should expect from Jamaican writers" (Swanzy Papers) when compared to what was being submitted

to the BBC programme. This suggests that the BBC programme was viewed as an opportunity for West Indian writers to be exposed to higher standards of literary criticism and gain wider recognition outside of their local communities. However, this also reflects the problematic assumption that the standards of literature set by European critics were superior to those of the Caribbean. West Indian writers needed to be validated by European literary standards to be considered successful. The undertones of what is expected in terms of quality and production value in the works for the BBC versus what is permissible for local publications piques my interest as to why there would be such an insurmountable disparity between the two in the first place if the programme aimed to elevate the literature of the region, for the region, not just what was produced in the metropole under the BBC's label.

These conversations give insight into the balancing act of Swanzy's position as an unlikely champion of West Indian literature within a colonial publishing system. The desire to create a supportive environment for experimentation and growth in the West Indies, which was financially aided by BBC stipends and air time, was tempered by the need to resist the imposition of English standards and values on the emerging literature, ultimately perpetuating the power dynamics of colonialism. He carries the awareness of the program position to limit the possibilities for these works to represent the postcolonial experience fully and instead perpetuate the marginalisation of voices and perspectives from the colonised regions, along with the ever-present condition of also having to prioritise profit over the representation of diverse voices, which can further marginalise postcolonial literature. Moreover, despite Swanzy's sensitivities and best efforts, the problem of the appropriateness and consequences of the BBC's significant influence on Caribbean literature is embedded within the structure of publishing today.

This correspondence shows a keen awareness of the reinscription of the historically established relationship between England and the West Indian colonies because the larger machinations behind the programme were colonial. These letters reveal how the program's production and distribution within the English metropole reinscribe a historically established relationship between England and its former colonies in the Caribbean. This relationship was one of colonial

domination and control. The fact that the program was produced in London by a predominantly white English team meant that it was perceived as a form of colonial interference in the developing postcolonial literary praxis of the West Indies. In other words, the program could be seen as perpetuating the power dynamic between the coloniser and the colonised, rather than enabling the West Indian writers and intellectuals to develop their literary traditions free from colonial influence. In a letter to Lindo dated 18th October 1948, Swanzy writes of this realisation, stating that "criticism from London might well be doing what we complain of in the past, the imposition of alien standards to a regional culture that ought to develop itself" (Swanzy Papers). The criticism and standards imposed by the BBC program may be similar to the cultural imposition of the past. Nevertheless, he acknowledges that the West Indian culture should be allowed to develop itself and that the program's efforts to promote literature from the region may inadvertently impose outside standards and norms. As written in his letter to Lindo, two years later, he confesses his fear of "being accused of being a cultural manipulator," and expressed his apprehension about the limitations and contradictions of the "quasi-cultural monopoly" he held:

Although prepared to make a few changes, I am afraid of being accused of being a cultural manipulator...I know that there is a difficulty in developing from mere selection of items to be broadcast to more elaborate criticism. This is inherent in this curious situation of quasi-cultural monopoly, and I do try hard to fight against it, because I realise how galling it must be to have persons of no great literary achievement criticising from 3,000 miles away. On the other hand, it is very difficult not to identify oneself to some extent with the process, for otherwise one could have little direct interest in many of the items for their own sake. And this "identfication" must be critical, because there is nothing else for a non-West Indian. (Swanzy Papers)

By its very nature, postcolonial literary production seeks to break free from the colonial structures and ideologies imposed on colonised societies. However, when produced in the English metropole, it is being produced within the same colonial framework it seeks to break away from. This tension results from the desire for independence and autonomy in literary production and the

continued reliance on the same system that sought to subjugate and control. In addition to perpetuating colonial power dynamics, the potential for cultural appropriation and misrepresentation also arises, and the stories of former colonies are drowned out. In Figures 2.4 and 2.5, it is evident that Swanzy's concerns about his role as a cultural manipulator were persistent. In this context, "cultural manipulator" implies that Swanzy had significant control over what was broadcasted, shaping the literary landscape of the West Indias. West Indian writers learnt to respond to what Swanzy and ultimately the BBC wanted to air, meaning that their creative expression was shaped by external forces. Notably, this letter is one of the first references to St. Lucian poet Derek Walcott whose early career most notably expressed an inextricable link between colonial institutions and the publication process of the postcolonial text. Through letters in this network (See Figure 2.6, 2.7) of Caribbean Voices, Walcott's first published collection of poems was well received not only in London but the wider Caribbean—through connections with local literary journals such as *Bim* in Barbados spearheaded by Frank Collymore, Swanzy's close friend and confidante, and Focus in Jamaica. This shows how the colonial history of the West Indies and its relationship with the English metropole influenced the production of postcolonial literature, as the power dynamics at play impacted the kinds of stories that were told and how they were told.

The original intention of the BBC's publishing infrastructure was not to support Swanzy, West Indian writers, and literary organisers in their efforts to address the political concerns surrounding the relationship between Britain and its colonies, as well as the emerging cultural expressions from the region. Today, the contemporary publishing industry still operates under power dynamics that can influence the production and dissemination of postcolonial literature. Publishers based in the Global North may have cultural biases and market considerations that affect their willingness to publish certain types of postcolonial literature. This can pressure writers to conform to certain narratives or styles in order to be published or widely distributed. Additionally, there can be pressure for postcolonial writers to write for a Global North audience rather than for their communities or for a more diverse readership. Balancing these dynamics can limit the range of voices and perspectives represented in the publishing industry and perpetuate colonial power structures.

Address: 200. Oxford Street Telephone No. Euston: 3400: ext. 192. 21st. June, 1949. Dear Mrs. Lindo, I have already thanked you for your salutary letter of 31st. May, but it is going by surface mail so I think 1 had better thank you again. I will return to it at the end of this, when I have thank you again. I will return to it at the end of this, when I have got official business off my chest. I have been looking for Karl Sealy's story, but cannot seem to find it. Can it be that we put it at on the 3rd. October under the wrong title? I can find a reference to <u>The Fields are High</u> in one of your bills of lading, but none to <u>The Sun Rides High</u>, which was the story actually put out! I think this must be the explanation of the riddle. I am afraid that I cannot find Miss Dampier's poem. I have not much comment to make on the present month, which is not of a very high standard, I think, wix perhaps because it contains nothing from Jamaica, as yet. So far as last month is concerned, I hope people were not offended by the programme on Africa and on slavery. We worded it carefully so as not to give offence, and I may say that Pauline Henriques, in a most self-sacrificing manner "pulled her punches" in reading <u>Grannie Bell</u>, which moved her deeply. This, I am afraid, was at my advice, for I am beginning to learn that the radio is an impure medium. Now for your criticism, which I welcome. I agree, to some extent with the tendancy noted in Roy Fuller, not to speak of Currey and your humble servant. In fact, I made the same criticism to him (3F.) when I got the script, and I inserted a few qualifying phrases like "I think" and "I hope". The trouble is that he is a little difficult and sensitive to criticism himself, although prepared to make a few changes, and I am afraid of being accused of being a cultural manifulator So far as Currey and myself are concerned, perhaps there is less excuse, and I know that there is a difficulty of developing from mere selection of items to be broadcast to more elaborate criticism. This is inherent in this curious situation of quasi-cultural monopoly, and I do try hard to fight against it, because I realise how galling it must be to have porsons of no great literary th achievement criticising from 3,000 miles away. On the other hand, it is very difficult not to identify oneself to some extent with the process, for otherwise one could have little

Figure 2.4 Letter from Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo 21st June 1949.

1	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	A term in the rest in many of the items for their own sake. And this of non-mest indian, it may be that it should bring in the programmes for the resident found on literati, as I did in the old Critice for the more the resident found on literati, as I did in the old Critice for the more the resident found on literati, as I did in the old Critice for the more the resident found on literati, as I did in the old Critice for the more the resident found on literati, as I did in the old Critice for the more the resident found on literatic as the did in the old Critice for the more that resident the programmes that the one we we we we we we have a did by the to the her her the programmes that the shore the to supper or literature the day, and in may say that I have had to supper or literature the more effective Caribbean personalities inneares the there are the day in the may be that the programme should be put the of truths in both, and it may be that the programme should be put the to form any conscience. I think it probable that the put the factor of the day in a way be that the programme should be put the to combine the complete the day in the day is a literature of the factor of the day and it may be that the programme should be put the to combine the analter of e.g. A. Fuller's critique of maleott. Although a much the shore that the form of his work is presented the day in the day be that the programme should be put the shore the complete power by buller that any her that the form of his work is that the power of the shore the day in the day be that the programme should be put the shore the day in the day be that the programme should be put the shore the day in the day is a shore the day in the day be that the programme should be put the shore the day in the day is the day be that the programme should be put the shore the day is the day be the day in the day be the day is the day be the day in the day be day be the day be the day be the day be the day be day be the
	Yours sincerely
	(H.V.L. Swanzy)

Figure 2.5 Letter from Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo 21st June 1949.

Lindo later also offers comment from Jamaica on this political balancing act in a letter replying to a programme schedule: "On the April schedule I think you have achieved a nice balance between the various colonies, between prose and poetry and between the "exiles" and those in

residence here; it must be quite a task to work in all these pairs" (Swanzy Papers). Noting the appreciation of Swanzy's work in putting together a more multifaceted vision of West Indian literature by creating a programme and publications that deliberately widen the region's self-consciousness suggests the desire to transcend the limits of island-ness to build an archipelagic understanding of the region's literary materials, reflecting the utopic urge for a self-sustained pan-Caribbean, postcolonial literary publishing process. However, it must be acknowledged that Swanzy's institutional position could only carry such desires so far and that the limitations and contradictions of the programme's quasi-colonial structure ultimately hindered the development of a genuinely self-sustained literary publishing process in the region. Nonetheless, Swanzy's efforts played a significant role in bringing attention to West Indian literature and promoting a more nuanced understanding of the region's literary output.

Swanzy, in a January 1948 program, again pointedly addresses his awareness of his location as that 'Oxford voice'-- a white British editor of the BBC, facilitating the emergence of Anglophone-Caribbean literature:

Well, there you have our survey for 1947. It isn't of course, complete; one critic perhaps cannot do entire justice, but mainly, I believe, because there are a lot more writers discreetly keeping silent. Perhaps it is because they object to that Oxford voice...I suspect that there is another reason, and that is the belief that one is only interested in what one might call topographical poetry. That, of course, is quite wrong. We only ask for this local writing because literature, all literature, is nothing if not concrete and particular and it is also a fact that most people talk best about themselves and their own work. Whatever comes easiest to the writer generally comes easiest to the reader, and so brings pleasure which must be the aim of all writing (Swanzy Papers).

Swanzy even with his awareness of the capital, political and even colonial limits that move within the production of *Caribbean Voices*, also reveals that awareness of the limits of the

infrastructure is not enough insofar that the language of the Caribbean, its literary culture and expression can only exist when compared to the condescending, metropolitan standards of its production. Given that his task in developing uniquely Caribbean literature and literary culture was undertaken in the same location that monopolised the standards of writing, publishing, critical review and organisations, West Indian postcolonial literature would have to navigate, if not overcome, these external factors projected by this inexplicable relationship with the patronising metropole embedded infrastructure of its production. That is, as a material representation of the foreign colonial entity imposing upon the standards of a still developing literature, balancing the political intricacies of the BBC being the system facilitator to promote this emerging writing and writers, and the restraints of capital production limits with valuing the writing. In an aesthetic sense, the latter reflects the purpose of literature as shown in Swanzy's assertion to encourage a particular notion of literary style and content that will achieve the programme's goals amongst the shifting geo-political influences working in the Anglophone Caribbean.

It's the methods used and replicated in this precarious, collaborative relationship between the metropole and islands that need questioning. The location of the publishing industry—existing at the time in London and now inclusive of the United States—prevents the democratic function of publishing, language and literatures, instead deferring to only being an extension of colonial power and domination within the cultural industry. In *Theories of Communication*, Armand and Michele Mattelart outline the functionalist sociological concerns of the political ideologies that support the culture industries as they are today and the power dynamics that move within these conditions. In highlighting the limited research on the 'who', the 'how' and the 'why' of the frameworks that support cultural industries such as my exploration of the publishing industry's contradictory relationship with West Indian and other postcolonial texts, they liberally quote German philosopher Theodor Adorno (1969), a leading member of the Frankfurt School of critical theory who is credited along with fellow Frankfurt School member Max Horkheimer (1972) with asking these questions of the standardised cultural goods—films, radio programmes, magazines, etc.—that are used to manipulate society into passivity. Much influenced by the dialectical materialism and historical materialism of Karl Marx, as well as revisiting Hegel's dialectic idealism, these events are not

occurring in isolation but as part of larger political implications. This situation requires, as Adorno remarks, "analysis of this system, its cultural and sociological consequences and social and economic presuppositions" (quoted in Mattelart 59).

The political power of the transnational and regional network constructed and outlined by the letters between Swanzy and Lindo was an inextricable link between colonial institutions and the publication process of the postcolonial text. However, it is the reliance on this relationship with the metropole's resources of publication on the terms of their standards of print and their understanding that remains unchanged, and especially noticed when manuscripts were later rejected by major English publishing houses, such as Walcott's first attempt at a manuscript being published by London-based publisher Johnathan Cape—see the letter in Figure 2.8.

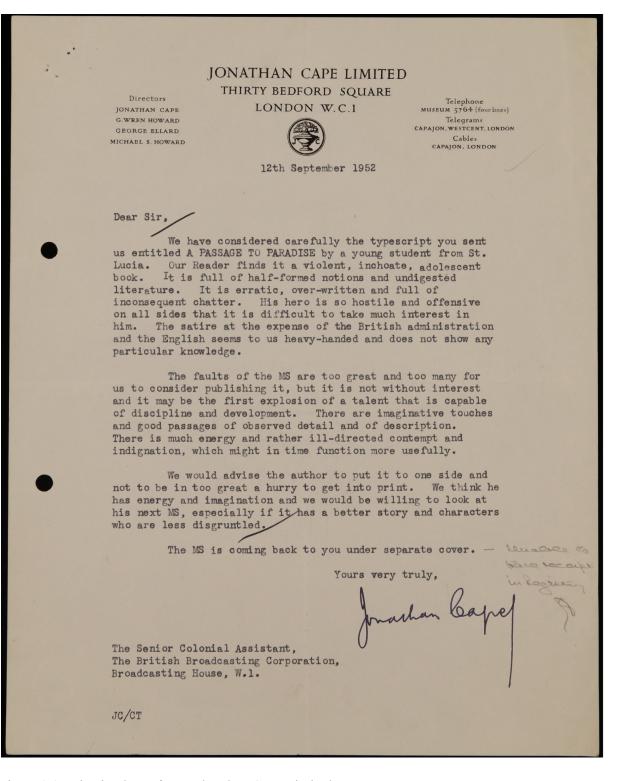


Figure 2.8 Rejection letter from Johnathan Cape Limited

The initial negative condemnation in the first paragraph of the letter reflects the ways in which London, and by extension the wider colonial metropole, viewed the West Indies. The region was often depicted as violent, disordered, and immature, lacking the cultural and intellectual sophistication of Europe. This view of the West Indies was based on racist and paternalistic assumptions, which positioned the region as inferior to Europe and in need of constant intervention and control. The use of satire in the passage serves to highlight the absurdity of this view and to critique the British administration's handling of the region. Suggesting that the colonial administration was more concerned with maintaining its power than with developing the West Indies. This is reflected in the letters description of even the praise for the work is couched in terms of a kind of superiority:

> The faults of the MS are too great and too many for us to consider publishing it, but it is not without interest and it may be the first explosion of a talent that is capable of discipline and development. There are imaginative touches and good passages of observed detail and description. There is much energy and rather ill-directed contempt and indignation, which might in time function more usefully. We would advise the author to put it to one side and not to be in too great a hurry to get into print. We think he has energy and imagination and we would be willing to look at his next MS, especially if it has a better story and characters who are less disgruntled.

The author, Johnathan Cape's Senior Colonial Assistant suggests that Walcott needs discipline and development, which the Cape publishers can provide. This reflects the ways in which the colonial metropole positioned itself as the source of cultural and intellectual development for its colonies, further reinforcing the idea of the region's inferiority. This letter serves to demonstrate the ways in which colonial discourse positioned the West Indies as inferior and in need of constant intervention and control from the metropolitan based publishing industrial standard. This discourse not only impacted the region's political and economic development but also its cultural and intellectual life, as seen in the ways in which West Indian literature was often viewed as lacking in comparison to European literature. If this manuscript been reviewed by a West Indian publisher, primarily with a

West Indian readership in mind, would it have faced the same scrutiny? What standards exactly would loosen, tighten or be in motion generally, in the absence of the colonial standard that constantly lingers?

In the years after the final airing of *Caribbean Voices* (1958), in an interview broadcast by the BBC (1993), Walcott fittingly with the sound of the Caribbean surf behind him, speaks to this lasting interference of the paradox of colonial ideology within West Indian literature:

The point is the alleged embarrassment, supposed embarrassment, the presumed disinheritance and inferiority of *mangoes* next to *elms*, or *palm trees* next to *pines*. That's the penalty that colonialism brings, that everything becomes less than its alleged superiors, alleged originals and that's the distinction I was trying to make...beginning to realise the simple answer that those things are named by (the) literature. If Shakepeare says 'elm' then that's a noble tree. The difference is only that there was no (previous) articulation of my landscape, it was not yet sanctified by literature... but that doesn't mean that the mango is not a beautiful tree; it is the penalty of colonialism that the Mango couldn't possibly have the dignity of an oak, or elm. In the same way that a Black West Indian could not possibly have the dignity of writing like an Englishman– that's the penalty of colonialism (Unitedpac Saint Lucia).

The current literary industry reinforces these 'colonial penalties' by categorising and pigeonholing the works of postcolonial writers through prescribed systems and modes with the ultimate goal of marketability, failing to renounce the "the muse of history," as Walcott describes it in his essay of the same name. Instead the processes of publishing have established a framework that maroons the postcolonial writer, particularly of the Global South, to respond to these penalties by creating a mythologised, fictional history that delights the audiences of the metropole who capitalise on these retellings of others. In lacking the material frameworks that allow the postcolonial writer to move freely through literary traditions, and languages, to embrace whichever authority or literary ancestor they feel best carries their voice, they are left drowning.

The concerns of this thesis around postcolonial literature production and treatment reveal the

continued relevance of the concerns expressed during the postwar era. Caribbean writers and readers are more focused on the establishment of publishing structures and networks that prioritise the region's needs and interests, just as they were in the past. This sentiment is exemplified by a handwritten letter from a listener in St. Vincent to Swanzy, (See Figure 2.9 and 2.10) in which they express the need for postcolonial works to be available to "these little islands with their own little ways of sayings and doings." This listener even writes further on the desire for a more robust and regionally controlled literary publishing industry in the Caribbean:

Like every West Indian, my pride is heightened when I hear the efforts of my fellow West Indians given that chance in a country famed for its men of letters. Sometimes I try to think that when the work is done in England, these little islands with their own little ways of sayings and doings, may be the elect of the next age to take it up.

And in the faded, curled ink of this letter the desire for a regional publishing system, one that can offer permanence beyond the transient nature of sound waves or the limited lifespan of small island publications still resonates today:

I often wonder why no one writes to comment on this programme, and why "Mr. Swanzy's Last-Six-Months Comments" are not published so that our West Indian papers can use them. And Mr. Swanzy, I always wonder what is done with the MSS of all these poems, sketches, short stories after their one and only reading on the programme. Do you think Mr. Swanzy, that these works which took so much sweat out of their writers be read once on the programme and put on file never to be heard of again? No, Mr. Swanzy, no.

This letter highlights the importance of not only creating a platform ideologically suited for postcolonial literature but also ensuring that the literary works produced are treated with care and respect. It raises concerns about the sustainability of literary production in the Caribbean, given the challenges of maintaining a robust publishing industry in the region but it also speaks to the need for greater engagement and dialogue around postcolonial literature, both within the region and beyond. The focus on creating a more permanent and regionally controlled infrastructure speaks to the ongoing

efforts to overcome the historical legacy of colonialism and its impact on the Caribbean's literary

production and dissemination.

Iroumaca St. Vincent B. W. 2 3 rd April 1952. Henry L. Swansyy, Producer of "Caribbean Voices" "B. B. C." Dear Mer Swansyy, am one of those West Indiano who listen regularly to "Caribbean Voices". None of my original work has as yet been selected for the programme, but like every West Indian, my pride is heightened when I hear the efforts of my fellow west Indians given that chance in a country famed for its men of letters. Sometimes of try to think that when the work is done in England these little islands with their oron little ways of sayings and doings, may be the elect of the next age to take it up. comment on this programme, and why "Mer. Swanzy's Last-Six-Months Comments" are not published so that our West Indian papers can use them. And Mer. Swanzy, I always wonder what is done with the MSS of all these poems, sketches, short stories after their one and only reading on the programme. Do you think Mor. Swanzyy, that these works which took so much sweat out of their writers be read once on the programme and put on file never to be heard of again? No, Mr. Swanyy, no. Why don't you publish these efforts in special volumes which we

Figure 2.9 Letter from a Caribbean Voices listener to Henry Swanzy, 3rd of April 1952

2 West Indians would brug ? as Sometime ago I heard a story "Dinah Bock", and one "Nature Unpredictable". I have been wishing to see these stories in print, but have not yet succeeded in doing so. I am not the only West Indian who think that publication of these stories is necessary to help awaken West Indian as well as outside interest in West Indian writings . I am Sir, yours respectfully, Constloule J. Conrad Charles

Figure 2.10 Letter from a Caribbean Voices listener to Henry Swanzy, 3rd of April 1952

Caribbean Voices serves as just one, but greatly significant example of the concerns addressed in this thesis. The issues raised here align with the concerns expressed by Caribbean readers in the early stages of Caribbean literature, where the contradictions between the English metropolitan publishing system and the island nations were profoundly incompatible in terms of their ideologies. The metropole's desire for continued cultural domination limited the ways in which the West Indian movement of national and regional independence could materialize. While Swanzy's work had a meaningful and greatly felt impact on West Indian literature, the missing publishing industry, the robust literary culture and independence from English standards and ideals for which he hoped are still unfulfilled within today's continuation of cultural industrial production as movement producing culture as a commodity—in the exact location as before. That is to say, the BBC institutionalisation and subsequent industrialisation of West Indian literature discredits any other mode or quality of literary production in a way that Horkheimer articulates in his observation that, "All too often the objects of research are imposed by the methods available, whereas the methods should be adapted to the object" (Mattelart 60). The desire to articulate a Caribbean vision or critical methodology to sustain a West Indian identifying creative and cultural industrial practice, unmoored from empire and founded in its own island epistemology, is restricted by the inescapability of the standardised relations of production, inextricably linked to the reproduction and dissemination of colonial ideologies and systems dependent on those frameworks.

Swanzy in his last years as head editor of *Caribbean Voices* somewhat speaks to this sense of being haunted by the limitations of the programme, remarking in a sombre letter to Collymore, dated the 25th of March 1954, "It is hard to spend one's entire life as a ghost, or at least a distant emanation, particularly since there is so much that cannot be done, in many ways nearer home" (See Figure 2.11, 2.12). *Caribbean Voices* and Swanzy still represent points through which the totalising effect of colonialism passes, within the unchanged model of organisation, systems and structures that characterise the mode of control, domination and dependency offered in reproducing the historically determined frameworks of the region's relationship to the metropole, continually felt, haunting and half-drowned.

25th March 1954

Dear Frank,

I am now back from foreign parts, and believe me, they are foreign. Not a touch of literature in East and Central Africa apart from "Literature" societies which are mainly political forums for the Indians! I had hoped to start something like <u>Caribbean Voices</u> in that area, but I do not really think that the time is ripe. They had come to a similar opinion independently, at home, as I found out when I came back. I still think that something should be done to cultivate a neglected field. The only trouble is that the fièld is to be created by bulldozers and such like, long before we can even begin to talk of "neglect".

I write about <u>Caribbean Voices</u> in rather a disconsolate frame of mind because really, one begins to want some contact with one's own earth. It is hard to spend one's entire life as a ghost, or at least a distant emanation, particularly since there is so much that cannot be done, in many ways nearer home. I feel that there are certain things that I could do, with the experience I have gained, if I were ever given my head, but unfortunately this is more than ever unlikely. One gets absolutely no credit over the kind of work represented by <u>Caribbean Voices</u>, <u>West African</u> <u>Voices</u> and the journal of the Royal African Society. Indeed, Washington and Moscow are far more interested in the latter than anybody in England. However, I suppose this is the usual complaint of people in our line of business, and I do not have the splendours and miseries of your own admirable work in a world of Philistines.

I don't think there is very much to be said about the present state of the programme, except that the war-time generation continue to spark (George had a very good reader's report on <u>The Emigrants</u>), and they are being replaced by a generation of university people, particularly in Jamaica, with higher critical standards, perhaps, but rather less gravity. I am thinking particularly of Neville Dawes and Barry Reckord and a brilliant mathematician, R.O.A. Robinson who has produced the most amusing item in the whole of the eight years that I have known the programme. I hope you heard it, it was on the 21st March and was

Figure 2.11 Letter from Henry Swanzy to Frank Collymore 25th of March 1954

#### called <u>A Shirt Apiece</u>.

Perhaps I am getting a little isolated from the real development of opinion in the West Indies. One is a little bit inclined to steer clear of social protest, and events on the mainland have shown us that this is really the vital thing, in which not a few literary people should engage. However, one cannot help it in an official broadcasting scheme, and I leave the comment to Pope Hennessy and <u>The Baths of Absalom</u>. In any case, it is very often very sterile. The thing to do is to encourage a large charity and the use of Hialect, or at any rate dialect forms.....

Gordon Bell has been in and I hope to be able to use him. The critic's circle which inaugurated the programme seems worlds away.

Best wishes and tell Eogen if you see him, that I will write when I have finished <u>Sylvia</u>. I am following behind with his progeny but I have not yet reached Hubertus and I don't doubt that another name will have loomed up by the time I have reached him.

Yours ever,

H

P.S. Dennis Selvon tells me that Sam is making a good recovery after his operation and will be getting up by the hourly stages until he reaches eight hours a day in the summer. We have been able to help him a little, as you may have heard, with twelve readings from his book by Erroll John.

Figure 2.12 Letter from Henry Swanzy to Frank Collymore 25th of March 1954

# Endnotes

- Anne Rush describes this further as an: advanced a color-blind version of middle-class Britishness, while also encouraging West Indians to explore their Caribbeanness.
- At Programme Policy Meeting Rendall's vision was 'approved in principle' but remained confidential.
- Henry Swanzy to Roy Fuller, 3rd May 1948; Henry Swanzy Papers MS 42; Swanzy Box 1 (1945-1952). University of Birmingham Special Collection. All of Swanzy's correspondence cited in this thesis is from the University of Birmingham Special Collection. Subsequent citations will be in text and cited as Swanzy Papers.

# **CHAPTER 3**

### **Movement as Institution**

The written word is a site of resistance; breaking the ideological associations between "literature" and "authority" produces a schema that is capable of challenging colonial authority, but this potential of resistance is often missed in the lack of critical care when engaging with postcolonial literature, and its ephemera, when the standards set and followed for its production depend on being produced in the metropoles. Listening to these ghosts enables us to deconstruct better the ways colonialism never stands still, revealing something about how power is claimed or denied by the interconnected structures of history, culture, political domination, and other relations that function throughout time within the publishing industry, transforming as culture does with the aforementioned social contexts, to serve the needs of empire, which retain control over the production of literature and therefore retain power even in the present.

Approaching the process of publishing with the notion of allowing these ghosts to speak disrupts the continued silencing of certain presences, redefining who is deemed worthy of creating and producing literature, as well as teaching us, those who work with literature, how to further the liberating potentials of the written word. Derrida concludes:

... The scholar of the future, the 'intellectual' of tomorrow, must learn how to address it [the ghost] and learn this from it himself. He should learn to live by learning not just how to make conversation with the ghost, but how to engage (*s'entretenir*) with him, with her, to let him speak or to render speech to him, whether in oneself, in the other, to the other in oneself. They are always *there, spectres, even if they do not exist, even if they are no longer, even if they have not yet returned* (Derrida, *Spectres* 221).

Colonial interference in the creation and distribution of Caribbean work through inherited systems is ongoing and insidiously replicated by the publishing industry's neoliberal reframing of literature's possibilities.

Additionally, the memories and evidence of revolutionary systems that worked to restructure these possibilities are, in practice, most often curated, owned and rendered inaccessible by the same colonial authorities of Anglophone literary culture. This means that past protestations continue to be drowned out in this unequal dialogue with power, challenging the frameworks by which they are shaped. The structures that converge upon the literary culture of the postcolonial, Anglophone novel, particularly for non-white identities, continue to be framed by the structures, processes, systems and categorisations pre-given by Britain's colonial authority. Even the labels of "postcolonial", "commonwealth," "marginalised," and "minority" accompanying this literature's publishing exemplify the continuation of this hegemonic framework in the present-day, even if just as a point of departure. West Indian literature needs to reimagine how we conceptualise the processes of framing the production and historicisation of these works to accommodate the implicit ebb and flow of colonial intent. What is needed is to think through a critical framework that allows, as medieval cultural historian John H. Arnold describes, not just the possibility "to remain free from, or even always in direct opposition to power and authority, but sometimes in *dialectic* with it and sometimes set at strange tangential angles to it, meeting often in mutual incomprehensions" (Arnold 14).

The framework I have begun to articulate throughout this piece refers all at once to a process, a space, the capturing of history's continuous movement through these unique literary historiographies, texts and archives while remaining as changeable and liquid as the living identities these words represent. This ideological shift means the re-fashioning of current publishing practices and process of production in the Caribbean that can accommodate for this 'presence of the past' by allowing the imagining and re-imagining of the ways we perceive, study and contend with it. As West Indian literature continues to emerge outside of colonial signification's ability to categorise and control, the need to make coherent the ghostly matters forgotten by the current publishing schema in political and actionable terms are increasingly apparent. To achieve a more self-affirming and tangible transformation in the West Indian literary landscape, there have been efforts to establish frameworks

for literary production and archival research that enable the region to reclaim its authorial positions in its own literary development. These efforts aim to move away from a reliance on external actors and structures that may perpetuate colonial power dynamics and limit the range of voices and perspectives represented in the region's literary production. By developing our own literary infrastructure and promoting local literary voices, the region can assert greater agency and ownership over its literary heritage and future.

I put unlikely theoretical positionings in conversation to imagine conceiving a framework that addresses history's presence in literary production as a process, malleable and liquid. I adopt a postcolonial perspective and sensibility to address the conditions directly responsible for the ghosts lingering in the literature and publishing practice of the Anglophone Caribbean. Thinking with these dynamics together proves useful in deconstructing the inequalities of the Western Publishing Industry and suggesting other possible frameworks and relationships capable of handling the inescapable processes of the past that influence the creation, production and distribution of these works. How can we, outside the limitations of colonial power and supporting systems of neoliberal capitalism, engage differently with these ghosts of the past? I ask what it could mean to revisit our associations with history and the written word, to de-naturalize the static perceptions of 'authority' and 'subjectivity' by approaching them through movement. What if the ocean held on to these memories like it hides bodies? If the ocean could retell these stories, how would the ocean write?

### **Tides as Decolonial Framework**

What you really want to do now is not write the body-because to write the body is to write those grievances-but to write the absence of the body. That is why one creates ghostly figures, figures that want to disappear, figures that aren't actually born. Now you place them in the sea, so you don't need to give them a land. You are trying to escape from land, body, history, by having a kind of unborn foetus in the sea. – David Dabydeen, Amphibian Hermaphrodites (40)

Identifying, accessing and filling the silences characteristic of the West Indian literary archive moves researchers, scholars and readers beyond just locating papers and itemising sources. West Indian literature and literary culture require more vigorous considerations and ways of democratising preservation and access. Re-printing, putting books (back) in circulation, communal access and fostering a literary culture of critique and examinations, and encouraging reaching wider regional readership and local audiences to document reading practices are material actions necessary for the West Indian literary process to be accountable for the range of historical palimpsestuous relations, and influential capacities that emanate from the specificity of being and creating from islands in the West Indies. This can only be achieved through deconstructing the politics of location, colonial legacies, and the central role of movement in the postcolonial literary practice.

Thus, how would revising the previously unexamined impositions of the metropole's desire to satisfy its corporate and political interests realise the region's anti-colonial intentions? To engage with the past in a meaningful capacity, I believe, requires a renegotiation of movement. In my analysis, I consider mobility a central theme in the West Indian canon, not only as a narrative device but also as a political and economic reality that challenges the ongoing legacy of imperial dependence. The liminal

spaces created by the destabilisation of movement, exile, and dislocation facilitate the re-thinking of self and homeland. Attending to all these movements of people, ideas, and words should be the collective Caribbean archival focus. The issues in attending to these factors cannot be easily solved by mere shifts in location, from island to island, to relocate industrial processes but instead require an intricate systemic deconstruction.

The systems at play within the publishing industry demand objectivity and, neutrality, and mass appeal while also benefiting from the marketing of "otherness" zeroing in on narratives of "marginalised" or "overlooked" works. However, postcolonial literature, by nature, is not neutral. In order to be effective for the communities this literature is longing to serve, publishing houses must be built within systems of continual self-examination and accountability. The evocation of capital interest, when zeroing in on the consequences of publishing criteria such as mass appeal and neutrality, also begs the question, "*Marginalised by whom*?" Caribbean writing is always positioned in relation to its colonial history; whether choosing to embrace, reinterpret, evade or purposefully ignore Western literary tradition, these choices are still measured/ informed/ haunted by this past. These processes must always consider the fluid relationship between themselves, the past, and the present and, most importantly, ensure that the foundation built has the potential to evolve, move, breathe, and continue.

Rearranging the West Indies' creative potentials with the limitations of the metropolitan controlled industry is a centring of freedoms that demands decolonised curatorial, editorial, and publication standards across varied island nations and platforms dispersed across the region, within various diasporic populations interested in re-engaging with Caribbean literary culture. Collating this literature within new models of publishing and dissemination that offer a way of assessing the material complexities of literary publishing compatible with the nature of the Caribbean is an act of transforming collective memory and preserving a future already half-drowned. Kwame Dawes speaks to the absence of refusing to continue producing and evaluating the work of the West Indies by the standards previously set and to implement strategies of decolonising, questioning and challenging rather than accepting these systems stating, "This is why publishing is necessary. Sometimes

publishing is about archiving our culture, preserving a body of knowledge upon which other generations can build" (Dawes 86). Adopting these models of intellectual authority and knowledge as part of our colonial inheritance positions the Caribbean on the margins of a traditional literary culture indebted to colonial Englishness.

The realisation of a sustainable West Indian indigenous publishing industry that is not tied to large Global North institutional partners relies on detaching from epistemic Eurocentrism (Nimführ and Meloni 8) and undertaking an "epistemological reconstitution," wherein the intervention of a decolonial model or methodology that accounts for the fluidity necessary to accommodate a spectrum of diverse perspectives, unique complexities and tensions encourages collaboration, rather than division. Accordingly, I am exploring how to implement my observations surrounding fluid movement being central to the politics of the postcolonial literary situation. Furthermore, from these observations, I propose modelling a heuristic approach that facilitates the anti-colonial sentiments of these literary works as metaphorical expressions and material frames.

In proposing a model for West Indian publishing that is explicitly oriented in the service of decolonial justice, I find that it is not enough only to analyse whether externally prescribed policies and systems of these institutions further perpetuate Eurocentric characteristics deeply enmeshed within colonial power structures, but to further question if these institutions are actively deconstructing the previous colonial limitations. This is particularly important within postcolonial nations with intimate colonial or neocolonial-dependent relationships with the dominant metropolitan industries. The structural challenges presented require the implementation of indigenous systems specific to the geopolitics of the area. How can decolonial methodologies help free the production of West Indian literature and literary culture from Anglo- centric frameworks? Is it possible for indigenous forms of knowledge and literary practices to maintain their autonomy and independence while simultaneously engaging with the power structures of dominant global literary scenes? And can we achieve this while also decolonizing the institutional structures of the publishing industry that were established during colonialism?

These questions have inspired other complex models for the inking of frameworks and definitions of decolonising. Of course, the actual processes of deconstructing colonial power

structures vary, but generally, it involves the infrastructural interrogation of how certain people and places are continuously marginalised within the practices of knowledge formation, particularly by favouring what has been universalised as knowledge by the often white, industrial and capitally dominant Global North over experience and knowledge from the often-racialized, exploited Global South (Nimführ and Meloni 8). As such, "decoloniality is first and foremost [a] liberation of knowledge" (Mignolo 146).

I realized that in order to create a system that supports the sustainable development of Caribbean literature and serves as a model for intervention in the publishing industry, it is crucial to recognize how this literature embodies the anti-colonial political ideologies of the West Indies. George Lamming describes how even the very languages at the West Indian writers' disposal are an inheritance of material colonial dispossession. Through the intentional linguistic and aesthetic choices made by these writers, a symbolic repossession gave voice to the expression of postcolonial West Indian liberation (Lamming 31). While the literature in his time was inherently anti-colonial, the publishing systems were not, so how could I utilise the symbolic critique of colonialism to inspire material change? And that is when I looked towards the sea.

In reading primarily Caribbean and African literatures, the liberal evocation of the ocean is notably never just merely a setting or imagery; for the West Indian writer, it continues to inspire complexly layered political and theoretical poststructuralist metaphors, particularly in the expression of a collective West Indian cultural identity, not as the previously prescribed English metropolitan reflection, but in its fluid and hybrid actuality. Through the efforts of the Caribbean literary imagination, the ocean moves from being filled with drowned bodies, commerce, ships and salt to a literary site of transformation that inspires a less rigid expression of history and politics. In *Omeros*, Walcott celebrates the ocean's creation of a fertile, collective space for literary art. So how can these concepts promise to materialise a model for West Indian publishing by utilising the language and expectations of the sea?

#### **Movement as Creole**

Like the movement of the ocean she's walking on, coming From continent/continuum, touching another, and Then receding ('reading') from the island(s) into the perhaps

Creative chaos of the(ir) future

– Kamau Brathwaite

Caribbean literature has always existed in this liminal space, retrieving itself from watery depths while simultaneously treading water tirelessly to approach what has been lost and evolving through new exchanges in the wreckage. One key aspect that arises from navigating the complexities of its history and identity, between colonial, anticolonial, and indigenous ways of being, is the creolised nature of the Caribbean. This creolisation can be understood as a micropolitical movement, which disrupts the larger political situation that the region's histories might otherwise overdetermine. Despite this, West Indian writers face significant challenges in navigating the inequalities of the industrial process, which can limit their ability to innovate and experiment with literary forms. Literary activism in the Global South is thus often constrained by a lack of institutional support for creative and experimental practices, perpetuating the "colonial penalties" that continue to affect the region, floating in uncertain spaces where words are *thinned* to fit industry standards. As a result, West Indian writers continuously innovate concepts of reading and writing themselves under postcolonial paradigms while trying to fashion a version of literacy that enables creative and experimental practices that are not supported institutionally as is. Embracing the creolised nature of the Caribbean, which emerges from movements between colonial, anticolonial, and indigenous ways of being, is a crucial part of the ideological shift I am proposing. It allows for a micropolitical movement that disrupts the more significant political situation that the region's histories would

otherwise overdetermine. By innovating new reading and writing concepts under postcolonial paradigms, West Indian writers can fashion a version of literacy that enables creative and experimental practices not currently supported institutionally. This is an essential step towards salvaging literary spaces marooned in the inequalities of industrial processes and lacking in necessary infrastructure and disrupts the more significant political situation that covertly keeps the Caribbean fixed in a position of dependency instead of moving freely.

The question of movement is what this work has built within its frames and desires at its core to outline a distinct disciplinary method that interacts with West Indian postcolonial texts on its terms. The theoretical registers of movement in West Indian literature—found in its experience within time, transnational geographies, and the innumerable multiplicities of colonial, anticolonial and indigenous experience that influence the works' content and publication—suggest the necessity of movement is central to Caribbean discourse and should therefore be central to its production and preservation.

When asked how I envision a Caribbean archive or publishing industry, I immediately think of the ocean. Our preservations need to move with us. Suppose the Caribbean imagination is predicated on these shared relationships of movement and multiplicities. It should follow that a single inherited system of authority should not fetter its innovative products. In his essay "Cross-Cultural Poetics," Glissant attends to this concept of relational influence, mapping and the Caribbean sea:

> What is the Caribbean in fact? A multiple series of relationships. We all feel it, we express it in all kinds of hidden or twisted ways, or we fiercely deny it. But we sense that this sea exists within us with its weight of now revealed islands (Glissant and Dash, *Caribbean* 139).

Glissant, in his *Caribbean Discourse*, claims that Caribbean history is known only through its landscapes: "Our landscape is its own monument: its meaning can only be traced on the underside. It

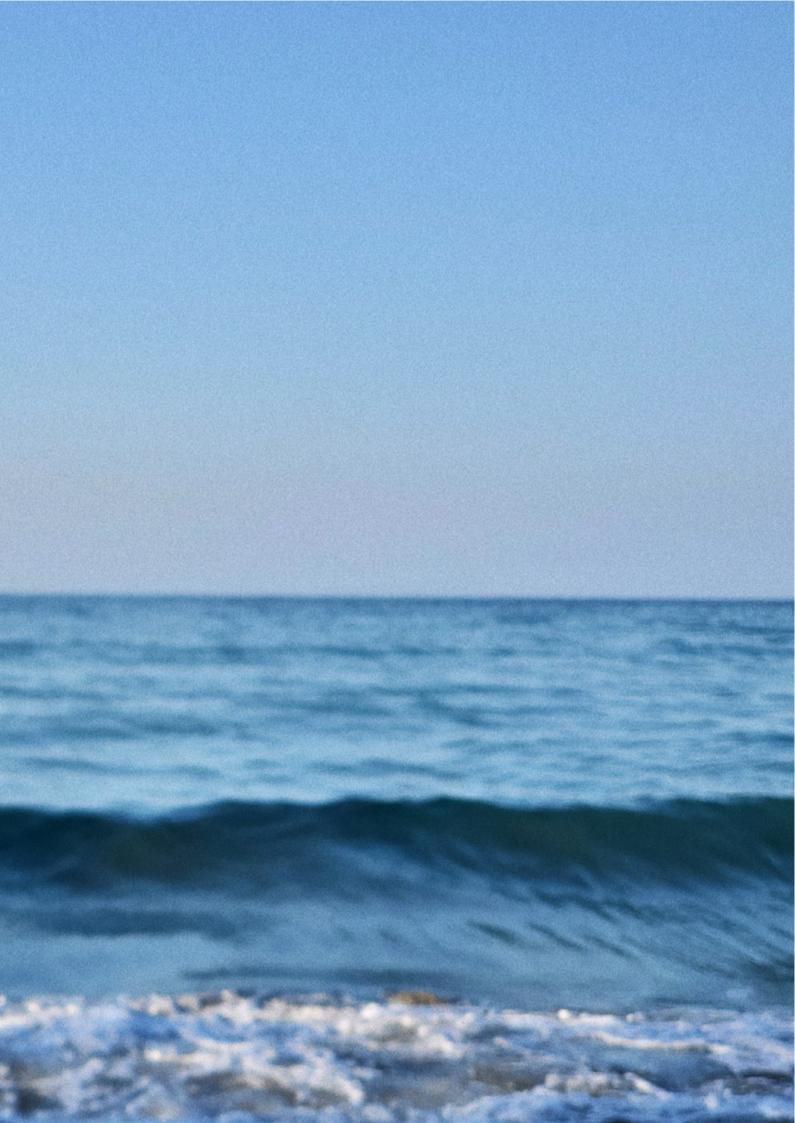
is all history" (11). Without a more substantial literary presence and recorded history, Glissant symbolically places the landscape, wind, and sea as witnesses and archives. Returning to the place of the Caribbean, haunted by its relationship to troubling origins, centring its histories and creative imagination could lead to structural reforms that can hold this world instead of marooning it. A solid indigenous, creolised publishing industry would address the gaps of the reinscribed colonial palimpsests seen in the functions of the industry today. Creolisation within the Caribbean is an inherent consequence and facilitator of its condition born out of the assemblages of colonial, decolonial, and indigenous narratives of movement—that is, in summary, the innumerable multiplicities of existence that fail to achieve a total synthesis, even under the attempted domination of metropolitan cultural assimilation.

Creolisation within the West Indies exists as the facilitator of possibilities for not only addressing but providing shape to the shapelessness of the region's historical diversity and marronage. The literature that comes out of the West Indies is primarily disseminated through metropolitan epistemological and ontological structures and systems of production highlighted in this thesis, leaving the region's literary infrastructures and organising systems misidentified as underdeveloped when, in actuality, the inhabitants of this imagination are unable to move in the ways natural to them at home. Colonisation has successfully divided the region into fragments that seemingly cannot find their cohesion again across time, space and sea. At the same time, the Caribbean's inherent understanding of a constantly moving, creolised existence extends the context of incompleteness to include the multiple and fluid relationships among language, politics, body, and location. Colonisation continues to posit itself as a unifying force of representation and totality but fails when trying to construct a single image of the ever-moving Caribbean-the metropole's continued failures of moulding that image restricts the region's ability to allow for the repeated emergence and re-emergence of potentialities to replace the old, static and conforming order of things that oppressive infrastructures would envision for us. As such, the West Indies, in its literary embodiment, is a living, moving and yearning space using fiction to form material, political realities.

Visualising these poetics within the cultural industry is central to re-imagining what the publishing space can look and act like when allowed to achieve new movement and manifest a circumoceanic, diasporic imaginary—weaving complex threads of the present and the lingering "presence of the past" into production. With this in mind, however, before this form can come into being, there is a need for our structuring of the cultural industries to move from merely a "sense of being Caribbean-to a conscious expression of Caribbeaness" (Glissant and Dash 43). This requires the embrace of theorising these realities through a uniquely Caribbean framework. We must shift our thinking and take concrete steps towards implementing a new approach if we hope to see real change in the literary industry. Acknowledging the issues at hand is not enough; we must actively work towards creating a more equitable and sustainable system and bringing together postcolonial theories that seek to uncover the subjugated and embrace alternative modes of literary expression with previously unacknowledged perspectives and juxtaposing these with the contradictions present in the production of metropolitan literature that remain unaddressed by the current industry. Through this analysis of the relationship between movement and print, I argue that the production of Caribbean literature in the postcolonial era must no longer be constrained by limited ways of thinking, creating, and publishing that adhere solely to metropolitan standards. Instead, there is a need to embrace and integrate alternative modalities and production systems that reflect the Caribbean region's political capacities and transformative powers. The postcolonial Caribbean must recognise and embrace its strengths and potential contributions, to move beyond the ongoing imposition from power centres. Therefore, I argue that it is essential to reject limited ways of thinking, creating, and publishing that adhere solely to metropolitan standards, and, instead, incorporate alternative, fluid modalities and systems of production that reflect the Caribbean's unique political capacities and transformative powers, regardless of their alignment with dominant metropolitan frameworks.

While practical plans and implementation procedures are crucial to the advancement of any systemic change, it is essential to reiterate that this particular project focuses on the political and ideological foundations of the need for change in the industrial systems of publishing in the Caribbean. The purpose is to raise awareness and stimulate discussions on the importance of

embracing alternative modalities and production systems that reflect the region's political capacities and transformative powers of the region. Therefore, while specific practical plans and implementation procedures are not directly captured in this project's scope, the aim is to lay the ontological groundwork for future developments and advancements in the Caribbean literary industry. To think of the production of West Indian literature is to question how the restriction of movement— geographically, temporally and in the realisation of ideas/praxis—determines the possibilities or limits of existence, how the ability to move, both physically and intellectually, affects one's ability to exist and thrive within a society or culture. Geography, politics, or societal norms can cause limitations on movement. They can impact not only an individual's physical movements and their ability to express themselves creatively or intellectually. Therefore, when considering the production of West Indian literature, it is vital to consider how these limitations may impact the ability of writers to express themselves and their potential fully.



## **Publishing as Oceanic**

The shoreline is a difficult place to be it like you, is many things at once a border blurred, a body ambiguous

-Amal El-Mohtar and Neil Gaiman, The Djinn falls in Love, 89.

The past haunts us, searching for new frameworks and modes of thinking through our postcolonial literary situation. It possesses our imaging of the future in literary publications' now inescapable relation to the colonial. Our inability to imagine outside the confines of the capitalist industry is warping our ability to move forward. In many ways, we are suspended as if treading water in the ocean. The repeated cycle of our failure to address postcolonial concerns rushing around us offers a critical point of intervention. In Brathwaite's writing, I found a voice merging the poetic and the experimental with the historical and political within his neologism of *tidalectics*. As a term, it unsettles our perception and obsession with fixity and stasis, mirroring the unpredictability of rippling waves and fluctuating rhythms of the tides. It articulates a way of thinking that moves from the static perceptions of the land to evolve alongside the transitory dynamics of water. Suppose dialectics is how the West has figured we must establish unquestionable set truths and examine our behaviours. In that case, *tidalectics* includes the (previously deemed) illogical range of ideas, emotions and alternative readings that influence our materiality. It upends the common conception of literacy and print by proposing a way of being in the world anchored on an innate unity dynamic, fluid and interactive as the waves that ebb and flow on the shore. Literary philosopher and poet Kamau Brathwaite coined the term to reflect his work in creating new forms of poetry that respond to the postcolonial, an aesthetic response to the forces of Empire still lurking today, cutting across language to excavate the sound of a truer Caribbean unified under the water.

His development of *tidalectic poetry* directly applies his ontology to literature, breaking away from the colonial strategies of creating poetry. Instead of the British-imposed education of strict rhyme and metre, patterns and subject matter that was so far removed from the Caribbean context,

he brought in the rhythms of the sea, calypso and reggae to craft with. Brathwaite's aim in producing tidalectic poetry was to develop the people's language that can speak of the experience of slavery, colonisation and resistance. In conVERsations with Nathaniel McKay, he offers us an image to describe the Caribbean and its origins to understand his ontology of tidalectics. He describes the image of an old woman sweeping the beach:

She's going on like this every morning, sweeping this sand — of all things! — away from ... sand from sand. seen? ... And I say Now what's she doing? What's this labour involve with? Why's she labouring in this way? all this way? all this time? Because I get the understandin(g) that she somehow believes that is she don't do this, the household that 'poverty-stricken' household of which she's part — probably head of — would somehow collapse. So she's in fact performing a very important ritual which I couldn't fully understand but which I'm tirelessly tryin to... And then one morning I see her body silhouetting against the sparking light that hits the Caribbean at that early dawn and it seems as if her feet ... were really ... walking on the water ... and she was travelling across that middle passage ... The 'meaning' of the Caribbean was in that humble repetitive ritual actio(n) which this peasant woman was performing. And she was always on this journey, walking on the steps of sunlit water. (Brathwaite, *conVERsations* 32-33)

Within this single image, Brathwaite's ideas of uplifting the Caribbean ordinary into the realm of the literary are crystalised. He captures the madness of the Caribbean ordinary in a way that recognises itself. He connects the water's aesthetic beauty to colonialism's histories 'stuckness' here in the Caribbean. As a poet, he writes to find the lasting beauty in a region continually eroding, to rebel within language. And this rebellion is an inescapable, crushing force; it is also a tumultuous assault of hurricane waves on the coast that must be continuously endured. While the past is still present as hauntology maintains, tidalectics stresses the ongoing nature of these colonial processes. This generative framework stresses the principles of creolisation Brathwaite presents in his work—of mixture and combination rather than categorisation and multiculturalism—illustrating that creole realities exist in this liminal space not just on the island but suspended in the sea. Creolisation

posits that if the world is subject to ceaseless transformation, currents of culture continually flowing in and out of each other, forming new rivers and pools, then our cultural industries should follow suit in a way where that fluidity and openness can structurally encompass the Caribbean's postcolonial material concerns.

In developing a tidalectical ontology that articulates the shift in the values that underpin the production and consumption of literature in the Caribbean. I'm migrating Brathwaite's ideas to anchor my analysis of the postcolonial literary situation. This requires a move away from the current industrial processes that prioritize marketability and conformity to metropolitan standards towards a focus on the political and transformative potential of literature. As a model, it gives language to the failures of the present to address the lasting and material effects of colonisation. It would involve embracing and integrating alternative modalities and systems of production that reflect the unique cultural and historical context of the Caribbean and prioritise creativity, experimentation, and subversion of dominant narratives. Such an approach would value the voices and perspectives of marginalised communities and seek to challenge and disrupt existing power structures. A model that seeks to creatively anchor the Caribbean experience in a way that gives voice to a hybridity that redefines traditional notions of literary creation and consumption is required. The poetics of water suggests a type of imagination that allows us to think through hybridity, incompleteness and fragmentation with its own flow and cycles, seeking to comprehend our literary situation as an emerging narrative tossed by the waves. Incorporating the range of movements, frameworks, and rhythms of the ocean can lend itself not to exchange one constricting model for another but develop a framework that introduces the relational dynamics of culture and capital into account of the literary landscape. To clarify, this collaborative effort I am proposing is specific to West Indian islands coming together and draws on the tradition of storytelling that resonates with the cultural and spiritual realms of both the Caribbean and Africa. By bringing these traditions into conversation with today's industrial, capitalist system of story production we can create an alternative way of thinking about the postcolonial literary situation that interweaves our histories, presents, and futures outside of the metropolitan publishing industry's capitalist imagination. In bringing together areas that would not usually collaborate, a tidalectal ontology disrupts the exclusionary frameworks

present in the publishing industry to find a hybrid model that aims specifically to develop modalities for a cultural, literary creative expression that embodies the flux of postcolonial, creole space in a world built to maintain its static structures.

In a review of Brathwaite's *Elleguas*, Matthias Regan remarks on the inability of the literary elite to relinquish the "empire's hierarchy of tastes" and the struggle against cultural manipulation in print. He cites the example of the imprint on the front-cover flap of Brathwaite's 1967 Oxford University Press edition of *Rights of Passage*, "Edward Brathwaite (not to be confused with E. R. Brathwaite, author of *To Sir with Love*) was born in Barbados in 1930." The dialectic is drawn with the subtle separate distinction of one writer from the other, suggesting the popularity, acceptedness or appropriateness of one book over the other; centring one and marooning the other forever at the margins is more than just anxiety; it is part of the production of a selected and approved kind of cultural experience.

It highlights how cultural adaptation can present material change and seas of possible futures. Suppose the violence of neoliberal capitalism within our cultural industries cannot be resolved within publishing. In that case, any forward movement results in the ebb and flow of the same tides that underwrite the legacy of colonialism. Theories of such are a lens through which to perceive this violence and its effects; however, this alone, without creative application within the publishing industries, merely restricts these stories and their generative capacities to just fiction rather than the politically affective immanence and identity this literature offers the region.

Walcott's *Omeros* "creates a sense of Caribbean identity that is fluid and hybrid, grounded not in history but the *amnesiac Atlantic*, whose transformation of slave bodies drowned in it, metaphorically frees a space for naming new things" (Walcott, *Omeros* 428). The sea, located during the slave trade, is most significant for its ability to erase history. At a time when people could be renamed into objects and lands could be renamed to suit other tongues, Walcott asks what is not allowing the postcolonial artist to use this space to rename his world again, from a site where cultures and traditions converge—this seawater that is the West Indian's cultural foundation. Our inability to reproduce the decolonial orientation and critical imaginary of the ocean written about in West Indian literature within the systems of producing these works suggests the need for the construction of new

cultural and cross-cultural identities, to consider what it would mean not only to think with the ocean's liminal and disruptive capacities but to draw from it a model, central to system and policy implementation.

Environmentalist and literary critic Elizabeth DeLoughrey, specialising in the Anthropocene, engages with critical oceanic studies to expand the relationship between humans and the ocean in [much] the same manner as the creative literary works of the West Indies and Africa do. By moving from the surface to engage the representability of sea ontologies, her work turns a literary focus from the aesthetics to the intimacies the ocean offers to the postcolonial subject's experience:

> Focusing on seascape rather than landscape as the fluid space of historical production allows us to complicate the nation-state, which encodes the rigid hierarchies of race, class, gender, religion and ethnicity for its representative subjects. Because the surface of the ocean is unmarked by its human history and thus cannot be monumentalized in the tradition of colonial landscapes, a turn to the seas as history can produce an equalising effect (DeLoughrey 21).

For many West Indian and other postcolonial poets, the sea continues to be a tool in working through various historical dissonances and encapsulating the theoretical potential of acknowledging the ways the past remains present while resisting its colonial legacy. The sea creates a point to continue from, not just to sink into the past. Theoretically, the sea has been beautifully rendered by Brathwaite through his rejection of Hegelian dialectics (progressive history) to suggest that, for the Caribbean, history can move backwards and forwards. His treatment is indicative of the literary and critical imaginary space being a site that welcomes "creative transfiguration of inheritances into something new" (Pugh 20). The difficulties in constructing policies and infrastructures that materially reflect these values suggest that the colonising forces within the publishing industry inhibit the flourishing ideas of hybridity, fluidity and change, despite benefitting from the work created in these spaces.

Through creative fiction, Walcott's work also renders the values of the seascape in how he interacts and engages with Western literary traditions. Literary critic George Handley uses Walcott's essay "The Muse of History" and Walcott's version of the sea to accurately summaris Walcott's body

of work as a "rechristening that sees the New World as a palimpsest and poetry as the adamic task of turning away from the allure of fading names, histories, and meanings in order to keep language fresh and alive" (Handley 292 ). Walcott's application of this thinking continues to be an exhilarating move beyond recovering from the past to embrace a transformative Caribbean cultural identity open to a moving creolised reality. Despite its unequivocal title, "The Sea Is History," the poem combines creative amnesia with selective memory. It does not allow readers to forget the tragic remnants of the Caribbean past. Instead, it implicates that past in the difficult present, allowing the sea to complicate history, erase certain past elements and transform others. Walcott closes in a way that is worth quoting at some length for the light it sheds on how we can think with the Caribbean archipelago:

I say to the ancestor who sold me, and to the ancestor who bought me, I have no father, I want no such father, although I can understand you, black ghost, white ghost, when you both whisper "history," for if I attempt to forgive you both I am falling into your idea of history which justifies and explains and explates, and it is not mine to forgive, my memory cannot summon any filial love, since your features are anonymous and erased and I have no wish and no power to pardon ... I give the strange and bitter and yet ennobling thanks for the monumental groaning and soldering of two great worlds, like the halves of a fruit seamed by its own bitter juice, that exiled from your own Edens you have placed me in the wonder of another, and that was my inheritance and your gift. (Walcott, "Muse" 64)

The drowned child in *Omeros* echoes these theories as his body, consigned to float in its history, is what facilitates the growth of new coral in the present. The ambiguity and uncertainty of claiming an individual identity in a fluid space is expressed through the sea in *Omeros*. Walcott extends this vision further as the sea's transformation of the individual bodies submerged in it suggests the possibility of a space where the Caribbean artist can be freed from history to tell their story. This is the site of convergence, where the body (unable to recall its origins) disintegrates under a variety of influences but still yields to another's beginning. In her essay "I Have Become the Sea's Craft," Stephanie Pocock Boeninger furthers the significance of the drowned boy by exploring this image as a

metaphor for Caribbean identity, referring to the postcolonial writer's literary configuration of the sea as a "liminal realm of simultaneity" (Boeninger 471). The water, tides and currents unsettle the notion of individual identity and instead the written retellings of this 'sea burial' enables new understandings of how these lives, afterlives, history and stories flow into each other unpredictably and the possibility of the dead resurfacing is never surprising but rather considered as a given occurrence.

Referring back to Glissant's exploration of movement, the shaping of the Caribbean's postcolonial sense of historical and cultural identity developed directly from this displacement over the ocean. It symbolises separation from homeland and histories, languages and stories. It indicates the importance of rejecting the illusion of separateness in the postcolonial Caribbean identity and foregrounds the generative and inter-connective space of something so inherent to the West Indian identity as the sea to illustrate the metamorphosis of material practices, culture and politics to construct new identities, and to tell new stories. I hope to join many Caribbean scholars in identifying the seascape as a model central to the Caribbean literary industry. The impracticalities of creating a productive infrastructure that continually questions and shifts its own frameworks suggests the need for "a middle ground" that is, in fact, not ground at all. And in looking to these passages to inspire a material model of creating and disseminating the very literature that emerged from these waves, that move within this literacy situation provides the beginnings of a framework that speaks to the presence of the colonial past within Caribbean literary culture, without denying a future still unresolved in its legacy. The implementation of decolonial systems that engage with the ontologies central to framing this speculative model, the sea, operates on a political and cultural level. The concept of the oceanic deeply challenges how we think about the world and our relation to it as fluid cultural processes, sites of abstract and material relations of movement and rest, dependent upon changing conditions of articulation or connection (Pugh 11). This thinking with the oceanic foregrounds my observation that movement is central to the nature of West Indian and other postcolonial literatures. What I mean by this idea, and in following how writers like Walcott utilise the potentials of the ocean metaphorically, is that we can observe how the spatial capacities of the ocean allow for the expression of movement not only in a cultural or metaphorical sense but also in political and material forms. Adopting these

characteristics to the dynamic and exciting postcolonial contemporary publishing landscape could lead to innovative publishing approaches and literary practices.

Much like the advancements spurred by the advent of radio technology, migrations to London and innovative alternatives to traditional publishing pursued by the postwar generation, there are similar opportunities for the Caribbean to embrace the challenge of navigating alternatives to traditional publishing systems and literary culture once again. However, the added political urgency offered by contemporary questioning of the existing ways of doing things and collaborating on alternative methods to build a fairer, more accessible and accountable literary infrastructure intensifies the opportunities. I offer the theoretical mapping of such an infrastructural model to put into identifiable terms my observations of what creates the depth, dimension, and intertextuality<sup>9</sup> necessary to the postcolonial nature of storytelling. This deconstructive model of ocean-inspired movement continues to manifest when serving postcolonial interests. Here we can briefly return to Derrida as he continues to resonate with the phrase, "There is no world, there are only islands" (Derrida, *Beast* 9), and in this simple deconstruction of the world as an equal and commonly experienced shared space, I find a summary for what this infrastructural model represents; that even when forcibly placed at the margins, in our small isolations, that there is still a certain unity to be found.

Postcolonial literary theorist Jahan Ramazani in *The Hybrid Muse* reminds us of the lasting futurity of the Walcottian projection of oceanic model writing, "Decades before the academic dissemination of such concepts of hybridity, creolisation, cross-culturality, postethnicity, postnationalism, Walcott argued vehemently for an intercultural model of postcolonial literature" (63). His commentary testifies to the enabling possibilities of Brathwaite and Walcott's vision of the sea as a fertile site for the potential collapse of the limitations surrounding the unfulfilled promises of independence, federation and sustaining infrastructures that reflect the needs of the region. What would it look like for publishers to not just curate and write about the past but also confront it? To address how the disciplining structures replicate oppression. What form would this collaborative, fluid collection take to establish the Caribbean as a site of research and knowledge production about Caribbean people, by Caribbean people and for Caribbean people? In his model for a successful West Indian Federation, prolific Trinidadian writer C.L.R James evokes the political articulation of the

"archipelagic principle,"<sup>1</sup> which, as elucidated by Michelle Stephen in *Archipelagic Visions of the Third World at Midcentury*, prioritises the creation of a new "national" community built not on territory but the free movement of peoples, resources and ideas across these ocean states (Stephens 223).

Similarly, this application of the oceanic principles articulated in Caribbean literature to envision a model for its literary production elevates the notions of movement, fluidity and adaptability to the level of political and cultural philosophy by offering alternative frames to conceptualising a publishing industrial complex that is grounded in the Caribbean while addressing the legacies of colonialism between the region and empire simultaneously. While I still hope for a realised West Indian Federation, I am doubtful of it taking place in the region's actual waters; however, textually and digitally replicating an emancipated West Indian oceanic through the building and maintaining of digital archives, repositories and published collections could ensure the preservation of these oceanic politics within the systems of the regional publishing industry. Articulating how integrating digital technologies and digital humanities methodologies can facilitate the preservation and articulation of local Caribbean literature and knowledge in the face of economic underdevelopment, political fragility, and climate vulnerability invites further research through its actual implementation. However, constituting how a digital oceanic model of a regional publishing industry could be an invaluable part of the literary culture and historical record of the Caribbean region is a trajectory I can outline here.

Digital collection development has evolved, where simply having scattered collections across multiple blogs, initiatives and metropolitan sponsored projects that never seem to be sustainable is no longer sufficient. The issues of capital, sustainability, and access have emerged as critical to digitising literary collections and productions. In order to meet the demands of digital publishing, it is necessary to establish insular communities that can ensure the accessibility, reusability, verification, documentation, and support of postcolonial works. This would require a disruptive shift from the traditional publishing industry's static approach. By adopting a digitally implemented oceanic model, these communities could overcome the limitations of the publishing house and facilitate

transformative change. Organising the promise of a self-actualised literary representation in a way that can overwhelm and flood the systems prescribed by European empires requires a model of unity that still politically represents the Caribbean's regional diversities. Under this speculative oceanic-publishing model, the *geographic form* and, subsequently, the *geopolitical form* of Darnton's communications circuit changes. From one centralised (usually metropolitan) location, where stories migrate and from where they are disseminated, the circuit can move to a trans-island network across the Caribbean wherein scattered islands form into an insularly determined archipelagic state comprised of many islands, not separate national units. An indigenous publishing industry modelled after this conception sustains the political self-determination of a broader decolonial sensibility by liberating the authority of resources, knowledge production, production capabilities and access to the needs and sensibilities of each island rather than engaging strictly in relation to their colonising European metropoles.

To ensure the survival, integrity, and availability of Caribbean literature for the Caribbean amidst economic infeasibilities, climate change threats, and limited local resources for physical book publishing, turning to digital publishing is necessary. A more inclusive, diverse, and mobile approach to book production and history is needed, which has the potential to avoid dependence on the oppressive and exploitative structures of colonial desire. This can be achieved by embracing multiple visions of publishing liberation. Like Dawes in his *Apologia*, I believe the future of postcolonial literary culture is an exciting one, but as he states:

Whatever promise there is of a thriving publishing enterprise in our region will rely on a dogged commitment to the model of service that is not predicated on the values of the marketplace, but on the values that enshrine the preservation of knowledge for present and future generations (Dawes 91).

For the Caribbean, "now very much at sea," (Lamming 155) a creative, portable model of literary production as I have begun to imagine here, seeks to creatively anchor the Caribbean experience in a way that gives voice to a hybridity that redefines traditional notions of literary creation and

consumption. This concept of developing alternative modes of literary production to better reflect the Caribbean's cultural sensibilities is a continuation of the legacy of Caribbean Voices. Radio broadcasting served as an alternative mode of publishing Caribbean literature in this historical context. The Caribbean literary scene has always existed in a liminal space, at the threshold of something old and new, and must embrace its hybrid nature. The idea of developing new alternative modes of literary production inclusive of Caribbean voices represents a ripple in time from the past and a continuation of this tradition. The vision is to create a space to comprehend the postcolonial literary situation as a still emerging narrative, with a literary history made fuller with its incompleteness and fragmentation, not despite them. An ocean model designed to promote a political attentiveness that continues the visions of the postwar generation would succeed where the Federation failed and remain fluid to the contradictions of the Caribbean context, not to resolve them, but to negotiate across them at home in these waves. Poet David Dabydeen, who continues to play with the language of the ocean in his work, recalls his introduction to Walcott's aesthetics, "I come back to Walcott's statement that if you look for Caribbean history, look for it in the pages of the sea. This means that the Caribbean character has been subjected to endless transformations so that it is in a constant state of flux" (Harting 41). Reflecting the fluidity of this space in the ways we produce West Indian literature requires innovations that challenge our preconceived notions of literary creation. The materialist assessment of West Indian literary history and creative model I advance within this project is framed by representing the interplay of movements, in time, peoples and ideas characteristic to the West Indian political situation as essential to our literary production through literary praxis. This could be a way of breathing underwater.

# Endnotes

 Extract from the Official Records of the United Nations Conference on the Law of The Sea, Volume II (Plenary Meetings)

## **APPENDIX**

Oxford Stre Address: 800. No.: Euston: elephone 20th January, 1949. Dear Mrs. Lindo, Thank you for your letters of 17th December, 1st. January and 13th January. From the enclosed schedule, you will see that flattering invitation had been anticipated. The only reason that I flattering invitation had been anticipated. The only reason that I put the round-up in the middle of February is that this is precisely six months after the last. So far as the other items are concerned, I think that Mansfield's story is very good. I agree with you about Byron S. Fraser. Ruby Williams is not bad, although I have rejected her later two. We are having Balgobin partly as an Awful Warning -you may remember how terrible the conversation was at the end of quite a good scene-setting. So far as other items are concerned, I'm returning rejected manuscripts as usual under separate cover. I do not know if I need comment. The story by XXZ Aarons was a good idea, rather clumsily carried out. Is it worth asking him to revise it? Eva Nicholas's story we don't want because it encourages the (bad) sterocopye of Africa in the minds of West Indias. Much the same remark for the story by Jack Harewood - we have had enough ghost stories, and it is hot well enough written to get by on its merits. The story by Lamming is a little muddled - besides, he had a good innings this month. is a little muddled - besides, he had a good innings this month. I am sorry to return another product from the pen of Major Woolf, but it is an unpleasant subject again, and the writing is not quite good enough to get over it. Of the items I have kept, some are with qualifications. Debysingh's Christmas story will only be used next Christmas for the first part - the "story" is unpleasant and inappropri-ate, I think. The article by John Mansfield is scarcely "humomous" I am keeping Charles Levy's poems, because you say he is very young, and *f*I agree there is something there, although his poetic influences are unfortunate. G.A. Hamilton's poems are interesting, although vaguely unpleasant, with their curious sexual slant. I am passing on vaguely unpleasant, with their curious sexual slant. I am passing on Bunting's light poem to Cyril Fletcher, as requested. I should like your advice about Focus. I found it interesting for the two "reporters" Thompson, and Reid, the two poets, Smith and

Figure 2.1 Letter from Henry Swanzy 20th of January 1949

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION P. C. BOX 409, KINGSTON JAMAICA, B.W.L

27th. January, 1949

Dear Mr. Swanzy,

Thank you for yours of the 20th. inst. and for the enclosures, 'Leda et le cygne' and the schedule for February.

Looking at the latter it seems that you will have to do.a great deal of talking on the 20th. and again on the 27th. February to fill up time as my husband assures me that the Fifth Test Match in India is being played on 4th. to 8th. February and that there are no more after that - unless the BBC is planning to do commentaries on some of the matches in Ceydon. Will you check up on that and let me know what you will use in place of the now blank spaces, please?

With regard to 'Focus' I agree with you. The selections are not up to the standard that one should expect from Jamaican writers in the main and I was very disappointed in the poetry of George Campbell and Michael Smith who have both done much better work than that. Frankly I do not think that a full-scale review is indicated and perhaps a few comments from you on receiving BIM and FOCUS will meet the case. I doubt if a review would result in attracting the writers to send in work for "Caribbean Voices" and as I have just this week written to tell you I have secured both prose and poetry from a number of new Jamaicans - new to the BBC. A little dig from you - not too sarcastically - to the pieces you recognized in "Focus" might not be amiss.

Speaking of pruderyDreminds me that Rowell Debysingh has sent <sup>\*\*\*</sup> in a story 'The Heifer' which I liked and am sending on to-morrow. He has three 'offending' words in it but, perhaps suspecting your prudery, has given alternatives in pencil beside them! You'll see them when the story reaches you and may be glad of the alternatives.

I shall tell Mr. Adams that his story has apparently gone astray - the one you were searching for - and he may repeat it as it was not returned and you may have thought it worth keeping.

To combat the terrible impression you received at school about the West Indies perhaps you should take my previous suggestion seriously and pay us a visit to see what we really are like!

Yours sincerely,

gladys R: Lindo.

Figure 2.3 Letter from Gladys Lindo, 27th of January 1949.

Oxford St. W. 1 200 Address: Telephone No. Euston: 192. 3400:ext. 9th February, 1949. ar Mr. Walcott, Frank Collymore has sent me extracts of your work which interested me greatly, and makes me want to include you in the programme Caribbean Voices as soon as possible. Are you opposed to this, or could you give me your permission? I have not got a copy of your book yet, but hope to get it through Collymore. With kind regards, Yours sincerely, (H.V.L. Swanzy). Derek Walcott, Esq., St. Mary's, Castries, St. Lucia, B.W.I.

Figure 2.6 Letter from Henry Swanzy to Derek Walcott 9th of Febuary 1949

A CARLER AND A CARLE
Address of ordered of the
Address: 200, Oxford St., W.1. Telephone No.Euston: 3400:ext.192.
7th March, 1949.
Dear Mr. Walcott,
With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
(H.V.L. Swanzy). Colonial Assistant.
Derek Walcott, Esq.,
St. Mary's,
Castries, St. Lucia.

Figure 2.7 Letter from Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo 7th of March 1949

## **WORKS CITED**

Arnold, A. James, et al. A History of Literature in the Caribbean. J. Benjamins, 1997.

Arnold, John H. "Talking with Ghosts: Rancière, Derrida and the Archive." *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 48, no. 2, Apr. 2022, pp. 1-15, https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2022.2060483.

Ashcroft, Bill. Postcolonial Studies Reader. Routledge, 1994.

---. The postcolonial Studies Reader. 2nd ed., Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.

Atsuko Karin Matsuoka, and John Sorenson. *Ghosts and Shadows*. University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Baucom, Ian. Specters of the Atlantic : Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of *History*. Duke University Press, 2005.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. W. Ross Macdonald School Resource Services Library, 2012.

"Bocas Lit Fest - Celebrating Books, Writers and Writing from the Caribbean and the World." *Bocas Lit Fest*, www.bocaslitfest.com/.

Boeninger, Stephanie Pocock. "'I Have Become the Sea's Craft': Authorial Subjectivity in Derek Walcott's *Omeros* and David Dabydeen's 'Turner.'" *Contemporary Literature*, vol. 52, no. 3, 2011, pp. 462-92, https://doi.org/10.1353/cli.2011.0036. Accessed 23 Oct. 2020.

Brathwaite, Edward. Rights of Passage. Oxford University Press, 1967.

Brathwaite, Kamau, et al. ConVERsations with Nathaniel Mackey. We Press, 1999.

British Broadcasting Corporation, *The Empire Broadcasting Service* (London: BBC, 1935), 15-16.

---. BBC Memos regarding Felix Greene's January 1939 Report to the Jamaican Government, 12 January 1939–30 March 1939 (BBC Written Archives Centre E2/96/1,) (hereafter BBC WAC).

---. R.A. Rendall to Barnes, Gilliam, de Lotbiniere, Barkway, 5 September 1942, BBC WAC, R34/350/1.

Coulthard, Glen Sean. Red Skin, White Masks. U of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Darnton, Robert. "What Is the History of Books?" *Modern Intellectual History*, vol. 4, no. 3, Oct. 2007, pp. 495-508, https://doi.org/10.1017/s1479244307001370.

Daughters of the Dust. Directed by Julie Dash, Plume, 1999.

Davis, Colin. "Hauntology, Spectres and Phantoms." *French Studies*, vol. 59, no. 3, July 2005, pp. 373-79, https://doi.org/10.1093/fs/kni143.

Dawes, Kwame. "An Apologia for Caribbean Publishing." *Caribbean Quarterly*, vol. 59, no. 1, Mar. 2013, pp. 84-91, https://doi.org/10.1080/00086495.2013.11672471. Accessed 14 Feb. 2021.

Deloughrey, Elizabeth M. Routes and Roots : Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literature. Univ Of Hawai'i Press, 2010.

Derrida, Jacques. ARCHIVE FEVER. University Of Chicago Press, 2017.

---. Spectres of Marx : The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International. Routledge, 1993.

---. The Beast & the Sovereign. Vol. II. University Of Chicago Press, 2017.

Eagleton, Terry. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. John Wiley & Sons, 2011.
---. 'Towards A Science of The Text'. In: Newton, K.M. (eds) Twentieth-Century Literary Theory. Palgrave, London. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-25934-2\_35

Fisher, Mark. *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* Zero Books, 2009.
---. "What Is Hauntology?" *Film Quarterly*, vol. 66, no. 1, Sept. 2012, pp. 16-24, https://doi.org/10.1525/fq.2012.66.1.16.

Gaiman, Neil, et al. The Djinn Falls in Love and Other Stories. Solaris, 2017.

Glissant, Édouard and J Michael Dash. *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*. University Press of Virginia, 1999.

Glover, Kaiama L. *Haiti Unbound : A Spiralist Challenge to the Postcolonial Canon*. Liverpool University Press, 2010.

Goldman, Marlene, and Joanne Saul. "Talking with Ghosts: Haunting in Canadian Cultural Production." *University of Toronto Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 2, Apr. 2006, pp. 645-55, https://doi.org/10.3138/utq.75.2.645. Accessed 9 Aug. 2021.

Griffith, Glyne A. *The BBC and the Development of Anglophone Caribbean Literature*, *1943-1958*. Springer, 2016.

---. *Deconstruction, Imperialism and the West Indian Novel*. University of the West Indies Press, 1996.

Handley, George B. "The Muse of (Natural) History." *New World Poetics: Nature and the Adamic Imagination of Whitman, Neruda, and Walcott*, University of Georgia Press, 2007, pp. 279–317. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46nks5.11. Accessed 26 Mar. 2023.

Hajkowski, Thomas. "'Jolly Proud You Are a Britisher:' Empire and Identity, 1923–39." *The BBC and National Identity in Britain, 1922-53*, Oct. 2010, pp. 19-44, https://doi.org/10.7228/manchester/9780719079443.003.0001. Accessed 23 Feb. 2023.

Härting, Heike, and Tobias Döring. "Amphibian Hermaphrodites: A Dialogue with Marina Warner and David Dabydeen." *Third Text*, vol. 9, no. 30, Mar. 1995, pp. 39-45, https://doi.org/10.1080/09528829508576527. Accessed 24 Aug. 2021.

La Rose, John. John La Rose to Professor Roger Abrahams, Personal Papers of John La Rose LRA/01/0005; (1969-1970). The George Padamore Institute Collection.

Lamming, George. The Pleasures of Exile. University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Low, Gail. Publishing the Postcolonial : Anglophone West African and Caribbean Writing in the UK, 1948-1968. Routledge, 2012.

---. "Book History", in Ralph Crane, Jane Stafford, and Mark Williams (eds), *The Oxford History of the Novel in English: Volume 9: The World Novel in English to 1950*, Oxford History of the Novel in English (Oxford, 2016; online edn, Oxford Academic, 21 June 2018), https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199609932.003.0003.

---. "The Lure of Postwar London Networks of People, Print, and Organisations." *The Caribbean: Aesthetics, World-Ecology, Politics*, Liverpool University Press, 2016.

Machado, Carmen Maria. In the Dream House. Serpent's Tail, 2020.

Mattelart, Armand, et al. Theories of Communication. SAGE, 1998.

McDougall, Taija Mars. "The Water Is Waiting: Water, Tidalectics and Materiality." *Liquid Blackness*, no. 6, Jan. 2016, www.academia.edu/46842195/The\_Water\_is\_Waiting\_Water\_Tidalectics\_and\_Materiality. Accessed 24 Feb. 2023.

Mignolo, Walter, and Catherine E. Walsh. *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, and Praxis*. Duke University Press, 2018.

Mwesigire, Bwesigye Bwa. "What Is Literary Activism? (or Who Keeps the Housekeepers' House?)." *Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1-2, Apr. 2021, pp. 10-22, https://doi.org/10.1080/23277408.2021.1937873. Accessed 5 Sept. 2021.

Naipaul, V. S. The Middle Passage. Vintage, 2010.

Nimführ, Sarah, and Greca N. Meloni. "Decolonial Thinking: A Critical Perspective on Positionality and Representations in Island Studies." *Island Studies Journal*, vol. 16, no. 2, Nov. 2021, pp. 3-17, https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.178. Nottingham, John. "Establishing an African Publishing Industry: a Study in Decolonization." *African Affairs*, vol. 68, no. 271, Apr. 1969, pp. 139-44,

https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.afraf.a095864. Accessed 20 May 2021.

Okara, Gabriel. "Transition 10." Dialogue Paris, 1963.

Procter, James. "The Empire Scripts Back." *BBC*, 26 Oct. 2018,
www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/bbchistoryresearch/entries/75ecb85c-7c40-4eca-b9bb-8e5f5195ce70.
---. "Una Marson at the BBC." *Small Axe*, vol. 19, no. 3 48, Nov. 2015, pp. 1-28,
https://doi.org/10.1215/07990537-3341693.

Pugh, Jonathan. "Island Movements: Thinking with the Archipelago." *Island Studies Journal*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2013, pp. 9–24, https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.273. Accessed 1 Feb. 2022.

Ramazani, Jahan. The Hybrid Muse. University of Chicago Press, 1 Oct. 2001.

Ramchand, Kenneth. "Decolonisation in West Indian Literature." *Transition*, no. 22, 1965, p.48, https://doi.org/10.2307/2934610. Accessed 14 Feb. 2021.

---. The West Indian Novel and Its Background. Ian Randle Publishers, 2004.

Reckin, Anna. "Tidalectic Lectures: Kamau Brathwaite's Prose/ Poetry as Sound-Space." *Anthurium a Caribbean Studies Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 2003, p. 5, https://doi.org/10.33596/anth.4. Accessed 17 Sept. 2020.

Rendall, R.A. 'The Empire Service', in BBC Handbook 1941 (London: BBC, 1941), 38.

Repeating Islands. "Olive Senior at the NGC Bocas Literary Festival: 'Should Literature Be Political?'" *Repeating Islands*, 23 Apr. 2013,

repeatingislands.com/2013/04/23/olive-senior-at-the-ngc-bocas-literary-festival-should-literat ure-be-political/.

Rush, Anne Spry, 'Egalitarian Imperialism: The BBC and the West Indies', *Bonds of Empire: West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization* (Oxford, 2011; online edition Oxford Academic, 22 Sept. 2011)

Santiáñez, Nil. The Literature of Absolute War. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Snaza, Nathan. Animate Literacies. Duke University Press, 2019.

Steeves, Andrew. *Smoke Proofs : Essays on Literary Publishing, Printing and Typography.* Gaspereau Press, 2014.

Stephens, Michelle A. "Federated Ocean States: Archipelagic Visions of the Third World at Midcentury." *Beyond Windrush: Rethinking Postwar Anglophone Caribbean Literature*, edited by J. Dillon Brown and Leah Reade Rosenberg, University Press of Mississippi, 2015, pp. 222-38. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt16nzfmj.17.

Swanzy, Henry. Henry Swanzy to Roy Fuller, 3rd May 1948; Henry Swanzy Papers MS 42; Swanzy Box 1 (1945-1952). University of Birmingham Special Collection. All of Swanzy's correspondence cited in this thesis is from the University of Birmingham Special Collection. ---. Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo 13th August 1946; Henry Swanzy Papers MS 42; Swanzy Box 1 (1945-1952).

---. Gladys Lindo to Henry Swanzy 27th January 1949; Henry Swanzy Papers MS 42; Swanzy Box 1 (1945-1952).

---. Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo, 18th October 1948; Henry Swanzy Papers MS 42; Swanzy Box 1 (1945-1952) ---. Henry Swanzy to Gladys Lindo, 21st of June 1949; Henry Swanzy Papers MS 42; Swanzy Box 1 (1945-1952)

---. Gladys Lindo to Henry Swanzy, 4th of April 1951; Henry Swanzy Papers MS 42; Swanzy Box 1 (1945-1952)

Thieme, John. *Postcolonial Literary Geographies out of Place*. London Palgrave Macmillan UK: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

"United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea." *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 52, no. 4, Oct. 1958, pp. 830-64, https://doi.org/10.2307/2195621. Accessed 19 Nov. 2021.

Unitedpac Saint Lucia. "Saint Lucia's Nobel Laureate Derek Walcott Interview on His Extended Poem 'Omeros.'" *www.youtube.com*, 25 Jan. 2014, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z67iA4QCF14. Accessed 23 Feb. 2023.

visionaryproject. "Toni Morrison : Nobel Prize Winner." *YouTube*, 20 Apr. 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=aAAyFql8x68. Accessed 14 Oct. 2020.

Walcott, Derek. Omeros. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.

---. "The Sea is Hisotry" Selected Poems. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.

---. "The Muse of History" What the Twilight Says. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.

Watkins, M., and H. Shulman. Toward Psychologies of Liberation. Springer, 2008.

Wilson, Nicola Louise . The Book World. BRILL, 2016.

Williams, Raymond. "Marxism, Structuralism and Literary Analysis." *New Left Review*, vol. I, no. 129, Oct. 1981, pp. 51–66,

newleftreview.org/issues/i129/articles/raymond-williams-marxism-structuralism-and-literary-analysis.

Williams 112