

## Literary London Society Annual Conference

6-8 July 2016

### 'London and the Globe'

#### Henry Swanzy: transitions and testimonials<sup>1</sup>

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The role of Henry Swanzy in supporting the development of West Indian literature through his editorship of the weekly BBC radio programme *Caribbean Voices* between 1946-1954 is well documented and frequently discussed<sup>2</sup>. In this paper, Swanzy's work is contextualised through his own background and life together with the significant personal events that were taking place in this period. In particular it considers Swanzy's motivations and objectives for his BBC work in the West Indies and after in West Africa and how his domestic life shaped his approach and decisions on this engagement.

In 1943, Henry Swanzy, then a talks and news assistant in the BBC's Overseas Service, published an article in *Political Quarterly*<sup>3</sup> that outlined his views on the way that the colonies could be transitioned into independent nations. He recognized that the prevailing ideology for the future of the British Empire was through regional groupings. He recognized this as the counterpart to the contemporaneous proposals

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<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank Dr Shaf Towheed and Dr Alan Powers for their encouragement for this work at different times and also to the staff of the University of Birmingham Library special collections and the Bodleian Library University of Oxford special collection for their help and access to their respective Swanzy collections;

<sup>2</sup> Breiner, L.A., 2003. *Caribbean Voices on the Air: Radio, Poetry, and Nationalism in the Anglophone Caribbean, Communities of the air: radio century, radio culture*, pp.93-108; Nanton, P., 2000. What Does Mr. Swanzy Want—Shaping or Reflecting? An assessment of Henry Swanzy's contribution to the development of Caribbean Literature, *Caribbean Quarterly*, 46(1), pp.61-72; Ball, J.C., 2004 *Imagining London: Postcolonial fiction and the transnational metropolis* University of Toronto Press.

<sup>3</sup> Swanzy H. 'Colonial Groups' *Political Quarterly* 1943 vol 14 no 3 pp 278-84

for regionalism in England (Barlow 1942<sup>4</sup>). Swanzy identified the conditions for this transition including the domestic and international recognition of a unique literature and the development of an independent critical culture. He also emphasised the ways in which larger groups of states could come together to support this development and create informed domestic audiences. He reviewed the readiness of the colonies for this cultural transition and how they might be grouped together. Of all the parts of the Empire, Swanzy judged that the coming together of the islands in the Caribbean as the West Indies would be the earliest to succeed and of these islands the tradition within Trinidad would place it in a leading role

‘in the West Indian islands, politically among the most advanced units in the Colonial Empire, a Caribbean region has for a long time been regarded as a talisman to end the long night of *laissez faire*...Political union might release new energy’ (p 279).

The second group of countries he identified were in West Africa with Ghana and Nigeria playing a lead. However, Swanzy stated that it is

‘so easy to solve on paper in the comfort of a London office...(we) must not ignore the immediate problems of closer union in the West Indies and West Africa...perhaps the most important will be the prevention of an educated local oligarchy with no real understanding of the responsibilities and drawbacks of closer union...it would be more difficult to persuade the comparatively richer cultures like Trinidad to assist their poorer brothers than it is to bring the taxes of rich London to the depressed areas of Merthyr Tydfil’ (pp 283-4).

Swanzy’s interest and analysis of the Empire was based on his Irish family background and in the experience of his family trading company in West Africa that was operational in the nineteenth century. The company of F. and A. Swanzy had

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<sup>4</sup> Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population (Barlow Report) HMSO 1940

been a major import/exporter and provider of goods, services and infrastructure in the Gold Coast with many local contracts. The company had offices in London (at 122 Cannon Street), Manchester, Liverpool and Boston. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the company relied on local agents and Swanzy argues that this was part of their undoing. In the 1880s, Frank Swanzy, who had just inherited the firm from his father Andrew, was more interested in becoming a Liberal MP for his home town of Sevenoaks than in running the business.

Frank Swanzy eventually lost control, of the company and it ended in the hands of Unilever, who used the company's offices in the Embankment. (PICTURE) Frank Swanzy became a founder member of the Royal African Society established to continue the work of the explorer Mary Kingsley in 1901. Later Swanzy became the editor of its journal *African Affairs* while he was working at the BBC and the chairman of his managing committee was from Unilever. Writing about the company when he was working for the Gold Coast Broadcasting System in Ghana on secondment from the BBC in 1956<sup>5</sup>, Swanzy remarked on the company presence all around him, noting that

‘the name has accumulated a personality which is still redolent and alive 25 years after the firm as such ceased to exist, 50 years since it existed in its own right and 100 years since traders bearing the name were personally active in the Gold Coast’ (p 87).

After publishing this article in the *Political Quarterly*, Swanzy spent the next ten years putting into practice the approaches he had set out. After coming down from Oxford, he was employed at the Colonial Office between 1937-41 in an attempt to work in Africa<sup>6</sup>. Although based for at least part of his time in 10 Downing Street, he later said he found this work stifling. Swanzy joined the BBC Overseas Service in 1941

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<sup>5</sup> Swanzy H. (1956) A trading family in the nineteenth century Gold Coast' Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society vol 2 no 2 pp 87-120.

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<https://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ccs/staff/postdocfellows/mniblett/worldliteratureandbroadcastculture/>

as an assistant for news and talks and in 1944 he became a Colonial Assistant. He remained in the BBC until he retired in 1976.

Swanzy's views on the development of Caribbean culture and literature were given an early opportunity when he took over as editor of the BBC's *Caribbean Voices* from the poet Una Marson in 1946. *Caribbean Voices* was a weekly London based radio programme that was broadcast throughout the Caribbean and comprised of readings of poetry and short stories from Caribbean authors. These were solicited and passed to Swanzy through the BBC's part-time representative in Jamaica. This post was created in 1941 and filled alternately by Cedric and Gladys Lindo, and it was Gladys, always referred to as Mrs Lindo, who occupied the role during Swanzy's time at *Caribbean Voices*.<sup>7</sup>

In the initial period in his role, Swanzy spent much of his regular correspondence with Mrs Lindo establishing their working methods – what kind of stories and poetry did he want to receive, what had happened to missing material that had been sent to Una Marson and establishing an early warning system of programme schedules so that authors could be notified in time to listen to their work being read. Swanzy also appointed West Indian speakers to read the work on each programme.

Soon after taking over the programme and following careful discussion with Mrs Lindo, whom he asked to take soundings with the authors<sup>8</sup>, Swanzy introduced a critical discussion on the works broadcast in the programme. Initially his intention was to have

‘a monthly critical conversation among West Indians living in England – possibly to discuss the month's items. Do you think that this would be a useful idea?’<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Anne Spry Rush (2011) *Bonds of Empire West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from H. Swanzy to G. Lindo 18<sup>th</sup> August 1946 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>9</sup> Letter from H. Swanzy to G. Lindo 18<sup>th</sup> August 1946 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

He introduced this element of the programme once he had received Mrs Lindo's positive reply<sup>10</sup>. Swanzy called this the Critics' Circle but by December 1947 he had dropped the item because he felt that it was too difficult for the listener, relating back to earlier programmes. However, Swanzy thought that

'the extra time may be well allow us to have criticism delivered directly after the particular piece concerned'<sup>11</sup>.

Initially, Swanzy invited British critics with recent experience of the West Indies including Arthur Calder-Marshall, James Pope Hennessey and Robert Herring to contribute to the programme about what might be expected from Caribbean writing. This quickly moved to inviting critics who concurred with Swanzy's view that all poetry should be typically West Indian<sup>12</sup> including Roy Fuller and Stephen Spender. They contributed directly after the pieces were read out. *Caribbean Voices* was also discussed in the West Indies each week after its broadcast both between authors and in the island presses. In the case of Derek Walcott, for example, then a young teacher, Fuller also made attempts to promote the publication of his work with London publishers.

From the outset, Swanzy had definite views about the literature that he wanted to encourage and frequently quoted Chesterton to his authors, 'only the local is real' and the 'particular is the universal'<sup>13</sup>. In 1946 he wrote to Mrs Lindo rejecting a submission because there was a 'complete absence of any colour'<sup>14</sup>. In 1947, Mrs Lindo wrote that she was still rejecting short stories that have no connection with the West Indies. She asks Swanzy

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<sup>10</sup> Letter G. Lindo to Henry Swanzy 14<sup>th</sup> September 1946 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>11</sup> Letter Henry Swanzy to G. Lindo 17<sup>th</sup> December 1947 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>12</sup> Letter from G. Lindo to H. Swanzy 17<sup>th</sup> May 1947 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>13</sup> Swanzy H. *Books Abroad* 1956 vol 30 no 3 pp 266-274

<sup>14</sup> Swanzy H. 1946 letter to G. Lindo 18<sup>th</sup> August Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

‘will you confirm that these are still unacceptable? My reason for asking is that (to) these writers...this... seems unfair as their work is genuinely West Indian even if the scene is not’<sup>15</sup>.

Swanzy replied that it was not a ‘hard and fast rule’ but he was trying to perceive some specific West Indian weltanschauung in the work<sup>16</sup>. John Figueroa, like other authors, disagreed with this view but recognized that the question ‘What does Mr Swanzy want?’<sup>17</sup> was on the mind of all Caribbean authors.

Swanzy also thought that it was important for the work to be spoken not least as there were severe post-war paper shortages. However, as Swanzy<sup>18</sup> (1951) commented,

‘the value of... (the voice) is, not unnaturally, seriously questioned by many Caribbean writers, who see it as a concealed form of ‘Imperialism’ they hope that are escaping from...against these objections, it has to be said that the BBC provide a continuous form of remuneration, however small to West Indian writers...and a judgement, which attempts to be Catholic and which is at least not always swayed by local patriotism and personal passion’ (p224)

BBC payments to authors, who were considered to be ‘amateurs’, (Figueroa 1951<sup>19</sup>) were important to them. Swanzy had a fixed budget of £30 for 30 minutes of broadcasting and this had to include copyright payments. He spent a long time attempting to increase this amount to £30 guineas to ensure that those who read poetry would be paid. He suggested that poetry reading should be remunerated on an ad hoc rate rather than per minute<sup>20</sup> and this was eventually agreed, although

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<sup>15</sup> Letter G. Lindo to H. Swanzy 29<sup>th</sup> July 1947 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>16</sup> Letter H. Swanzy to G. Lindo 6<sup>th</sup> August 1947 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>17</sup> Figueroa J. interviewed by Philip Nanton in 1997 *Caribbean Quarterly* 2003 49 nos 1/2 pp 61-65

<sup>18</sup> Swanzy H. (1951) ‘Writing in the British Caribbean’, *New West Indian Guide* vol 32 no 1 pp 218-240.

<sup>19</sup> Figueroa J. 2003 interview with Philip Nanton (interview conducted 1997) *Caribbean Quarterly* vol 49 no1/2 pp 61-65

<sup>20</sup> Minute H. Swanzy to Miss Alexander of BBC Copyright Department 25<sup>th</sup> March 1948 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University Birmingham

Miss Alexander from the BBC copyright department, needed to be reassured that changing the rate would not 'put Mrs Lindo in a difficult position and make the authors disgruntled'<sup>21</sup> .

The correspondence with Mrs Lindo continued until the end of Swanzy's editorship of *Caribbean Voices* in 1954. However, from 1947 onwards, Swanzy started to correspond directly with the authors he wished to encourage and others whom he had met when they were in Britain. Swanzy wrote directly to authors including Derek Walcott suggesting ways in which his poems could be improved<sup>22</sup> but also sought their publication, writing letters of introduction to publishers.

A break in the cultural hegemony of London was an essential feature of Swanzy's approach to the development of an independent literature and criticism but increasingly West Indian authors started to move to England. In 1949 Sam Selvon and George Lamming came to England on the same boat. Both were established before they came – Lamming was a teacher and Selvon was a journalist on the *Trinidad Guardian*. Swanzy had written to Mrs Lindo to encourage Selvon to make more submissions for *Caribbean Voices*. Swanzy<sup>23</sup> wrote in 1946

'I have produced very few programmes so far, only beginning in July. Of the material I have used I have been struck by John Figueroa and Samuel Selvon, the only poet I have read so far with a definite personality which appears through the writing. Is there any chance of encouraging him?'

However, the ease of West Indian immigration to post-war Britain through the encouragement for public sector labour together with unrest at home, brought Selvon and Lamming and other authors such as Edgar Mittelholzer and E. V. Braithwaite to the UK. This was the reverse of Swanzy's plan. He wanted the West

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<sup>21</sup> Minute from Miss Alexander to H. Swanzy 15<sup>th</sup> April 1948 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>22</sup> Letter H. Swanzy to D. Walcott 9<sup>th</sup> February 1949 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>23</sup> Letter H. Swanzy to G. Lindo 18<sup>th</sup> August 1946 Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

Indian writers to stay at home but as Lamming stated, only a small proportion of people in the West Indies listened to *Caribbean Voices* with those who did, placing a low value on local authors. The programme was frequently not broadcast in Trinidad at all. This generation had to move to Britain to receive recognition of their work.

Once Lamming, Selvon, Mittelholzer and Braithwaite had moved to England, Swanzy maintained and intensified his correspondence with them. Selvon's letters were very short, generally just a covering note with a submission for consideration for *Caribbean Voices*. Mittelholzer's were longer and he found a job at the British Council as a copy typist in the books department. Here he met Leonard Woolf who published his book *A Morning at the Office*. Swanzy also held fortnightly evenings for both Caribbean and West African writers at his home to encourage them to develop a critical and common identity in their work<sup>24</sup>. Swanzy's relationship with George Lamming was different. This was a 'Dear George Dear Henry' correspondence and included personal issues. In these Lamming referred to conversations about the failing health of Swanzy's wife although recording the hopeful pleasure of a forthcoming exhibition of her work<sup>25</sup>.

Henry Swanzy's wife was Tirzah Garwood, the widow of the artist Eric Ravilious and a recognised artist in her own right. Tirzah was widowed with three young children when Ravilious went missing on a trip to Iceland as a war artist in 1942. She had already undergone a mastectomy for breast cancer. Tirzah's father had been in the army and before marrying Ravilious, against her family's wishes, Tirzah was engaged to a neighbour who intended to join the Colonial Service<sup>26</sup>. Her brother was also in the army in Nigeria and died there in 1947. Henry and Tirzah 'moved towards'<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid p 65.

<sup>25</sup> Letter from G. Lamming to H. Swanzy nd 1950? Swanzy Archive Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>26</sup> H. Swanzy (1987) 'Introduction' *The wood engravings of Tirzah Ravilious*, London Gordon Fraser Press pp 7-8.

<sup>27</sup> Letter from Audrey Richards in Oxford to Henry Swanzy 21 August 1946 'some day you must bring your wife – ghost wife – (?) – widow – concubine (?), simple legal or simple natural (?) to see me' Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection



marriage in 1946<sup>28</sup>. He later said that he had been attracted to Tirzah because she was a widow with young children, like his own mother who had been widowed when he was 5. Swanzy met Tirzah through his landlady Peggy Angus, when he needed to move from a flat that he had been sharing with George Weidenfeld. Peggy had been at the Royal College of Art with Ravilious and married the architectural writer Jim Richards, who was a distant cousin of Tirzah's.

During her marriage to Ravilious, Tirzah had kept a diary and Henry encouraged her to consider publication as it was 'very readable' but it 'ought to be published when the people mentioned in it would be dead'<sup>29</sup>. In 1949, Tirzah's cancer returned and she was eventually moved to a nursing home<sup>30</sup> in North Essex. When Tirzah died in 1951, her children were adopted by Henry's brother John and his wife who were unable to have children of their own. Swanzy remarried in 1952 and this coincided with a concern to increase his income.

In addition to being the editor of *Caribbean Voices* from 1946, Swanzy had also been editor of the journal *African Affairs* for the Royal African Society since 1943 and this paid a small salary. The Royal African Society was a much smaller organization than its rival, the International African Institute that had more staff and its own journal *Africa*<sup>31</sup>. Swanzy's editorial role had been in peril before in 1944 when the two societies had a series of meetings to investigate bringing them together and possibly combine membership lists and publication circulation<sup>32</sup>. This came to nothing,

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<sup>28</sup> While working on *Caribbean Voices*, Swanzy and Tirzah lived at 169 Adelaide Road, a house formerly occupied by the artist Ivon Hitchens and in a very run down state, nor least as its other half had been bombed out. However, in a letter to Max Gluckman 12<sup>th</sup> February 1947, Swanzy wrote 'oddly enough I have some good news, though it is purely personal...we have a chance of quite a nice, large house, a garden and a fig tree in Adelaide Road; and my wife has come into a little money from an old aunt who held shares – among other things in that anthropological specimen, the snob nursing home, Champneys near St Albans, where they starve people and charge £45 a week for it...' Bodleian Libraries Swanzy Special Collection HVLS 1/3 20.

<sup>29</sup> Tirzah Garwood's diary March 1951 quoted in *Long Live Great Bardfield and love to you all*, Wakefield: The Fleece Press 2011. The original diaries were not passed by Swanzy to Tirzah's daughter Anne Ullmann until fifty years after her death (p 16). Swanzy also made notes on Tirzah's life and these were given to Anne Ullmann in 2004 after his death.

<sup>30</sup> run by Cecil Sharpe's daughter

<sup>31</sup> whose assistant editor was Barbara Pym who joined the Institute in 1946.

<sup>32</sup> H. Swanzy meeting note Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection HVLS 1/1/32

although Swanzy did offer his resignation<sup>33</sup>. In 1945, Swanzy wrote a note on the role of the Royal African Society which stated that fifty new African members should be invited to join immediately but this did not happen<sup>34</sup>. Swanzy continued to develop the circulation of the journal through a full quarterly survey of African events. To this was added the establishment of correspondents in each African country and the development of contributions from African universities.

While taking a different approach, Swanzy was also following his 1943 model of developing a network of domestic writers who could share and exchange their work while also supporting the development of the University infrastructure in many countries. Swanzy was also concerned that the Royal African Society was a society for Europeans in Africa and had no African members. This was in stark contrast to the International African Institute that was for the interests of Africans in Africa. In pursuing a different approach, Swanzy was frequently the subject of complaints about the contents of the journal and its editorial line. However, Swanzy always seemed able to calm down his opponents and keep his role of editor.

The finances of the Royal African Society were always small and despite an early pay rise and an increase in readership, by 1953, with a new young family, Swanzy was seeking a better paid and more secure role. He sought election to All Souls, funding from a new Smuts endowment to Cambridge University and also to a newly formed chair in Race Relations at Oxford University. Eventually he decided that he would have to take a secondment to the Gold Coast Broadcasting System (GCBS) from the BBC 1954-1958, giving up *Caribbean Voices* to others including V. S. Naipaul who also was one of his correspondents who had recently come down from Oxford. While in the Gold Coast, Swanzy started on the same path, by stating that he wished to develop a new literary programme<sup>35</sup>. When Swanzy returned from GCBS he

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<sup>33</sup> H. Swanzy letter Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection HVLS 1/1/70

<sup>34</sup> Note by Henry Swanzy to the Royal African Society 23 July 1945 Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection HVLS 1/1 114

<sup>35</sup> Smith Victoria (2015) 'This is literary achievement: where is yours? Radio Ghana's The singing net 60 years on' Africa in Words 28<sup>th</sup> January

worked as an editor at the BBC Overseas Service until his retirement in 1974 and he died in 2004.

Henry Swanzy had a plan for supporting the creation of states through culture and this is what he followed though in a variety of ways. He described his philosophy in a letter to C. E Carrington education secretary of the Cambridge University Press shortly after the death of Tirzah when it seems that he was undertaking a reevaluation of the period since 1943. He said he was from

‘an Irish garrison family, which took land after the Boyne and led a life...of provincial soliciting and preaching with deviations of certain members into the West African trade and expeditions in the Canadian Rockies. Displaced person at Wellington, I remember that I threw a book into the lake because it advanced an attack on Sinn Fein. It was only when I returned to Ireland in 1950 that I finally realised that what I romantically admired for so many years was a class society, not a racial society.

I give you these accounts because they explain to some extent my present attitude to...cultural and other relations between the peoples of the Commonwealth and especially in Africa...I see in many ways the same errors being made by the practical English in the African continent as was made with the Irish in the last half of the nineteenth century’.<sup>36</sup>

As his correspondence shows, Swanzy had a great capacity for friendship and maintained contact with many authors throughout their lives.. He understood that many of these writers who came to the UK, leaving families and established careers behind them, could not find jobs of equivalent status. Sam Selvon worked in maintenance job in a hospital later contracting TB. He used his time in a sanatorium to write *The Lonely Londoners* just as he had used his time aboard ship coming to England from the Caribbean to write *A Brighter Sun* (1952).

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<sup>36</sup> Letter H. Swanzy to C. Carrington 1<sup>st</sup> May 1951 Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection HVLS 2/3 50, 51

Further Swanzy did not consider that his plan to support cultural nationhood had failed when the Caribbean authors came to London. Rather he continued to support the authors that remained through the development of University College West Indies and tried to find publishers for their work. As Lamming<sup>37</sup> (1960) later wrote,

‘every important writer seems to have felt the need to ‘get out’, to leave the island of his childhood and escape to the cultural’ metropolitan atmosphere of London, where his art could develop and gain the recognition it was denied by the ‘philistinism’ of the West Indian middle classes’ (p 2).

But Lamming also recognised that once he had left the West Indies there was no turning back,

‘Sam and I had left home for the same reasons. We had come to England to be writers. And now that we were about to be anchored at Southampton, we realised that we had no return ticket...Moreover our colonial status condemned us fortunately to the rights of full citizenship. In no circumstances could we qualify for deportation. There was no going back. All the gaiety of reprieve that we felt on our departure had now turned to apprehension’ (p 17/18)

Lamming went on to comment that the younger authors had the benefit of the University

‘in other words, the generation between fifteen and twenty-five will have started with advantages which were denied to myself and Sam’ (p 17).

In all his correspondence, with the authors and with his chairman at the Royal African Society, Swanzy did not mention his *Political Quarterly* article of 1943 nor the plan to which he was working. This was only mentioned infrequently in his correspondence with Max Gluckman, a South African anthropologist whom he had known at Oxford and who later became Professor of Anthropology at Manchester University. Like Swanzy, Gluckman wanted to break away from Malinowski and develop a new approach to anthropology influenced by Evans Pritchard who was also one of Swanzy’s regular correspondents. It was clear that sides were taken and

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<sup>37</sup> Lamming G. (1960) *The Pleasures of Exile*, University of Michigan Press

despite a cordial correspondence with Marjorie Perham of Nuffield and later of the Oxford Institute of Colonial Studies, who led the courses for colonial civil servants, she never wrote a piece for *African Affairs* and Swanzy did not share her views.

Henry Swanzy was a man of compartmentalised lives. There is little evidence of the interplay between his editing role at the Royal African Society and his work at the BBC, apart from the use of his office address at 200 Oxford Street for some of his editorial correspondence. Yet the roles were very different. At the BBC he was in control, requesting material that he wanted to shape and reinforce the ideas that he had about the role of local culture in nationhood. In his editorial role at the Royal African Society, he appears as a more junior member of staff who is subverting the organization as frequently as he can but also getting into trouble for it. During this period, he also had major domestic concerns with three young children whom he frequently took on trips as a family to Beachy Head or Brighton (Ullman, 2011). Apart from letters to Lamming, Tirzah's illness does not surface directly in his BBC role<sup>38</sup> but the state of Tirzah's health is very evident in the letters that he wrote as editor of *African Affairs*, particularly around Christmas 1950<sup>39</sup>.

Swanzy made his first trip to Nigeria in 1949 but did not travel to the West Indies until 1952, after Tirzah's death. Despite his interest in West Africa, his correspondence shows that the secondment to the GCBS was really his least favoured option and he would have preferred a more main stream institutional role at Oxford or Cambridge. However, despite his careful research to provide his highly praised and recognised quarterly bulletin for the journal *African Affairs* and also of West Indian writers, and later his own family in Africa, this was not sufficiently research based to enable him to achieve the role that he sought. Further he had

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<sup>38</sup> Letter to Terry Burke 1st November 1950 Cadbury Research Library Birmingham University

<sup>39</sup> Letter from Fernando Henriques to Henry Swanzy 10<sup>th</sup> January 1950 Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection HVLS 2/2 5; letter from Henry Swanzy to Kwaw Swanzy 10<sup>th</sup> February 1950 Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection HVLS 2/2 18; Jim Richards to Henry Swanzy 30<sup>th</sup> November 1951 Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection HVLS 2/2 109; letter H. Swanzy to Audrey Richards 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1951 Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection HVLS 2/3 50, 2; letter from Audrey Richards to Henry Swanzy 13th February Bodleian Libraries Swanzy special collection HVLS

clearly upset many of those engaged in Colonial Service who maintained equivocal views on how nationhood was to be achieved. When he left the Royal African Society in 1954, there was a commitment to enrol African members as he called for ten years before and it is perhaps due to Swanzy's development of networks in Africa that these potential members could be more easily identified. Henry Swanzy spent his life in hierarchies trying to achieve transition through networks that he created.