

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK-LED ARCHIVES IN LONDON

Hannah J. M. Ishmael
UCL

Department of Information Studies

01 Page

DECLARATION

I, Hannah Josephine Mary Ishmael confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the guidance and knowledge of my supervisors: Andrew Flinn, Caroline Bressey and Jenny Bunn I would not have been able to complete this work. I will be forever grateful for their unending support and critical eye on this work, and any errors in this work are entirely my own.

I also owe a huge debt of gratitude to 'Transmission': Ego Ahaiwe Sowinski, Etienne Joseph, Nathan Richards and especially Kelly Foster. I can't express how much you all have been a source of incredible support, knowledge and source of inspiration.

This thesis would not exist without the participants from Black Cultural Archives, George Padmore Institute and those associated with the Huntley Collection at London Metropolitan Archives. Thank you for your patience and for taking time to help me with this work. My gratitude also goes to those named and unnamed who have undertaken the often-thankless task of keeping these organisations and associated networks going, and for creating the spaces that makes this thesis possible.

I would also like to thank my fellow PhD students in the Department of Information Studies who have patiently listened to me during the more difficult periods and offered advice.

Lastly, but by no means least, I would like to thank my family. You all have put up with me over the last four years, working late nights and weekends without any complaints and making my life so much easier. At least it's all over now.

IMPACT STATEMENT

The major impact of this work is through the creation of organisational and institutional biographies of three key Black-led archives in London. Before undertaking this work, these three organisations lacked a coherent narrative that highlights their important contribution to the creation of Black British historiography.

Throughout the research I have published two articles and two book chapters, demonstrating the interest and impact of the work. These publications, along with speaking engagements, have helped to secure further research in establishing the field of Black archival scholarship. Building on research in the field of Black archival scholarship has also helped to create new frameworks for research within the broader field of archival studies. This research has helped to introduce new voices into the field and identified how their research can shift how archivists think about and enact their work.

This thesis has raised key questions relating to national funding policy, a currently understudied area. Taking these questions further will help form the basis for further research that will help to shape the future of funding opportunities for the sector. Returning to work at one of the organisations, the Black Cultural Archives means that I will be able to implement some of my findings, creating more tangible benefits not only for the organisation but for the field as a whole.

ABSTRACT

This thesis works to recreate a framework within the archival field in which to view the development of three Black-led archives in London: the Black Cultural Archives based in Brixton, the George Padmore Institute in Finsbury Park and the Huntley Collection based at the London Metropolitan Archives. In this work I bring together the history and intellectual contribution of the Pan-African movement and Black archival thought to discuss how the key concepts of experiences and narratives have underpinned the collection of Black archival material. This thesis focusses on the work and writing of Arthur Schomburg and other key figures in the Pan-African tradition from which to draw a general theory of Black archival thought. It also traces the development and transmission of the theory during the twentieth century through networks. In this work I discuss how this Black archival canon and thought has been employed by the founders of the archives in the face of shifting racism and government policies. This thesis traces the shifts in how racism has been articulated, to examine how the development of the archives, whilst underpinned by modes of Pan-Africanism have been shaped by changing narratives of Britishness, Government policy and available funding that ultimately led to the formation of the archives as they stand today.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMBH: ARCHIVES AND MUSEUM OF BLACK HERITAGE

BAF: BRIXTON AREA FORUM

BASA: BLACK AND ASIAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

BCA: BLACK CULTURAL ARCHIVES

CASBAH: CARIBBEAN STUDIES BLACK AND ASIAN HISTORY

DCMS: DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE MEDIA AND SPORT

DTA: DOCUMENTING THE ARCHIVES

FHALMA: FRIENDS OF HUNTLEY ARCHIVES AT LONDON METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES

GLC: GREATER LONDON COUNCIL

GPI: GEORGE PADMORE INSTITUTE

HLF: HERITAGE LOTTERY FUND

LMA: LONDON METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES

MCAAH: MAYORS COMMISSION ON AFRICAN AND ASIAN HERITAGE

MLA: MUSEUMS, LIBRARY AND ARCHIVE COUNCIL

NBB: NEW BEACON BOOKS

RHAG: RALEIGH HALL ACTION GROUP

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	8
<i>Terminology</i>	11
<i>Research Methodology</i>	11
Sites	15
<i>Methods</i>	17
<i>Positionality</i>	23
<i>Thesis Structure</i>	35
2. Literature Review	37
<i>Ephemera</i>	51
3. Re-constituting an ‘archive’	64
<i>Pan-African Movement</i>	65
<i>Arthur Schomburg</i>	68
<i>Jamaica</i>	77
Garveyism	78
Queen Mother Moore	81
Len Garrison	82
<i>Trinidad</i>	83
Elma Francois	83
CLR James	84
George Padmore	86
Claudia Jones	87
John La Rose	89
<i>British Guiana (Guyana)</i>	90
Eric and Jessica Huntley	90
Walter Rodney	91

4. Changing Narratives	95
<i>Black Power</i>	99
<i>How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-Normal</i>	106
<i>Supplementary Schools</i>	110
<i>Len Garrison and ACER</i>	111
5. Culture Shifts	115
<i>Greater London Council</i>	116
<i>African People’s Historical Monument Foundation</i>	119
<i>The Book Fair</i>	126
6. Culture ‘Drift’	132
<i>‘Windrush’</i>	134
<i>BASA</i>	138
<i>AMBH</i>	142
<i>End of AMBH</i>	154
<i>Huntley Collection at LMA</i>	157
<i>George Padmore Institute</i>	169
<i>Road to Raleigh Hall (BCA)</i>	173
7. Monuments and Beacons	192
<i>Origins and Metaphors</i>	196
<i>Life Experience in Britain</i>	203
<i>Black Cultural Archives’ Collections</i>	205
<i>George Padmore Institute Collections</i>	220
<i>Huntley Collection</i>	229
8. Whiteness in the Archive	240
<i>Diversity</i>	241
<i>Cataloguing</i>	245
Conclusion	256
Reference List	264

1. Introduction

This thesis emerged from the time I spent at Black Cultural Archives (BCA), an independent archive in Kennington, South London, where I started working in early 2012. I was initially employed as the Assistant Archivist, with funding for the post coming from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) as the organisation was in the midst of a capital project to renovate a large Georgian property a few miles away in Brixton, Lambeth (see chapters five and six). Working at BCA also brought me into the orbit of the other two organisations that serve as sites of study for this thesis, the George Padmore Institute (GPI) based in Finsbury, North London and the Huntley Collection held at London Metropolitan Archives. During my time at BCA I became aware of a lack of organisational history and found myself becoming increasingly interested in how and why the organisation developed, and its relationship to GPI and the Huntley Collection.

In 2014 I left BCA to pursue the opportunity to undertake a PhD at University College London to investigate the development of these organisations by answering the main questions of ‘why did these organisations develop?’ and ‘how did they develop?’. Underpinning these questions, the development of the organisations also raises the questions of ‘what is a Black-led archive?’ and how far does the developmental history of the organisations speak to the rationale that underpins them. In order to answer these main questions this thesis also addresses:

- the historical frameworks in which they developed;
- the political frameworks in which the founders of the organisations were operating;
- the role of individuals and networks within the development of these organisations;
- the development of Black Archival Thought.

In setting out to answer these broader questions of ‘how and why did these organisations develop?’ I was, and am, specifically interested in the ‘archival impulse’¹ that led three separate, albeit connected, organisations to establish archival collections within a relatively short space of time.² Art critic Hal Foster describes the ‘archival impulse’ as the need to ‘make historical information, often lost or displaced, physically present. To this end they

¹ Hal Foster, ‘An Archival Impulse’, *October* 110 (Autumn 2004), p. 3.

² *Ibid.*

elaborate on the found image, object, and text, and [favour] the installation format as they do.³
Foster goes on to write:

these sources are familiar, drawn from the archives of mass culture, to ensure a legibility that can then be disturbed or detourne; but they can also be obscure, retrieved in a gesture of alternative knowledge or counter- memory.⁴ [...] Finally, the work in question is archival since it not only draws on informal archives but produces them as well, and does so in a way that underscores the nature of all archival materials as found yet constructed, factual yet fictive, public yet private.⁵

As will be illustrated in this thesis, Foster's description of the 'archival impulse' can be mapped onto the activities of the founders of the three Black-led archives in their attempts to create archives but also to disturb historical narratives about the Black communities in Britain. Foster's description of the 'archival impulse' maps closely to the desire of the founders of the archives to use their collections, and the practice of collecting, to disrupt the creation of historical narratives. As I will also discuss throughout this thesis, Foster's discussion of the archival impulse also foreshadows my argument for the importance of thinking about the nature of archival value and the creation of alternative narratives. In the first part of this introduction I will discuss my methods and methodology used to answer my key questions followed by a discussion of the broader research context.

In answering these research questions, it has become clear that the development of these Black-led archives is not straightforward, they move in different directions often shaped by internal and external forces, particularly the shifting narratives of racism. Neither are they single events, their development is messy and complicated. Much of the research and a significant period of time during the writing phases was spent constructing a historical narrative of the development of these organisations. I have chosen to situate their development and to account for these shifts through an investigation of how the underlying ideology of Pan-Africanism offers a framework for the understanding and articulation of the 'archival impulse' of the founders. My research focusses on how the intellectual theories of Pan-Africanism is activated and shapes the archival praxis of the founders. Whilst Pan-Africanism offers a framework and lens through which to understand the 'archival impulse' of the founders, Stuart Hall's description of 'moments' also hints at the ways in which the development of Black-led archives has been shaped by external factors, moulding and changing their direction. In Stuart

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid, p. 5.

Hall's key article, *Constituting an Archive*, he writes about the ways in which the constitution of an archive 'represents a significant moment, on which we need to reflect with care' that each 'archive has a "pre-history", in the sense of prior conditions of existence.'⁶ For Hall, a 'moment' can be constituted not only through convergences but also through breaks and ruptures.⁷

Using Pan-Africanism as a framework helps to illustrate the moment of their archival constitution and helps to understand how race operates. The founders use Blackness and African ancestry as an organising tool in which to approach their intellectual development and praxis. However, it is important to note that I am not arguing for an essentialist approach to viewing the development of these archives. The development of 'Black archival thought' within these organisations should be viewed as a response to racism and the effects of enslavement and colonialism that led to racialisation and categories such as 'white' and 'Black'. As will be discussed throughout this thesis, the founders were attempting to challenge racist and essentialist notions of 'Blackness,' and ultimately national belonging, using their experiences as Black people and the collection of stories to do so.

I conceptualise the idea of a Black-led archive, and Black archival thought as a 'problem-space' in which questions of race and identity, and archival value are interrogated. David Scott defines a 'problem-space' as:

an ensemble of questions and answers around which a horizon of identifiable stakes (conceptual as well as ideological-political stakes) hangs. That is to say, what defines this discursive context are not only the particular problems that get posed as problems as such (the problem of "race," say), but the particular questions that seem worth asking and the kinds of answers that seem worth having.⁸

I am using Pan-Africanism as a framework in which to discuss these 'problem-spaces' and present the biographies of these archives to question the methods and practices that both contest and conform to mainstream ideas of professionalism and the production of historical narratives. Throughout this thesis I return to the question of professionalism, particularly the

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Stuart Hall, 'Black Diaspora Artists in Britain: Three "Moments" in Post-War History', *History Workshop Journal* Spring, no. 61, p.3.

⁸ David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, (Duke University Press, 2004), p. 4.

way ideas of professionalism are gendered and raced, and structure how we approach the very nature of archival thought and practice.

Terminology

The use of 'Black' within the research relates to those of African or African Caribbean descent within the UK. However, as will be discussed, the broader approach of the research will also investigate some of the difficulties of using the term 'Black', given the shifts and changes in its use over time. I have also employed 'Black' rather than 'black' due to my time spent working at Black Cultural Archives, to recognise the political nature of the term.⁹

I am using the term Black-led to highlight that although many of the organisations have founders and Boards of Trustees that are mostly comprised of Black people, they are not solely staffed by people of African, or African-Caribbean descent. Additionally, it recognises that the organisations have chosen to express themselves in terms of working to address the exclusion of Black history in the UK that shapes the type of material that they collect and their target audiences. I will return to this discussion in chapter seven.

Research Methodology

Given the genesis of this research, grounded in my experiences of working as an archivist at Black Cultural Archives, I wanted to undertake broadly qualitative research as an 'engaged way of building knowledge about the social world and human experience.'¹⁰ Qualitative research methods also aim at building a 'thick description'¹¹ that seeks to create a richer picture, with an awareness of context and positionality through researching social worlds and human experience. I also wanted to investigate how the organisations view themselves and their work, in their own words and through their own experiences rather than aiming at some objective 'truth'. Initially I had conceptualised my research as developing case studies at sites across London, broadly using ethnographic techniques for onsite research. However, I am uncomfortable with thinking about the sites of the research as 'phenomena,'

⁹ 'Glossary,' Black Cultural Archives, available at <http://www.calmview.eu/BCA/CalmView/glossary.aspx>.

¹⁰ Patricia Leavy, 'Introduction' in *Oxford Handbooks Online*, (Oxford University Press, 2001) at <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199811755.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199811755-e-033>.

¹¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Perseus Books, 1973), p.6.

as somehow existing outside of the 'normal' world of archives.¹² Equally, the basis of ethnographic research has uncomfortable associations with colonialism and an approach to studying 'Other' cultures that I felt could further reinforce the idea that the sites that I have chosen to study are somehow an exotic oddity within the archival field.¹³ However, to critically engage with the topic and to work towards building a picture of the experiences of the sites, the methods drawn from a broadly ethnographic mixed methods approach that 'studies real people doing what they do, to meeting the everyday demands with which they are confronted'¹⁴ at sites selected for study, was the best approach to gain an understanding of the development of the organisations. This work starts from a position that whilst the archives have developed somewhat separately to 'mainstream' archives, they are often in dialogue with and evolved as a result of the same historic processes, regardless of whether the mainstream seeks to recognise them or not. This also raises important questions about who gets to define what is or is not the 'mainstream' and highlights the power dynamics involved in archival creation. This question of power dynamics and the archival profession runs throughout the later chapters of this thesis and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter seven.

In *The Ethnographic Self*, Amanda Coffey writes about the ways in which research is a two-way process that affects the researcher as well as those who are being researched. Coffey argues that throughout the process the researcher is not passively engaged in the research, but is always recasting themselves to deal with the experiences that are faced through the research.¹⁵ For Coffey, it is vital that ethnographers not only recognise themselves in fieldwork, but also the ways in which the research and the researcher are intertwined. However she cautions against making the self the focus of fieldwork to ensure that ethnography continues to make sense of others.¹⁶ As outlined by Coffey, the position of the researcher is a key issue within any research, particularly as the lines between ethnography and auto-ethnography can become blurred. My decision to undertake this research is intertwined with my personal biography, in addition to my position as the archivist at BCA. I was born on the Caribbean island of Barbados, arriving in Britain at the age of ten. It is my

¹² John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.18.

¹³ Anthony Kwame Harrison, 'Ethnography,' in Oxford Handbooks Online (Oxford University Press), at <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199811755.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199811755-e-011>. <Accessed 9 September 2015>.

¹⁴ Frances Julia Reimer, 'Ethnographic Research', in *Qualitative Research: An Introduction to Methods and Designs*, ed. Frances Julia Reimer, Marylynn T. Quartaroli, and Stephen D. Lapan, 2012, p. 166.

¹⁵ Amanda Coffey, *The Ethnographic Self* (London: Sage, 1999), p.24.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 32.

Bajan background and African ancestry that previously led to my decision to apply to work for BCA in 2012, and in many ways, this also underscores my personal decision to undertake this thesis. It is due to my personal background and heritage that I am interested in and committed to the work undertaken by these Black-led organisations and have a personal investment in what they are trying to achieve.

Secondly, it is through my professional experience as an archivist, working at the BCA that had brought me to the research and so not only guides my interest in this area but also my interaction with many of my interviewees. Throughout the main research period I kept a research journal and noted the difficulty that I faced in coming to this research not only as a professional archivist, but as an archivist who had worked at the BCA. It is these aspects that have shaped my methodology and why I chose to think of this work as an ethnography as I am aware that my personal and professional interest in this work cannot be disentangled easily from the research, although I have attempted to present the work through the organisations as much as possible. I also recount my personal biography in an effort to situate my world view in the shaping of the research, the methodology and the methods I undertook. Coming to this research, it was clear to me that a broadly qualitative approach to the topic was necessary. This was partly due to the nature of the topic, investigating the development of Black-led archives in London would require an understanding of the motivations of the founders and the context in which they operated which I felt might not be accurately captured through purely quantitative means. As a self-identified member of the same cultural and professional communities of the organisations, I came to the research from a position of wanting to engage critically with the ways in which narratives are constituted in the development of archives and history more generally. Although I am interested in understanding the development of Black-led archives I was not aiming at producing a generalizable or valid theory but am primarily interested in looking at the ways in which the Black-led archives present themselves, and to understand this relationship to the broader, mainstream, archival profession.

What is central to this work is to ensure that the voices of the participants remain visible, whilst also taking account of how I, as the researcher, am presenting them. However, as noted, it would be false to claim that managing these issues has been easy. It was particularly difficult managing the research process at BCA, when returning to the organisation as a researcher but being reminded of, and at times, treated like I still worked there. I have tried to balance mediating the research at GPI and the Huntley Collection through my experiences at BCA. For example, after returning to BCA to undertake research, I noted that:

Today more than before I am starting to feel the potential conflict of interest/emotions in doing this research at BCA rather than at GPI. Not only in terms of finding out negative things but also the associated memories. In some ways it must help to have the “insider track” but it also makes things a bit more complicated in deciding what material/which information is/isn’t relevant. Am I just sifting out info that fits with my perceptions of BCA whilst I worked there/here?¹⁷

I went on to note:

This is one of the difficult things about the research, the balancing of the ‘objective’ researcher and the position of having worked there before. I also found this when I was writing up some of the BCA research earlier in the week and came to the ‘awkward’ BCA time and how to write about it sensitively.¹⁸ Or whether I felt the need to be sensitive thinking about the potential audience. I also felt the need to be sensitive in terms of the GPI and wonder whether it’s a personality thing, or that I am close to the subject naturally- and the aspect of volunteering brings that extra feeling of familiarity and desire to be respectful? It would be interesting to see how I treat/feel LMA and the Huntley Collection when it is a completely different set up. Will volunteering mean that I become closer to the collection in the same as an external/independent organisation? Or will the ‘wrapper’ of LMA mean that distance is kept, and I can be more objective? Also given my political reasons for starting the research, the desire almost to prove the necessity of independent Black communities, will I actually be more prejudicial (in a more negative way) towards the LMA as a ‘government’ institution?¹⁹

These short extracts from my field notes highlights a few of the difficulties of researching in an area in which one is an ‘insider,’ particularly when dealing with the creation of the narratives of the organisations. For the time that I undertook my research at BCA I was concerned that my past involvement in the organisation actively shaped it, and how my continued presence, albeit in a slightly different context would continue to exert some influence on its progress. The research process, particularly at BCA as I reflected, also reminded me of some of the more difficult times that I faced as an employee at the organisation. It should also be noted that

¹⁷ Journal Entry, 29/1/2016.

¹⁸ See Chapter Six

¹⁹ Journal Entry, 4/5/2015.

during the final stage of writing up I returned in 2017 to assist BCA by sitting on an advisory group that focussed on improving accessibility to the collections and in January 2019 returned as the archivist.²⁰

In situating myself to critically investigate the development of Black-led archives I want to address not only the power relationships inherent within research but also to fully account for how I have been involved in the research. This is particularly important as many of my observations of BCA, in addition to GPI and the Huntley Collection have been filtered through my experiences of working at BCA and my proximity has undoubtedly impacted on what I have chosen to include and exclude. Whilst I have attempted to remain critical throughout the process, there is no denying that I engaged in this research due to a personal and political desire to make the work of these organisations better understood.

Sites

I chose to use Black Cultural Archives as one of my key case studies due to my experience of working at the organisation, and due to BCA's growing prominence and recognition as one of the key archives of Black history in London. As a counterbalance to the Black Cultural Archives, I researched the George Padmore Institute (GPI), based in North London. The GPI offers an interesting alternative to the BCA as another independent, Black-led organisation but one that emerged out of an apparently different political outlook to BCA and that has had a relatively stable history. As a balance to GPI and BCA, which are both independent organisations, I focused on the Huntley Collection at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), which is based within an institution, but which is administered by a group that mediates between the organisation and the collections, the Friends of Huntley Archives at LMA (FHALMA). However, as this thesis argues, there is a shared political vision that binds these organisations together.

The Huntley Collection also contains very similar material to that held within the GPI as they share many similarities, both originating from a bookshop but also involvement in the same key campaigns during the 1970s-1990s (as outlined in chapters four and five). However, the Huntley Collection also offers significant differences to the BCA and GPI, not only in its

²⁰ I returned to the role of Archivist, following a restructure that combined the previous roles of Collections Manager and Assistant Archivist. The role is responsible for collections management and development and outreach.

constitution but also potentially within the political outlook of the collection. However, I am aware that these organisations do not overtly address issues of gender and/or sexuality due to their developmental history and collections focus and narratives. In order to offer a counterbalance, I had initially considered looking at the rukus! archive, also based at LMA as I felt this would offer an important perspective, whilst also providing an alternative lens in which to view questions relating to institutions and independence. However, in an informal conversation with Ajamu, founder of the rukus! Archive, he discussed his growing displeasure with being 'studied.' As a result, I didn't broach the possibility of studying rukus! to respect Ajamu's wishes. I decided that I could use secondary material that already existed on rukus! to augment my arguments rather than using rukus! as a full case study. This highlights some of the issues that ethnography raises and its associated history with the study of the 'Other'. Many of the participants within the research were used to being 'studied,' particularly those associated with the Huntley Collection and the GPI, and so were comfortable with many aspects of the process, but this further reinforces my desire to ensure that my research does not exoticize or objectify the organisations and the participants, and to ensure that the research that I am engaged in is mutually beneficial to both me and the participants. Throughout the research the desire to 'capture the experiences' of the Black community has been at the forefront of the decision to start the archives, but for me highlights potential difficulties in how Blackness is articulated, and by whom. This highlights a further issue with the nature of experience, not only in questioning how the organisations construct Black experiences, but also how I, as a white-looking, straight, woman represent the experiences of these organisations. The importance of experience is not only methodologically speaking, but is a key question raised by the organisations and which is runs throughout this work.

As outlined, the sites of study are fairly self-selecting as there is a limited pool to choose from. For reasons of time and accessibility, those based only in London have been chosen. Whilst this does lead to some issues around regionalism, they offer an interesting dimension on the importance of London as the nation's capital and arising from the density of the Black population. However, the organisations chosen also represent a geographical distance covering most of London. This gives the opportunity to examine their development within the context of London, but also within the specific areas in which they developed. This considers the impact of Local Government agendas and policy, the political climate and the potential difference between communities in local areas.

Methods

Unlike the BCA and GPI where the collection and the organisations are symbiotic, as a collection held within another institution, I spent the least amount of time researching the history of the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), which holds the Huntley Collection. Part of my research centres on the development of the organisations and the connection between the material and the organisations, the traces that they leave. For BCA and GPI, the collections are the organisation and the organisation has shaped the collections. As a collection at LMA, the deposit of the Huntley Collection is a key part of the research, but the history of the LMA would offer limited insight into the development of the collections. However, as outlined in chapter seven, the immediate policy directions of LMA is a critical aspect in its decision to take the Huntley Collection. However, as a collection within a larger organisation, this has also thrown up some linguistic challenges when referring to the case studies collectively. Initially I had conceived of all three as organisations but having spent time researching the Huntley Collection there is clear distinction between the collection held at LMA and a group that has been convened to work with the collection, which is the Friends of the Huntley Collection at LMA (FHALMA). Whilst FHALMA could be considered an organisation, the Huntley Collection and FHALMA do not operate in the same way as BCA and GPI, due to their structure and focus on the promotion of the collection, rather than day-to-day operational decisions (as outlined in chapter six). This has offered an interesting junction in how I have thought about the ways that collections and organisations operate but does make it difficult to refer to them all as 'organisations'. When referring to them collectively, I have chosen to use 'archives' or 'collections' as the general umbrella term to refer to both the collections and the institutions that house them, unless stated otherwise.

The primary archival research was used to build a historical picture of the development of the organisations, although this was enormously varied by organisation. I chose to start at the GPI, because as a relative outsider, although known to the organisation I needed more time to organise myself and my methodology to get a deeper understanding of the history of the organisation, as well as a greater understanding of how it developed and operates. The organisational papers (along with its sister organisation, New Beacon Books) are not available whereas BCA has detailed, but patchy, organisational records. As the archival collections at the GPI are drawn from the activities of the founders, namely Trinidadian John La Rose, I spent time working through the collections that document La Rose's activities prior to the opening of the GPI in 1991 to get a sense of how those activities led to the development of the GPI. These collections are the Caribbean Artists' Movement (ref. CAM); the Black

Education Movement (ref. BEM) and the Black Parents Movement (ref. BPM); the Journal collection (ref. JOU); the papers from the Book Fair (ref. BFC) and the John La Rose Collection (ref. JLR) which mostly contained ephemera collected by La Rose. At the time of my research, the personal papers of John La Rose (ref. LRA) were being catalogued so I had limited access to them. As noted earlier, I augmented these primary resources with secondary material such as La Rose's publications as well as contemporary interviews and documentaries. I also used newsletters created by the GPI and documentation available through the Charity Commission that document the work of the GPI itself from 1991 to 2014. I also undertook volunteering with the GPI to get a better sense of the organisation. During my time at GPI, between January and July 2015 the organisation was coming to the end of a Heritage Lottery Funded project called *Dream to Change the World* which as outlined, saw the cataloguing of the papers of La Rose. As part of my volunteer work I assisted with the cataloguing of some of the collections, in addition to undertaking some re-packaging. The project also saw the staging of an exhibition on the history of New Beacon Books at Islington Museum during the summer of 2015, under the same title and where I was involved with some of the installation. Subsequently the outputs of this project have been turned into two publications, *Beacon of Hope* (2016) and *Dream to Change the World: The Life and Legacy of John La Rose: The Book of the Exhibition* (2018).

I did not volunteer at BCA due to my previous connection, nor with the Huntley Collection as the nature of working with LMA meant that I would be most likely volunteering with the institution and not with the collection itself. Whilst this may have provided insight into the organisation as a whole and given greater clarity of how the collection sat within the organisation, I felt that it was not necessary for the purpose of the research given LMA's large, corporate structure. Throughout the whole research process, I have maintained a journal to record my thoughts on spending time researching in the reading room and observing fellow researchers, following interviews and the subsequent writing up process. I have chosen to limit the use of my journal within this thesis as the purpose of my journal was as an aide for me to think through the research as I was working through the different aspects of the research.

Returning briefly to the blurring of self when undertaking ethnographies, one of the questions that arose is the extent to which I include aspects or extracts from my research journals. Where I have included my journal, I have opted to include sections where I am reflecting on my own thoughts and experiences of the research process, rather than as a representation of the viewpoints of the organisations or interviewees. Furthermore, I did not

seek formal ethics clearance with UCL to include my observations of the people as part of the written thesis, although I did check with my sites, particularly at GPI that they were happy for me to take notes of my time spent volunteering and researching.

At Black Cultural Archives, I used the institutional records (ref. BCA) that were available, although they were only available to 2010 and patchy in places. I also used the records of one of the founders, Len Garrison (ref. Garrison) that not only contains biographical information relating to Garrison but additional records relating to the history of BCA. As with the GPI, I augmented these records with documentation available through the Charity Commission. As Black Cultural Archives has been partly funded through Lambeth Council throughout its existence, I also used material available from Lambeth Council minutes and reports.

For the Huntley Archives I used a mixture of the approaches used for GPI and Black Cultural Archives, using both the records generated by the Huntleys in addition to the records relating to the Friends of Huntley Archives (FHALMA). These records were the personal papers of Jessica and Eric Huntley (ref. LMA/4463) and the papers of Bogle L'Ouverture (ref. LMA/4464). The material relating to the development of FHALMA was captured within the personal papers of the Huntleys. However, I was unable to access governance documentation from LMA on their decision-making processes when taking in the collection as this material is closed to the public for 30 years.

One of the consequences of having limited access to secondary material that relates directly to the development of the archives is that I spent time during the research constructing the chronology of the organisations and mapping who had been involved throughout their history, which proved to be very complicated for BCA. For each of the collections I first wrote detailed, individual case studies that captured a number of the important themes and from which I developed the key themes at the heart of this work. I have however chosen not to structure this thesis according to individual organisation or collection but to situate their development together as one narrative that I have constructed. The main reason for this was one of practicality; the histories of the collections are so uniquely intertwined that it would have created complex and repetitive chapter outlines. Additionally, bringing the thesis together under themes also helps to make direct comparison between the organisations much clearer. Although it was time consuming to reconstruct the histories of the organisations, the lack of secondary material also provides a level of freedom when constructing these histories to pursue new avenues and lends weight to the position of the research in contributing new

knowledge to the archival field, and which has affected the shape and content of the thesis. Where there are pre-existing works that cover the organisations, these have been detailed more fully in the context section of this chapter. The differences in material available and position of the organisations also means that although I took the same approach to the research at each of the organisations the levels of access to material meant that I had to adapt the approach at each site and this is reflected in the depth of analysis across the sites. It must be noted that the unevenness of access to material has resulted in a certain level of unevenness within my chapters.

In order to provide a greater balance on the material available, to fill some of the gaps and as outlined to highlight how the organisations presented themselves, I undertook interviews with key members of staff or founders of the organisations. As part of the research ethics requirements, permission has been granted by UCL for the taking of the interviews (id 6610/001). Although anonymity for research participants is often presumed, I took the decision that my participants would be named in my research. However, in the consent form that the participants signed they were given the option to be anonymised or to use a pseudonym. My decision to name participants is twofold; firstly, given the relatively small nature of the organisations the numbers of interviews was also small, with less than 10 interviews being undertaken for each organisation. Secondly, given the small scale and nature of the organisations it would be practically difficult to anonymise the participants,²¹ nor would it be helpful as I want to use the research to highlight the role that the organisations, and therefore those involved, have played in shaping the archival field.

I also wanted to get a cross section of people involved in the organisations, from members of the Board to staff members but given the different nature of the organisations, the type of people approached, and their level of involvement differed from organisation to organisation. Additionally, the numbers of participants per organisation also differed with BCA representing the largest number of interviews at nine and four each for the Huntley Collection and the GPI. The larger number of participants for BCA represents the complex nature of the history of the organisation and the numbers of people who have been involved in its development, so in order to get a representative sample of the different phases of the organisation I needed to speak to more people. The higher numbers of participants for BCA is also representative of my position as a former employee at the organisation. It was easier

²¹ None of the interviewees have requested anonymisation or the use of pseudonyms.

for me to reach potential participants at BCA in addition to having a higher number of people agreeing to be interviewed due to my pre-existing personal connection. The GPI and Huntley Collection on the other hand represent relatively stable organisations in terms of those who have been involved, as a small and close network of people who have sustained the archives, so it was not necessary to speak to as many people.

From BCA, I interviewed the Director, Paul Reid; the Chair of the Board of Trustees, Dawn Hill; two members of the Board of Trustees, Professor Hakim Adi and Conrad Peters; two former employees, the first Documentation Manager Tamsin Bookey and former Director Sam Walker; Jon Newman the archivist at Lambeth Archives who has worked closely with BCA since the 1990s, and Angela Lyon who worked on the Raleigh Hall Project Board that oversaw a major move and whose late husband, Mike Lyon, was Chair of the Board of Trustees. I was in contact with two founders of BCA who initially agreed to be interviewed but then I received no further communication. Additionally, during the research project I co-wrote an article on BCA where a joint interview was undertaken with Munira Mohamed, Learning Manager and Victoria Northridge, Collections Manager.²² BCA has had a higher turnover of staff and Trustees so I attempted to gain as wide a spread of people throughout the organisation's history as I could.

For the GPI, I was able to interview the co-founder, Sarah White; the long-standing archivist, Sarah Garrod; the (then) Chair of the Board of Trustees Michael La Rose and a Trustee, Roxy White. I attended some events during my volunteering period, and asked Sarah Garrod to email other committee members on my behalf to see who would be interested in being interviewed. Unfortunately, for the most part, I did not hear back from my general emails and from those I contacted directly, one trustee declined my request and despite originally agreeing, I received no further contact from another.

Finally, as I knew fewer people associated with the Huntley Collection, I sent a request through the general LMA contact page where someone passed me on to senior archivist Richard Wiltshire, who then sent an email to the members of FHALMA. From this original email I was able to speak to the former Chair of the Board of Trustees and author of *Doing Nothing is Not an Option*, Margaret Andrews; Colin Prescod who sits on FHALMA and is the Director of the Institute of Race Relations; Senior Development Officer at LMA and Trustee of

²² See H. J. M Ishmael and Rob Waters, 'Archive Review: The Black Cultural Archives, Brixton', *Twentieth Century British History* 28, no. 3 (2017): 465–473.

BCA, Maureen Roberts and Richard Wiltshire. Unfortunately, Jessica Huntley had passed away two years prior to my research and I was unable to reach Eric Huntley or any other members of the family. Across the organisations those who I did interview have been involved in the organisations for a number of years and have provided a great deal of invaluable material, and I would not have been able to complete this research without the time and information they gave to me throughout.

I recorded the interviews using a zoom H4N, with all of the recordings undertaken in .wav format should the interviewees request them for donation to the archives. A semi-structured interview is defined as ‘a qualitative data collection strategy in which the researcher asks informants a series of predetermined but open-ended questions. The researcher has more control over the topics of the interview than in unstructured interviews, but in contrast to structured interviews or questionnaires that use closed questions, there is no fixed range of responses to each question.’²³ I opted for this approach as the open-ended questions, I felt, would allow the interviewees the relative freedom to describe the organisation and their role however they wanted to, but within the structure of the questions and particular interests that I had. As a semi-structured interview, I used the same basic questions for the organisations and attempted to create as many ‘open’ questions as possible, with small adjustments for each person depending on their role in the organisation. For example, all of the interviews begin with the same three questions: ‘Name, Position, Can you tell me a little about the organisation?’ I used the questions to cover broad topics and themes that I am interested in, that covered how the organisation developed, current activities, challenges and what the interviewees felt about the future. Throughout the interviews I tried to leave as much ‘space’ in the interview to hear from the interviewees and following a trajectory that they wanted to take the interview in, refraining from interjecting during the interview and the interviews ranged in length from between an hour to an hour and a half. I found this method useful for thinking about how the interviewees also choose to present and represent the organisations and also provided a similar structure across the interviews that I hoped would allow for greater direct comparison. The benefit of this approach was that many of the participants discussed similar issues, challenges or positive outcomes without me necessarily asking them about it. However, having a semi-structured approach meant that at times the interviewees lost some of the focus of the interview and so gained a lot of information that may not be directly relevant to the thesis, although still interesting. My interviewees have been involved in the

²³ Given, Lisa M. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. 0 vols. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2008. *SAGE Research Methods*. Web. 26 Jul. 2020, doi: 10.4135/9781412963909.

organisations for a number of years and have provided a great deal of invaluable material, and I would not have been able to complete this research without the time and information they gave to me throughout.

I transcribed the interviews in full and used the software *Nvivo* to code the interviews and to start to generate the themes and codes that seemed to be important within the interviews. Coding relates to labelling segments of data, usually texts, that corresponds to categories, summaries or accounts²⁴ and may be descriptive, topical or analytical.²⁵ I chose to transcribe the material myself in order to better code the information, in addition to continuing to reflect on the transcription process in my research journal. I found this process helpful to allow me greater reflection on the interviews themselves and my own writing process, as it often triggered memories or connections between the interviews that I may not have initially picked up on. This also helped me to group the themes together more easily when I returned to my journal during the writing process. Following the transcription process, I opted to inductively create the codes for the material, rather than setting out with pre-conceived themes or ideas. This relates to my attempt to follow and uncover what the organisations had to say about themselves, rather than trying to impose any kind of order on the material. I also felt this would help me to assess the organisations on their own terms and within their own discourses as potentially each batch of interviews could reveal different motivations. In addition to using *Nvivo* to draw out key themes through the coding, it also helped me to further reflect on the organisations which I captured in my research journal. I used the overlapping codes generated through *Nvivo* along with my research journal to help me to build the framework and themes found within this work.

Positionality

Returning to my journal and the transcriptions during the writing up process it became apparent how I have used my different positionalities to attempt to build rapport with the interviewees, particularly with members of the GPI and the Huntley Collection who as outlined I had less familiarity with. For all of the interviews I spent some time discussing the project with the interviewees beforehand and during the interviews some of the interviewees make reference to my grandfather, as I had often explained to them my research interest in the form

²⁴ Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory. A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (London: Sage, 2006), p.43.

²⁵ Lyn Richards, *Handling Qualitative Data. A Practical Guide* (Sage, 2005), p.87.

of my personal history and background, and in many ways to consciously and subconsciously account for my interest in this racialised topic. This was particularly the case with one interviewee who asked me twice why I was interested in this research, once on the telephone before the interview and secondly when I arrived. I noted in my journal after the interview:

The second question that [x] asked me was why I was interested in the topic and I explained about my background from Barbados and my granddad, and was going to go on to tell [x] more but [x] stopped me saying that that was enough information and I had “passed” the test. I wonder if I hadn’t “passed” what the interview would have been like.²⁶

Although not included in my journal, I remember being asked the question about ‘why I was interested?’ in the research and there being a number of different answers I could have given, deploying any number of the research and identity positions that I occupied. I could have concentrated on the archival and BCA element, or I could have discussed my interest in history. However, at this point, and at others during the interviews I opted to focus on my African ancestry and Caribbean nationality which I may have subconsciously decided may have put people at greater ease, and in this particular case appears to have been the ‘right’ frame. However, it is unclear whether other answers would have provided a similar response. Additionally, I also noticed that during the interviews with members of the GPI and the Huntley Collection many also make reference to the BCA in some way, which also suggests that they were interacting with me through my previous role at BCA and their relationship with it. I am unsure whether this was always a positive interaction, but this may have additionally lent legitimacy to my interest and position within this research space.

It is clear that the interviews, the structure they take, and the information provided to me are mediated through how I am perceived by the interviewees, and as discussed, the number of people who agreed to be interviewed. It would be expected that the interviews that I had with people who were from BCA would be longest and most easy, but it was with people associated with the BCA that I found some of the more difficult to undertake, noting in my journal that I was more nervous about undertaking the interviews as I was unsure how some of the former members of staff would respond due to some of the more complex interactions they had with the organisation, as outlined in subsequent chapters. Some of the difficulty of

²⁶ Journal Entry

interviewing former members of staff at BCA is directly related to this complicated history of the organisation and clearly affects the interviews. After my interview with Walker I reflected in my journal:

I didn't bother with some of the later questions about audience and challenges because I think he'd already made it clear how disappointed he was with the org. and how he feels about it all, which is completely understandable. I got the impression that he was being quite open and genuine but I didn't want to pry too deeply. I am not sure whether my research really needs to go into the nitty gritty of the interpersonal (dysfunctional) relationships of the org? It is important to the development of the org? The more I interview people about BCA the more difficult these ethical questions are becoming, more so than with the GPI, which now seems more and more superficial. I'm not sure if it's the nature of the orgs themselves that leads to different conversations, or an in/out thing.²⁷

Interviewing Walker highlighted the tension of my position within this research as both being an insider and an outsider. When I was speaking to him I had approached him both as an independent researcher, but also due to our mutual connection to BCA it was this connection that caused me to feel some responsibility towards him despite the fact that I did not work for BCA when he was there, nor did I work there when I approached him. However, I also noted in my journal that I felt a certain amount of responsibility to all of the interviewees to try to not only not misrepresent them, but also to try to present them as well as possible. This section also further highlights the insider/outsider status in relation to GPI as at this time I felt that I was gaining more privileged information from some people at BCA than I was at GPI as the interviewees from BCA were at times more frank about their feelings about the organisation, that was less clear from the other interviewees at the sites. However, returning to the interviews during the writing up period, the interviewees offered differing levels of detail and frankness that doesn't necessarily correspond to their position but more often down to personality. Furthermore, given the nature of the interview process all the interviewees will be providing some degree of narrative control over the way they represent themselves and their organisations that can never be fully accounted for. I noted on more than one occasion that interviewees seemed to feel more comfortable talking to me before and after the interviews but once the recording had started, they became more reticent to speak due to the artificiality of the formal recorded session. There was also one interviewee who had brought notes to the

²⁷ Journal Entry

interview and was able to speak freely and at length about some of the topics covered on their notes, but gave less detail on some of the questions that they may not have been asked before and therefore may have been less confident about.

I generally found that it was the archivists who were more candid with me which suggests that our connection as archivists provided a greater sense of connection, but I also knew them some of them better. When I came to interview Sarah Garrod, I had already spent a few months researching and volunteering at the GPI, in addition to having already met her through my work with BCA. Equally, I had spent time with Jon Newman on numerous occasions and whilst I knew Tamsin Bookey less well, I had also met her before the interview. The only archivist I had not met prior to the interview was Richard Wiltshire, the archivist at LMA. The interviews with the archivists also tended to drift into more technical and archival language, with much more emphasis on the process of cataloguing and generally a little more jargon and acronym heavy. I also found reading back through the transcripts that I participated more in the interviews at times than I had with the other interviewees, often sharing some of my experiences at BCA, although I had tried to leave the interviewees to discuss their answers with less intervention from me. However, one interview also resulted in an interviewee expressing some highly problematic viewpoints which I presume only occurred because the interviewee viewed me as being sympathetic as both a fellow archivist and perhaps as a fellow white person. After the interview, in my journal I wrote:

Some of the things [x] said were borderline offensive which again makes me think about the position of the interviewee/interviewer relationship and whether because I am an archivist and appear white (and have dealt with similar collections) that there was a false sense of camaraderie? Maybe that's just what I want to think. As the interview progressed the questions/answers got shorter and felt more perfunctory, so I am wondering/concerned whether some of the answers had caused me to put a wall up and therefore changed the tone of the interview. [...] It was such a weird experience sitting and smiling along, not wanting to show any visible annoyance whilst also wondering about letting those causal moments of almost, but not-quite racism go.²⁸

Whilst race underlines much of this research, I return to a greater discussion of whiteness in the last chapter. However, as this section highlights this research has also brought up some

²⁸ Journal Entry

of the tensions of undertaking research as an 'insider' that can lead to distressing encounters but also being unclear about the best course of action and response. I often reflect about this moment and think that I should have intervened in the interview rather than letting the interview continue, but at that moment, as outlined in my journal entry I was unsure whether gaining the information was of greater priority. It is also likely that despite attempting to mitigate against my personal feelings throughout this work that this incident, along with all of the other discussions that I've had throughout this process has subtly shaped how I've approached and interpreted the data and the writing and as noted the many positions that I adopted throughout the research in order to attempt to gain rapport with the interviewees to undertake the research.

This question of representation is key not only to the organisations but also within my 'critical' stance. To fully realise the importance of the voices and experiences of the research subjects, I have conceptualised those involved in my research as participants, although I do not see the research as fully Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR is a form of critical research that offers collaboration between researchers and participants with a view to creating social change.²⁹ Although my research is interested in the general nature of power and race, I do not believe that the organisations that I am researching require my assistance in challenging the status quo in the way that PAR conceptualises as they have been very successful already. However, I recognise that there are some power dynamics that exist between the research the ways in which research is (re)presented so to ensure that the research participants are engaged throughout the research, I have shared the interviews and transcripts with the participants so they can clarify or qualify anything they disagree with, or wish to withdraw. Additionally, I have shared drafts of articles, and a draft of the full thesis with them to further engage them in dialogue with the research process and to give them the opportunity to respond to any points raised. However, as time has moved on between beginning the research and finishing, fewer of the interviewees responded to the sharing of the final thesis, which is also a much bigger task.

This has also raised a question about where to 'end' the thesis. My main research collection period for BCA and GPI was undertaken during 2015 and the Huntley Collection during 2017. One of the aspects that has precipitated my return to BCA has been due to

²⁹ Julia M. Pryce, Renée Spencer, and Jill Walsh. "Philosophical Approaches to Qualitative Research." *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 1st ed. Oxford UP, 2014. The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research, 2014-07-01. Oxford Library of Psychology. Web.

increasing instability, but which at the time of writing is still unfolding and therefore difficult to accurately reflect. This is also the case for the GPI which since my initial research phase is undergoing another project to 'produce a detailed options appraisal of the future [...] and use of our building.'³⁰ Therefore, I have chosen to end my discussions of the organisations when I completed the final interviews, and subsequent reflections are captured in the conclusion.

Research Context

This question of narratives highlight the argument of Michel-Rolph Trouillot who in *Silencing the Past* argues that the production of history is itself historical and the narratives of historical production need to take account of the context of their production and consumption.³¹ Trouillot's argument highlights two key aspects that I examine here, firstly; to place the development of these seemingly 'new' initiatives of creating Black-led archives within a much longer trend of political activism that has the development of Black history and curricula at its heart. Secondly, Trouillot's work underlines another facet of this thesis which is the interplay between the construction of the organisational histories that I present here and the material from which the narratives are created. I will address the specific development of three Black-led archives and how their collection development has impacted on the types of historical narratives that have been produced, and which are able to be produced. In many respects, these archives have been active interlocutors in the development of narratives on Black British history in Britain. As such, it is difficult to fully disentangle the construction of the narratives from within, and about, the organisations from the power dynamics that are always present in the creation of any archival collections. As will be discussed throughout this thesis, the development of these archival organisations is bound up with the development of the collections and vice versa, making it difficult at times to disentangle the collections held from the organisations. The organisations use their collections to develop a narrative of Black British history that also speaks to their position within the development of that narrative. As with all archival endeavours there are silences and gaps within the collections and within the development of this narrative on these archives.

This has been echoed by Kate Eichorn who in *The Archival Turn in Feminism* describes her impetus to write her book as a drive to centre the archival labour of archivists and community practitioners in building archives. As Eichorn argues many scholars reinforce

³⁰ 'Citizens of a Common Future,' George Padmore Institute, available at <https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/citizens-common-future>.

³¹ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and Production in History*, (1995), pp. 145-146.

the idea that archives exist to 'serve scholars' research mandates or to house scholars' own papers but not necessarily to generate and promote the circulation of ideas, cultural interventions, and activism in the present.³² Eichorn's work also focusses on the relationship between political activity and the archive as a site of knowledge making and production.³³ Bringing Foster, Trouillot and Eichorn together, throughout my work I am seeking to highlight the importance of the archival labour of members of the Black communities in Britain in the creation of archives, and to highlight how they have helped to shape the contours of recent Black British history and historiography. Moreover, I am working to surface the intellectual and historical frameworks in which this labour can be placed. Eichorn discusses the turn to the archive as part of the need to understand the present and to recapture a sense of social agency, undermined during the period of neoliberalism,³⁴ which as outlined throughout this work is also key to the development of the Black-led archives. Eichorn employs Wendy Brown's Foucauldian concept of 'genealogical politics' to highlight how ideas become normalised over time. As argued by Eichorn and Brown, a genealogical approach defamiliarizes what we take for granted and 'opens possibilities through which futures might be pursued' in which we can think about 'being in time and history differently.'³⁵ A turn towards the genealogical within archives is a turn towards addressing how to assess how historiography becomes normalised and a lens with which to view this process.³⁶ Eichorn's discussion of the archival turn in feminism has important applications for this thesis. Firstly, it suggests an important rationale for why Black communities undertake archival processes. As highlighted in much of the literature on community archives, communities who have been marginalised throughout history use archiving as a way of engaging with the production of historical narratives.³⁷ However, Eichorn's work is key to articulating the necessity of valuing the labour of those who constitute archives and the intellectual insights that this brings. Eichorn's work also makes an important observation about the ways in which archival

³² Kate Eichorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism: Outrage in Order* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 2013, p. 2.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁷ For example see Ieuan Hopkins, "Places from Which to Speak," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 29, no. 1 (2008)., Elena Carter, 'Setting the Record Straight': The Creation and Curation of Archives by Activist Communities. A Case Study of Activist Responses to the Regeneration of Elephant and Castle, South London.', *Archives and Records* 38, no. 1 (2017): 27–44; Michelle Caswell, 'Seeing Yourself in History. Community Archives and the Fight Against Symbolic Annihilation', *The Public Historian* 36, no. 4 (2014): 26–37.

processes, and archival science itself is taken for granted and has been naturalised during the twentieth century.

This thesis sits at an intersection that addresses the production of narratives on Black history in Britain generally, and the growing interest in the development of community and independent archives. For example, the impetus behind the development of Black Studies in the 1960s was to highlight the ways in which knowledge structures have been racialised, often in relationship between the constructs of 'Blackness' and 'whiteness'³⁸ and crucially, the importance of recognising the validity of Black scholarship and critical thought.³⁹ There has been growing interest in the development of community and independent archives, broadly defined, but there has been less work that specifically looks at the development of Black-led archives in the UK. In his 2007 article *Community Histories, Community Archives* Andrew Flinn outlines the history and development of community archives within the UK highlighting the long history of these archives that have operated outside of mainstream, and professional practice. Flinn links the development of community archives to the development of local history initiatives as well as more formal movements such as History Workshop, and the growth of interest in oral history and the collection of ephemeral material that is intrinsic to the development of these initiatives.⁴⁰ Flinn's article highlights the multiplicity of community archives that have grown out of particular religious and ethnic groups, as well as working class, anti-racist and feminist movements to document their histories and notes the factors that led to their development and growth.⁴¹ Another key work to focus on British community archives, and particularly Black community archives is Ieuan Hopkins' work entitled *Places from Which to Speak* published in 2008.⁴² Hopkins' article features six archives and projects that focussed on Black or Asian history, including the BCA, GPI and Huntley Collections, which have also been the focus of my study, along with the 'Coming to Coventry Project', Future Histories and the Northamptonshire Black History Association. Hopkins places the role of the archives within the framework of the New Labour Government agendas of 'access' and inclusion seeking to problematise them.⁴³ Hopkins uses the framework of Discourses to investigate how the archives and projects that he has researched engage with Government

³⁸ Lisa Amanda Palmer, 'The Absence of Black Studies in Britain', in *Blackness in Britain*, ed. Kehinde Andrews and Lisa Amanda Palmer (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 12.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

⁴⁰ Andrew Flinn, 'Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 28, no. 2 (2007): pp. 155-156.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp. 157-159.

⁴² Ieuan Hopkins, 'Places from Which to Speak,' *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 29, no. 1 (2008): 83-109.

⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 89-96.

agendas and how they have used their collections to subvert power dynamics.⁴⁴ Hopkins focuses on the use of exhibitions and educational resources to challenge historical narratives, the role of symbolic role of space in challenging narratives, and the archive itself as an artefact and symbolic representation of political processes.⁴⁵ Many of Hopkins' findings have been confirmed throughout my own research, particularly Hopkins' analysis of the role of the archives in subverting discourse and the creation of new historical narratives. Since Flinn's and Hopkin's articles, there has been a steady increase in research in this area and which had been outlined in Terry Cook's *Evidence, memory, identity, and community* as the fourth archival paradigm that the profession has engaged in.⁴⁶

There is also a small amount of literature that focuses on individual Black British archives, outlined later in this section, including the rukus! collection, the George Padmore Institute (GPI) and the Huntley Collection. Focussing on the rukus! collection *Love and Lubrication in the Archives, or rukus! A Black Queer Archive for the United Kingdom*, written by Ajamu X, Topher Campbell and Mary Stevens. This article emanated from a University College London project on community archives during 2008-2009. In this article Ajamu X and Campbell discuss the development of their collection held at London Metropolitan Archives under the auspices of their charity rukus! which document Black LGBTQ+ communities in the UK. rukus! was established specifically to deal with the issues of lack of representation of Black LGBTQ+ communities within the mainstream, and within Black community archives such as Black Cultural Archives.⁴⁷ This article takes the form of an edited conversation between Ajamu, Campbell and Stevens, and this format was chosen to give prominence to Ajamu and Campbell in their own words.⁴⁸ The article covers the decision to launch rukus! in 2005 and focusses on how the rukus! project seeks to not only collect material relating to Black British

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 93.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 97.

⁴⁶ See Terry Cook, 'Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms', *Archival Science* 13 (2013): 95–120. See also, Rebecka Sheffield, 'Community Archives', in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, ed. Heather Macneil and Terry Eastwood, 2nd Edition (California: Libraries Unlimited, 2017), 351–77; Michelle Caswell, 'Inventing New Archival Imaginaries: Theoretical Foundations for Identity-Based Community Archives', in *Identity Palimpsests: Archiving Ethnicity in the U.S and Canada*, ed. Dominique Daniel and Amalia S. Levi (California: Litwin Books, 2013), 35–59; Susan Pell, 'Radicalizing the Politics of the Archive: An Ethnographic Reading of an Activist Archive', *Archivaria, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists*, no. 80 (Fall 2015): 33–57; Carter, Elena. 'Setting the Record Straight': The Creation and Curation of Archives by Activist Communities. A Case Study of Activist Responses to the Regeneration of Elephant and Castle, South London.'

⁴⁷ Ajamu X, Topher Campbell, and Mary Stevens, 'Love and Lubrication in the Archives, or Rukus!: A Black Queer Archive for the United Kingdom', *Archivaria, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists* 68 (Fall 2009): 291.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 272.

LGBTQ+ heritage, which had been marginalised within the Black and the white LGBTQ+ communities but also to interrogate strict identity categories.

Colin Prescod in *Archives, race, class and rage* highlights the ways in which Black community archives in Britain not only forged a new identity of 'Caribbeanness' that shifted away from specific island loyalties, to 'Blackness' 'not as mere skin-colour but as the colour of resistance- across ethnicities, eschewing petty-nationalisms'⁴⁹ which chapter four further investigates. More importantly, Prescod's article highlights how community archives, whilst collecting and promoting material based on specific identifications can also contribute to telling wider stories about national history and society, which would otherwise have gone unrecorded.⁵⁰ Prescod describes his work as 'rebellious rage' with a focus on 'reparative history' as one of the driving forces behind his work,⁵¹ and he draws on the Black history as a history of 'resistance and rebellion, as well as, protest and participation.'⁵² Prescod discusses how he uses 'rage against 'othering'; rage against 'White-washing' the record; rage against systemic, institutionalised denial; rage against continuing, intransigent, irritating, debilitating, distracting and destructive racism' in order to challenge practice and make changes within society.⁵³ It is this understanding of community archives as 'active', not only in the sense of political activism and driving change, change in how historical narratives are created but also change within the profession and our practices that is key. This article highlights how Black-led archives present alternative frameworks and methodologies that help us to question what we as a profession have historically done, but also how we might shape our practice in the future. This thesis builds on these articles to examine the processes of creating a community and the ways that Pan-Africanism is utilised to challenge the creation of historical narratives.

Chris Moffat's *Against 'Cultures of Hiatus': History and the Archive in the Political Thought of John La Rose* deals with the development of the GPI. Moffat uses his article to analyse the 'form and function' of the GPI and argues that the GPI is not a counter-archive, nor an archive of vindication but rather operates as a beacon.⁵⁴ Moffat uses the idea of 'beacon' taken from the archives' relationship with New Beacon Books, a publishing house in which the archive is based and which I cover in more detail in later chapters. Moffat's article outlines the biography

⁴⁹ Colin Prescod, 'Archives, Race, Class and Rage', *Race & Class* 58, no. 4 (2017): p. 83.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 77.

⁵² Ibid, p. 79.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 84.

⁵⁴ Chris Moffat, 'Against "Cultures of Hiatus": History and the Archive in the Political Thought of John La Rose', *Small Axe*, no. 55 (March 2018): p.41.

of John La Rose, one of the founders of GPI and traces how La Rose's philosophies have translated into the development of the archive. Moffat notes how the GPI operates as 'an archive that subverts itself,'⁵⁵ one that is based on the importance of hope and its manifestations which ensured that the archive would never become a 'dead monument'.⁵⁶ Moffat's reading of the GPI coalesces with much of my research into the organisation and I have found his focus on ephemera and the lens of hope an important frame. I return to Moffat's discussion of the work of GPI as a beacon in chapter seven.

There is a small body of literature that looks at the organisations that the archives are associated with, New Beacon Books and Bogle L'Ouverture Press. This literature is deeply interwoven into my later chapters but does not focus on the specific development of the archives. Furthermore, there is no literature that I have found that covers the development and history of the Black Cultural Archives in a systematic and detailed way. Additionally, apart from Flinn and Hopkin's work that places these three archives in conversation with other community groups there is no literature that examines the long development of the Black archives together as part of a tradition on their own terms and which historicises their development. This gap in the literature is where this thesis sits, it operates as a bridge between the literature on the development of the sister organisations of BCA, GPI and the Huntley Collection and within the archival literature. Furthermore, in seeking to fill the gaps on the development of these archives, I am also drawing out what should be considered Black archival scholarship (BAS). Here, BAS works as a framework in which to understand and situate the 'archival impulse' of the organisations featured in this study.

I am (re)constituting the history of Black archival political projects that sit outside of, but in dialogue with, 'mainstream' archival scholarship. I use the work of Arthur Schomburg and the broader Pan-African movement to not only draw attention to the articulation of this work (see chapter three) but also to position Pan-Africanism as a form of politics that structures and underpins approaches to collecting archival material. This scholarship focuses on the collection, value and use of archival material in an act of reclamation and recovery of Black history. Schomburg's work offers a starting point for dealing with, and thinking about, the politics of archival collecting, and suggests an alternative narrative with which to understand the work of Black-led archives in London. Using the work of Schomburg as an example, I will sketch out how some of the ideas that underpin Pan-Africanism took shape in the 1920s and 1930s and ultimately found their way into the development of Black-led archives in London in

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 42.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p 40.

the 1980s and 1990s. Part of the rationale for the development of these archives in London was to anchor the contemporary experiences of the British Black communities to the history of political activity in the Caribbean. This political activity includes the ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, through to decolonisation and the end of Empire and its continuation in the UK. I argue that the founders of the archives wanted to ensure that Black children newly migrated, or born in the UK, were provided with resources that positively reflected their African, and African Caribbean heritage.

The founders of BCA wanted to provide educational resources to be used within the education system to provide positive reference points and role models for Black children, whilst the founders of the GPI and the Huntley Collection were actively involved with the creation of the Black Supplementary School movement in the 1970s. These educational resources also drew on the history of resistance of the Caribbean community and highlighted key individuals and groups within the Pan-African movement that emerged as a potent intellectual and political force during the twentieth century. These acts of collecting material were and still are used to undermine Eurocentric notions of Black underachievement and a sense of 'historylessness.' As I demonstrate through this work, these acts of collecting are also part of a much longer trend of historical, cultural and political activism that recognises the agency of Black communities to make important changes within British society. By focussing on Schomburg I shall be examining the genealogies of thought (and action) that have inspired the development of the BCA, the GPI and the Huntley Collection. I argue along with Barnor Hesse for viewing this Black archival scholarship, or genealogies of thought and politics, as an articulation of 'multicultural transruptions' that are part of an active process with historical ties but have important resonances in the present.⁵⁷ For Hesse, these transruptions challenge colonial representations and create disturbances and interventions. My thesis seeks to centre this Black archival scholarship and highlight how it was forged within a particular response to the damage of enslavement and colonialism, and within the context of migration within the African diaspora. Furthermore, as described by Scott, 'problem-spaces alter historically because problems are not timeless and do not have everlasting shapes. In new historical conditions old questions may lose their salience, their bite, and so lead the range of old answers that once attached to them to appear lifeless, quaint, not so much wrong as irrelevant.'⁵⁸ Following Scott, each chapter will look at the development of new problem-

⁵⁷ Barnor Hesse, 'Introduction: Un/Settled Multiculturalisms', in *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, 'Transruptions'*, ed. Barnor Hesse (New York: Zed Books, 2000), p. 17.

⁵⁸ Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, p. 4

spaces to interrogate how the founders viewed the production of narratives and the formation of archives and I have come to view and place these problem-spaces and archival transruptions within the broader framework of the Pan-African movement

Thesis Structure

The research process has also influenced the structure of the thesis, particularly the literature review section. As outlined later in this chapter, this work is roughly divided into two parts. The middle parts of the thesis, chapters four-six work to answer the 'how the archives' developed and focus on the historical development as a response to new challenges. The literature review, chapter three and chapter seven focus on the 'why' they developed and provide a theoretical frame in which to place their development and to interrogate questions of Black archival thought. As such, chapter two (the literature review) reviews key themes and ideas that have emerged from the research and contextualise it, and which contribute to the broader idea of a Black Archival Scholarship or canon.

Chapter three establishes a starting point for outlining the development of a theory and practice of Black archiving that I argue, can be traced to the 1900s, but which found fruition and greater articulation during the inter-war period. This chapter develops a framework in which to view the development of BCA, GPI and Huntley Collection later in the 20th century. I am reconstituting this idea through biographies of key individuals and networks across the diaspora to highlight a Black archival framework and canon. I bring together the history of the Pan-African movement and Black archival to discuss how the key concepts of experiences and narratives have underpinned the collection of Black archival material. This chapter focusses on the work and writing of Arthur Schomburg as the founder of an internationally significant, and physical archival collection but who has figured little in archival literature. I use Schomburg as a key figure in the Pan-African tradition from which to draw a general theory of Black archival thought to trace the development and transmission of the theory throughout the twentieth century through his networks. This chapter draws together the historical context of three Caribbean islands: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana to introduce the early biographies of the founders of the archives.

From chapters four to six I discuss how the canon that I have reconstituted in chapter three has been employed by the founders of the archives in the face of shifting racism and government policies. These chapters are arranged chronologically with chapter four focussing on the period of the 1940s-1970s and situating the desire to reclaim history within the context

of increasing migration to the UK from the Caribbean and the increased hostility faced by Caribbean migrants, particularly in the field of education. This chapter identifies the development of a network of publishers and bookshops and supplementary schools as a response to this increasing hostility and marks a form of 'proto-archiving' to deal with the issues. This chapter looks at the growth of the supplementary school movement spearheaded by the founders of the archives and argues that the growth of the supplementary school movement and alternative education became another key step on the road to the constitution of 'proper archives'.

Chapter five focusses on the period of the 1980s-1990s, punctuated by waves of violence in the urban heartlands, the 1980s saw an intensity in the growth of radical and divergent politics on the Left and the Right contesting the meaning of Britishness. As part of this battle the Greater London Council in London began an ambitious funding project that was another major catalyst for the constitution of Black Cultural Archives. The 1980s saw the final phase of direct activism for the founders of the GPI and the Huntley Collection through the establishment of the Book Fair which paved the way for the official constitution of the archives, and traces another shift in contemporary racism that re-formulated difference away from racial markers into culture.

Drawing the previous chapters to a close, chapter six highlights the change in direction following the election of the Labour Government in 1997 and that marked a move towards greater visibility for minorities under the banner of 'social exclusion'. This chapter highlights how these policies coalesced to provide new opportunities for funding and partnership working that solidified the importance and visibility of the archives but focuses on the question of professionalism.

The final chapters consider the collections of the organisations, focussing on how the symbolism of monuments and beacons can help to understand how the collections have formed. Chapter eight focusses on the presence of 'whiteness' within the organisations, drawing all of the thesis to a close and interrogating the questions of race that underline the thesis.

The following chapter, the literature review, highlights that underpinning this thesis are questions relating to value and different forms of value. It outlines a variety of conceptual framings of value that can be seen in and explored through the rest of the work.

2. Literature Review

The development of the three Black-archives at the heart of this thesis; the Black Cultural Archives (BCA), the George Padmore Institute (GPI) and the Huntley Collection can be viewed as a political project inspired by and rooted within the framework of Pan-Africanism. Whilst Pan-Africanism is a key aspect of this work, I do not focus on Pan-Africanism here, as this work is not conceived as a history of Pan-Africanism and does not seek to offer critique or confirmation within the discourses on Pan-Africanism. Rather this section focusses on the underlying themes of value; how value is understood and by whom and how it underpins discussion on the nature of experience and its relationship with diaspora. The development of these archives as a broader political project seeks to disrupt the creation of historical narratives that position Black people and Black history as peripheral to 'mainstream' history, through the collection of material that can be used to create alternative narratives. Like all archival projects, the development of these archives raises important questions about the nature of archival collecting that continues to question traditional archival assumption of value and the role of evidence within archival theories.

In the first section of this chapter I will focus on the theme of value in relation to archives and archival theory. As will be discussed within the rest of this thesis, much of the underpinning of the development of the organisations in question lies in challenging assumptions of value. The next section of this chapter looks at the theme of value in terms of experience and ephemera, leading to a discussion on the importance of diaspora and migration in the conceptual development of the organisations.

'Rubbish Theory'

In the 2017 introduction to his 1979 book *Rubbish Theory* anthropologist Michael Thompson sets out a story that focussed on the leaking of a confidential draft UK Government strategy to a national tabloid newspaper in 2000. The publication of the strategy caused turmoil in the Labour Government and led to accusations of hacking by the opposition and finger pointing to find the source of the leak. It emerged that the source of the leak was neither a mole nor as a result of computer hacking, but traced to someone known as 'Benji the Binman,' (Benjamin Pell) who made money from selling documents to newspapers obtained from the

bins of politicians and celebrities.¹ Whilst it was unclear whether 'Benji the Binman' had broken any laws, the scandal prompted the police to raid his house. They found:

more than 200,000 documents, all of which had come from dustbins, and all of which were meticulously organised, indexed, filed and so on. The most remarkable thing about this awesome Pell archive is that it is composed entirely of documents that have been discarded in order to *form* archives.²

Thompson introduces the concept of an 'anti-archive' and notes that, as many archivists have discussed, the creation of archives necessarily entails the destruction of others.³ Much of the work undertaken on community archives focusses specifically on how they have built their collections as alternatives to mainstream archives. Their archives also function as 'anti-archives' and highlight the tension between transience and durability; and the valued and valueless. Aside from the interesting parallels of archival finds from locked drawers and skips, Thompson builds on the 'anti-archive' to introduce his 'rubbish theory' that addresses how material within society can transition from the transient to the durable, and its relationship with value.

Thompson's 'rubbish theory' focusses on the distinction between 'transient' material that decreases in value over time and has a finite lifespan, and 'durable' material that increases in value over time and has an infinite lifespan.⁴ For Thompson 'rubbish' is a middle, or neutral category, and it is through the category of 'rubbish' that objects or material move between 'transient' and 'durable.'⁵ Thompson argues that how we approach, or think about objects in relation to their transience or durability is culturally and socially structured and that boundaries between transience and durability move as a response to social pressures and it is through power dynamics that those who hold power are able to make things durable and those of others transient.⁶ As a note on terminology, throughout his work Thompson focusses on objects, but his theory can be attributed more broadly to encompass all types of material. Thompson's discussion of 'rubbish' as a category of neutrality highlights how we place value

¹ Michael Thompson, *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value*, 2nd ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2017), p.1.

² *Ibid*, p. 2.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ Michael Thompson, *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p.7.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 7-11.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 9.

on material in the guise of neutrality, to be truly neutral, in Thompson's framework means we would collect nothing as it would all be 'rubbish.'

Thompson's most interesting assessment of 'rubbish theory' is his description of material moving from 'transient' to 'durable' and its relationship to knowledge. He argues that the ways in which material becomes 'visible' is accompanied by a growth in academic literature; writing about Stevengraphs he argues that 'most significantly, the very forms taken by literature devoted to the Stevengraph display a parallel transition for, as we go from early transient stages [newspaper articles] to the later period of durability we go from journalism to scholarship, the former being essentially ephemeral and disposable [...] the latter being essentially persistent and cumulative: the careful, refining, reappraising and building upon what has gone before.'⁷ Thompson's work highlights the ways in which value is culturally and socially constructed, something that has been slowly acknowledged within archival theory.

One of the basic tenets of archival theory is that archives are firstly and foremostly records, and therefore are valued primarily for their legal attributes, as evidence of transactions and as a product of organisational activities,⁸ and were originally conceived as being natural, organic by-products of these activities.⁹ Archives are records, which have been preserved over time due to their long-term value.¹⁰ The question of value within archival literature has been key to many of the debates and discourses within the field. This debate has revolved around the way in which value is understood, whether value is inherent within archives (objective) or whether value is socially constructed (subjective).¹¹ Those who argue for archival objectivity stress the importance of retaining archives for strict evidential purposes, often within the context of organisations by providing evidence of activities and business transactions, with archives supporting wider aspects such as culture a secondary and periphery consideration.¹² This narrow focus on collecting records within an evidentiary and legal framework has led to the exclusion of groups from the historical record, often along power lines. Many community archives were established in attempts to disrupt this traditional focus

⁷ Ibid, p. 45.

⁸ Elizabeth Shepherd, and Geoffrey Yeo, *Managing Records: A Handbook of Principles and Practice*, 3rd Edition (London: Facet, 2003), p.3.

⁹ Terry Eastwood, 'A Contested Realm: The Nature of Archives and The Orientation of Archival Science,' in *Currents of Archival Thinking*, ed. Terry Eastwood and Heather Macneil (California: Libraries Unlimited, 2010), p.5.

¹⁰ Shepherd and Yeo, *Managing Records*, p.5.

¹¹ Terry Cook and Joan M. Schwartz, 'Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance,' *Archival Science* 2 no. 3 (2002), p.16.

¹² Mark A. Greene, 'The Power of Meaning: The Archival Mission in the Postmodern Age,' *The American Archivist* 65 (Spring/Summer 2002), p.45.

and insert the lives of LGBTQ+ people, women and working-class people into our understanding of history. As will be discussed throughout this thesis, how value has been articulated and understood is a fundamental point in answering the key questions and why and how the organisations developed

In 1974, F. Gerald Ham picked up the issues of archival gaps, building on the work of historian Howard Zinn,¹³ during his Presidential Address to the Society of American Archivists argued that the way archivists approached the collecting of material was skewed towards preserving the culture of governmental and national institutions, rather than the wider culture of society.¹⁴ Ham argued that much archival documentation is based on the interests of historians and researchers which inevitably creates gaps within archival collections.¹⁵ Ham called on archivists to become far more engaged in the documentation process, and suggested broadening out the field of documentation to include oral history, survey data and photography.¹⁶ Finally, Ham suggested that the issues facing archivists, particularly in terms of bulk and missing data could be dealt with through the establishment of specialist archives, grouped around a specific theme that could deal with these issues within their own specialism but that could be linked together to ensure that all material is collected,¹⁷ 'and if we are not holding up that mirror, if we are not helping people understand the world they live in, and if this is not what archives is all about, then I do not know what it is we are doing that is all that important.'¹⁸ One of the key ways that archivists have come to attempt to overcome gaps and silences within their collections is through active documentation and appraisal of material. As outlined by Terry Cook in *We Are What We Keep, We Keep What We Are*, archivists have gradually come to accept archival appraisal as one of the key duties that archivists undertake,¹⁹ noting that 'perhaps the more germane pithy assertion about appraisal should rather be: we are what we do not keep, what we consciously exclude, marginalize, ignore, destroy.'²⁰

¹³ Mary A. Caldera and Kathryn M. Neal, 'Introduction,' in *Through the Archival Looking Glass*, ed. Mary A. Caldera and Kathryn M. Neal (United States of America: Society of American Archivists, 2014), p.xv.

¹⁴ F. Gerald Ham, 'The Archival Edge,' *The American Archivist* 38, no. 1 (1975), p.6.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.8.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.9.

¹⁷ F. Gerald Ham, 'The Archival Edge,' *The American Archivist* 38, no. 1 (1975), pp. 10-11.

¹⁸ Ham, 'The Archival Edge,' p.13.

¹⁹ Terry Cook, "'We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are": Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 32, no. 2 (2011), p. 174.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 174.

Although appraisal as a vital part of archival theory often engages with the idea of value as something that is socially constructed and subsequent archival practice aiming to fill gaps of representation within collections, the primacy of an evidential framing of value has remained a core part of archival thinking. This focus on value operates on two levels, firstly as highlighted by Thompson there is a question about which topics are viewed as valued in addition to a focus on material. The primacy of focussing on evidence often structures how we view archival material and what physical types of archival material enter the archive. However, one of the key aspects of community archives and intellectual methodologies that underpin them has been a focus on alternative record types. As will be discussed throughout this work, the focus on alternative record types and their relationship to ephemera offers different entry points in the broader question of 'experience' which will be discussed shortly and how the development of archives can offer alternative evidence that speaks to community experiences and engagement with the development of new historical narratives.

Whilst the ephemeral is often viewed as antithetical to evidence, José Esteban Muñoz's article *Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to Queer Acts* published as the introduction to a 1996 special issue of *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* highlights many of the key themes that I have engaged with through my research, and which my research has also highlighted. Muñoz considers the nature of ephemerality and evidence within research and writes:

With increasing frequency, queer and race scholarship, like feminist inquiry before it, are dismissed as merely passing intellectual fancies, modes of inquiry that are too much in the "now," lacking historical grounding and conceptual staying power. Because the archives of queerness are makeshift and randomly organized, due to the restraints historically shackled upon minoritarian cultural workers, the right is able to question the evidentiary authority of queer inquiry. All of this amounts to a general critique of queer scholarship's claim to "rigor."²¹

Muñoz goes on to highlight the ways in which academic structures are mistrustful of what is 'ephemeral' and the continued reliance on the 'evidential'²² or whose experiences are viewed as being objective. As will be discussed shortly, through an engagement with ephemerality it 'grants entrance and access to those who have been locked out of official histories and, for that matter, 'material reality.' Evidence's limit becomes clearly visible when

²¹ José Esteban Muñoz, 'Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to Queer Acts', *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 8, no. 2 (1996), p.7.

²² *Ibid*, p. 8.

we attempt to describe and imagine contemporary identities that do not fit into a single preestablished archive of evidence.’²³ Muñoz’s division between evidence and ephemera raises important questions about the archival focus on objectivity and subjectivity and whose voices can be included in the ‘official’ narrative. Throughout the rest of the review I will focus on key works that have engaged with the development of historical narratives that grapple with these questions of objectivity/evidence and subjectivity/ephemeral. Thinking about the position of ephemerality within the archive and heritage sector can be extended to the broader discussion on the position of Black history within the Eurocentric mainstream academy itself, which positions Black history as ephemeral. As will be shortly discussed, these questions of objectivity and subjectivity directly relate to the questions of the use of historical narratives towards epistemic and reparative justice.

However, although Muñoz’s work offers crucial insight into this potential dichotomy between evidence and ephemera there remains key questions about whether voices and experiences can be accurately captured through archival endeavours. In *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Gayatri Spivak’s important discussion on Marx, Derrida and the Subaltern Studies movement of the 1970s, Spivak argues that the West can never know the ‘other’ through discourse as the West will always centre itself.²⁴ Spivak argues that this attempt to constitute the ‘Other’ is a form of epistemic violence, that privileges the West’s narrative of history as the best, or normative, version.²⁵ In her work on the practice of sati in India, Spivak recognises that the experiences of colonial subjects are inherently heterogenous and even attempting to draw conclusions from the voices who are missing or silenced within Western archives will never truly fill the gaps and they can never truly speak.²⁶ However, although Spivak argues that the subaltern, particularly poor women can never ‘speak’ Spivak argues that we can identify the processes by which people are rendered speechless and to draw attention to them and to examine what histories can be written.²⁷ Through the use of Derridean deconstruction Spivak investigates the historical practice of sati, a practice where widows threw themselves on their husband’s funeral pyres and argues that they are examples of free choice, as the practice falls between two discourses of what actions are imaginable for women to undertake.²⁸ Through her discussion of sati, Spivak also argues for a form of strategic

²³ Ibid, p. 9.

²⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’, in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988), p.272.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 281.

²⁶ Ibid, pp. 284-287.

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 296-299.

²⁸ Ibid, pp. 299-300.

essentialism whereby marginalised groups can come together on the basis of what they have in common in order to find ways of overcoming their oppressions, even though the categories themselves are constantly shifting.²⁹ This is also taken up in Ann Laura Stoler's work. Equally drawing from the Derridean canon of discourse analysis she argues that the 'borders of the archive' mark the distance between recognised and qualified knowledge, between intelligible accounts and these deemed inappropriate for exchange.³⁰ Stoler further argues that archives account not only for what was known and written about but also what could not be known and therefore could not be said.³¹ Spivak and Stoler's work highlights the importance of community collecting, firstly as an attempt by the archives to ensure that community voices are not distorted or silenced through the prism of whiteness and through the creation of new discourses of what is imaginable. Stuart Hall further argues that in relation to the development of knowledge and power in an African colonial context, 'Africa was a case of the unspoken, Europe was a case of that which is endlessly speaking- and endlessly speaking *us*.'³² This use of discourse highlights how historical narratives are framed around race and racism and often centred on how the West perceives those who are defined as 'Other'. Whilst Spivak argues that it is impossible to recover the voices of Indian women from within the silences and gaps within the archive, Hall's work also highlights the difficulties of excavating the experiences of African people from the archive as even where they do exist, they are presented and shaped through the experiences of the West.

Taking up the idea of epistemic damage, Miranda Fricker has described two forms of injustice, testimonial and hermeneutical, both of which affect an individual's capacity to 'know' things, and to be valued for the knowledge that they hold. Testimonial injustice occurs when prejudice causes an individual to doubt the testimony of those who are speaking. In the case of racism, testimonial injustice may occur when a member of the Police doubts aspects of someone's story because they are Black.³³ For some, testimonial injustice can occur in archives when groups become excluded from the historical record, which damages claims they may have to be able to accurately reflect their history. Finally, Fricker describes hermeneutical injustice as a type of injustice that affects how groups make sense of their

²⁹ Michelle Caswell, 'Inventing New Archival Imaginaries: Theoretical Foundations for Identity-Based Community Archives', in *Identity Palimpsests: Archiving Ethnicity in the U.S and Canada*, ed. Dominique Daniel and Amalia S. Levi (California: Litwin Books, 2013), pp. 40-41.

³⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), p.9. See also, Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance,' *Archival Science* 2 (2002)

³¹ Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', p.98.

³² Hall, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, p. 232.

³³ Miranda, *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2007), p.1.

shared experiences. Hermeneutical injustice is 'the injustice of having some significant area of one's social experience obscured from collective understanding'³⁴ where one group, due to social power inequalities have less access to shared resources³⁵ in which to find ways to describe similarities of experience and to name them. For example, this could relate to the system known as institutional racism, where racism influences the entire structure of an organisation.³⁶ For Fricker, these forms of injustice occurs when groups are excluded from knowledge production, as it is knowledge production that continues to confer status on people as 'knowers'³⁷ and has clear relevance to Stoler, Spivak and Hall's discussion on the ways in which archives control discourse and knowledge. The archival ramifications of this means that within the development of archives, some groups and individuals will also be excluded. The exclusion of these voices, or doubt cast on someone's capacity to create and impart 'knowledge' leads to the uneven and inaccurate creation of our historic narratives.

It is clear that attempts to create archives by members of the Black community is one way of tackling both forms of epistemic injustice and to begin the process of repair. For community archives, the collection of subjective/ephemeral material can be used to undo instances of epistemic injustices and begin the process of healing. This next section will focus on the concept of reparative histories as it relates to the underlining value of archival material and the process of archival collecting through focussing on the value of people's experiences to overcome injustices rather than relying on a narrow concept of evidence.

In a recent special edition of the journal *Race & Class* the concept of 'reparative history' was laid out as a way in which the re-telling of history can be used to disrupt traditional historical narratives.³⁸ The concept of 'reparative history' is used explicitly in relation to the historical narratives of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the ways in which centring the agency of the enslaved can contribute to this disruption and can be an important source for challenging the power relations inherent in the development of historical narratives.³⁹ Furthermore, 'reparative histories' acknowledges the importance of emotions in dealing with the historical traumas resulting from the Transatlantic Slave Trade and subsequent racism. Rupprecht and Bergin writing in *Race & Class* describe the ways in which trauma acts as:

³⁴ Ibid, p.155.

³⁵ Ibid, p.148.

³⁶ Stuart Hall, 'From Scarman to Stephen Lawrence,' *History Workshop Journal* 48 (Autumn 1999), pp.194-195.

³⁷ Ibid, p.145.

³⁸ Cathy Bergin and Anita Rupprecht, 'History, Agency and the Representation of "Race" - An Introduction', *Race & Class* 57, no. 3 (2017), p.5.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 6.

[...] a contemporary structure of feeling, which functions as a cultural dominant within which the reparative organises modes of remembrance in relation to inherited experience. It structures cultural memory around guilt, loss and pain by producing divisive and fragmented conditions that work to legitimise, privatise and contain that structure of feeling within a redemptive narrative of “working through”. Yet reparative history is about more than contemplating injury or apportioning blame. It is about agency, and it can be wedded to a form of memory energised by the emancipatory activism, solidarity and political struggles of the past.⁴⁰

Rupprecht and Bergin’s description of trauma as a ‘structure of feeling’ relates to Raymond Williams’ work. For Williams, ‘structures of feeling’ create common characteristics within groups, particularly within historical situations that are individually and collectively created,⁴¹ and come to mean a “whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual”.⁴² Williams’ work highlights an understanding of how culture operates in a socially constructed way, one that provides a process for identifying within a culture, through shared experiences, and how culture creates a lens through which make sense of our experiences and give meaning to them. Williams’ and Rupprecht and Bergin’s work highlight how communities come to understand themselves through common experiences.

However, the emphasis on experience is contested. During the Women’s Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, feminists developed a particular methodology that focussed on the importance of experience, one which has become a central yet contested concept within Feminist theory.⁴³ The focus on experience grew as a way of ‘giving voice’ to those who had previously been neglected by researchers and historians, and to provide new ways of writing,⁴⁴ particularly from a historic perspective. Joan W. Scott in her 1991 essay *The Evidence of Experience* examines the use of ‘experience’ in historical investigation. Scott argues that historians use of ‘experience’ justifies their understanding of events in history and also works to legitimise traditional approach to history.⁴⁵ For Scott, this is problematic as it does not address the way that the historians themselves are a product of history and have a particular viewpoint, which shapes their experience. Scott argues that the use of ‘experience’ by historians continues to essentialise that experience. Using E.P. Thompson’s *Making of the*

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 12.

⁴¹ Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p.xvi.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Sonia Kruks, ‘Women’s ‘Lived Experience’: Feminism and Phenomenology from Simone de Beauvoir to the Present,’ in *Sage Handbook of Feminist Theory*, ed. Mary Evans et al. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014), p.75.

⁴⁴ Ibid p.75.

⁴⁵ Joan W. Scott, ‘The Evidence of Experience,’ *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 4 (Summer 1991), p.777.

English Working Class she argues that focussing on specific class experiences, Thompson overlooks diversity within the working class, including religion and gender that essentialises the experience by positing class as the overriding area of cohesion amongst its members, to the exclusion of others. As highlighted in a later article on '*Multiculturalism*', this in turn works to police the boundaries of what it means to be working class, and the nature of experience that needs to be shared for one to count as a member.⁴⁶ The retreat to raises important questions about whose experiences 'count' and how they are treated.

Part of the critique of the Feminist approach to 'experience' was that it was framed around the experiences of white, often middle-class women. Women who formed the Black Women's Movement did so because of issues within both the Women's Liberation Movement and Black Power that centred on the dual issues of racism and sexism.⁴⁷ In contrast to Scott, Gail Lewis a former member of the Black Women's Movement argues that whilst experience can be problematic, she does not completely disregard it and argues instead for a return to experience. Lewis argues for the importance of using 'experience' in order to allow for the disruption of claims to universality and individualism to which Black people are often excluded.⁴⁸ As argued by philosopher Robert Birt, racism has robbed Black people of their claims to humanity and quoting Césaire argues that 'colonization = thingification.'⁴⁹ Birt goes on to argue that part of the emancipatory struggle of Black people is to move away from rigid identities that have been (over)determined by white narratives⁵⁰ and to create space to construct one's own subjectivities.⁵¹ Following Spivak, Avtar Brah argues that it is through understanding the ways in which some experiences were seen as equivalent within the framework of racism and colonialism led to the creation of the politics of solidarity,⁵² but that experience should be seen as a process in which people as agents make sense of themselves.⁵³ Although we may focus on individual agency, this can be broadened out to

⁴⁶ Joan W. Scott, 'Multiculturalism and the Politics of Identity', *October* 61 (Summer 1992), p. 18.

⁴⁷ Brixton Black Women's Group and Alice Henry, 'Interview: Black Politics ⇌ Black Feminism: Brixton Black Women's Group Talks about Its Part in British Black Feminism.' *Off Our Backs* 14, no. 11 (December 1984), p.14.

⁴⁸ Gail Lewis, 'Situated Voices: "Black Women's Experience" and Social Work', *Feminist Review* no. 53, no. Speaking Out: Researching and Representing Women (Summer 1996), p. 26.

⁴⁹ Robert Birt, 'Existence, Identity and Liberation', in *Existence in Black: An Anthology of Black Existential Philosophy*, ed. Lewis R. Gordon (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), p, 207.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 210.

⁵¹ bell hooks, quoted in Birt, p. 212

⁵² Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge, 1996), p, 97.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 115.

understand how groups, collectives and communities also share and construct their experiences. As Catherine Hall writes:

Individual and collective memory are always related; experiences and private recollections are tested by and shaped in encounters with collective memory. It is collective memory that constitutes social values, shapes convention, law and language. If we are haunted by past memories that are not shared by others, it can be deeply lonely and alienating.⁵⁴

Writing about the various ways in which Black women are subject to power dynamics, through race, gender and class Lewis argues that the framework of experience offers an opportunity to understand and engage with multiple discourses at once, that produce both difference and identifications.⁵⁵ The importance of focusing on experience underlines the need to recognize Black people, and women are human beings fully capable of experiences, and having those experiences valued, rather than as 'things'. Furthermore, it recognizes Black people not only as experiencing subjects but also able to negotiate and frame those experiences within the wider historical contexts that would otherwise seek to exclude them.

As discussed above, Spivak's focus on 'strategic essentialism' highlights how collective identities can be spaces in which power is challenged through a political creation of these identities that can challenge the ways in which racism often posits fixed and immutable boundaries between identities and racialisation.⁵⁶ Stuart Hall's focus on diaspora as another space that allows for difference but also recognition of similarities offers a powerful conceptualisation of the importance of community, experience and value. The collection of material from across communities and a diaspora can create a weight of 'evidence' that can highlight the specific similarity of experiences, particularly when it comes to oppressions but also highlight how these experiences also differ across communities. It is the importance of recognizing how 'experience' can be a useful way of giving people agency in narrating their lives, that takes account of historical context.

A focus on experience and the collection of material that focusses on experience also adds to thinking about the ways in which the archives are connected and the importance of those connections. The recent work in archives on 'affect' is an important starting place to understand how collections can create a positive impact on those who use the material.

⁵⁴ Catherine Hall 'Doing Reparatory History,' p. 5.

⁵⁵ Gail Lewis, *Situated Voices*, pp. 28-29.

⁵⁶ Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, pp. 124-126.

Michelle Caswell's work on the South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA) provides a useful example of how community collections create affective experiences for the community that the archive serves. In much of her work, Caswell discusses the importance of 'symbolic annihilation' which is a term used to describe the misrepresentation and maligning of minority groups, particularly within media⁵⁷ and which has resonances with Fricker's work on epistemic injustices. Recently, Caswell and others have undertaken research on community archives through focus groups and semi-structured interviews in Southern California which has generated two co-authored articles, *Imagining transformative spaces: the personal-political sites of community archives* co-authored with Joyce Gabiola, Jimmy Zavala, Gracen Brilmyer and Marika Cifor and 'To Be Able to Imagine Otherwise': *community archives and the importance of representation* by Michelle Caswell, Alda Allina Migoni, Noah Geraci and Marika Cifor. In *Imagining transformative spaces*, Caswell et al. argue that although there has been discussion of the importance of archives as sites of power within archival literature, that there has been less attention paid to the question of physical spaces within community archives. The findings that emerged from across the interviews highlighted the symbolic importance of community archives with interviewees discussing the ways in which the archives were tied to the neighbourhoods and represented the staying power of communities,⁵⁸ the ways in which the community archives were conceptualised as 'home' although this is both positive and sites of difficulties;⁵⁹ and the ways in which community archives operated as spaces for generating activism and politics.⁶⁰ Although many of the participants agreed on the importance of community archives for overcoming the 'symbolic annihilation.'⁶¹ Caswell introduces the concept on 'symbolic annihilation in "To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing": *Uncovering the Impact of Community Archives*, co-authored with Marika Cifor and Mario H. Ramirez. Caswell et al discuss how community archives can contribute to overcoming "symbolic annihilation" which is a term used to describe the misrepresentation and maligning of minority groups, particularly within media. The findings of their research point to the important and tangible effects of the archive on those who use it, and they argue that this improves their sense of belonging both as members of the South Asian community. This research has led Caswell et al. to state that community archives are important on the epistemological level which allows

⁵⁷ Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario H. Ramirez, "'To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing': Uncovering the Impact of Community Archives", *The American Archivist* 79, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2016), p.57..

⁵⁸ Michelle Caswell, Joyce Gabiola, Jimmy Zavala, Gracen Brilmyer, and Marika Cifor, "Imagining Transformative Spaces: The Personal-political Sites of Community Archives." *Archives & Museum Informatics* 18.1 (2018), pp. 11-13.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 20-21.

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp. 14-17.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 18.

members of the community to assert 'we were here'; the ontological level that asserts 'I am here' and the social level where members of the community can assert that 'I belong here.'⁶² The importance of being able to assert a presence, be it physical, symbolic or psychological underpins all of the literature on community archives and their contestation of power and the development of narratives. Furthermore, in *'Setting the record straight': the creation and curation of archives by activist communities. A case study of activist responses to the regeneration of Elephant and Castle, South London* community archival space operates as a way of creating dialogue between the past and present, with the past being re-read in response to contemporary politics and issues: 'The archive *becomes* a symbolic space which represents the reclamation of ideas, the imagining of alternate worlds and futures, and the notion of alternative knowledge systems and modes of power.'⁶³

The affective bonds of the collections also highlight the importance of cultural collecting that can enhance our understanding of the Black British experience. An aspect of reparative history should also be centring the multifaceted nature of experiences and ensuring that these are collected within archival organisations. As highlighted throughout the thesis I have emphasised the political struggles of the organisations in overcoming racism and fighting injustices, but the ephemeral and transient nature of the collections also extends to joyous and positive experiences of living in the UK. One of the potential issues of focussing on 'experience' can be a tendency to view Black history as either an unrelenting struggle against racism (which it can be) or an overly positive focus on the 'firsts and greats' (which is also important) but situating these together they can highlight how these additional binaries work together.

In *Love and Lubrication in the Archives, or rukus!: A Black Queer Archive for the United Kingdom* written by Ajamu X, Topher Campbell and Mary Stevens, they discuss the development of their collection held at London Metropolitan Archives under the auspices of their charity rukus! which documents the Black LGBTQ community in the UK. rukus! was established specifically to deal with the issues of lack of representation of the Black LGBTQ community within the mainstream, and within Black community archives such as Black Cultural Archives.⁶⁴ Ajamu X's and Campbell's discussion offers a key methodological insight into the practice of collecting and the importance of the power of possibilities. This article positions trauma and celebration together, a way of acknowledging difficult histories of pain

⁶² Caswell et al, "To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing", p. 75

⁶³ Carter, *Setting the Record Straight*, p. 402

⁶⁴ Ajamu X, Campbell and Stevens, *Love and Lubrication*, p. 291.

and loss but also one that celebrates individuals and complexities through memorialisation.⁶⁵ The development of rukus! also highlights some of the issues of drawing tight boundaries around what it means to be a member of a community; whose experiences count and whose stories may be excluded in those constructions. However, rukus! is also able to use their archival practice strategically to disrupt ideas of what constitutes identity categories: 'early on I was often asked: Are you a Black archive, are you a gay archive, are you a London archive? And I'd say actually we're all these things, at the same time. Our politics have never been about either/or categories.'⁶⁶ Whilst the category of experience itself is contested, Ajamu goes on to articulate the importance of reclaiming history through a focus on experiences but one that approaches it through inclusivity, 'We need to find a way of articulating that difference. The archive can find a way of doing that. You want to reclaim the notion that when you look at Black gay and lesbian history, you are not looking at a separate thing. You are looking at something that is integral to all our histories.'⁶⁷

The rukus! project and archive was also constituted through Ajamu X's and Campbell's ephemera collections, 'we started from our own collections, because we had photographs and memorabilia from our own collections. I was very much into the club scene, and I had loads and loads of flyers for some reason. I used to keep *Boyz* magazine covers, fetish magazines, stuff like that. And I had all these QX magazines; if there was a Black person on the covers, you'd generally know who that Black guy was. They were very small, very sporadic representations of Black gay men in mainstream gay culture.' The ephemeral material collected by rukus! not only highlights the importance of such material for dealing with marginalised and traumatic histories, it also underlines the transformative power that ephemera collections can have in showing power of archival material, as Campbell notes 'I remember having a long conversation with Dennis [Carney] and he was quite overwhelmed by the transformation of something that was stuck in the bottom of a box in his kitchen into something slightly iconic' and goes on to say 'it was a very moving exhibition for those people who hadn't had a sense of the history. It was an indication for a lot of people about the strength of the archive and the possibility of it.'

⁶⁵ Ajamu X, Campbell and Stevens, *Love and Lubrication*, p. 284.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 277.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 279

Ephemera

In *Documenting Communities Through the Lens of Collective Memory* Jeannette Bastian outlines some of the literature on memory studies, particularly addressing the area of collective memory and discusses how it can be applied within archival theory, and how it applies to community archives. Bastian argues that collective memory is an important framework for understanding community archives as it incorporates wider record formats that includes rituals, celebrations and oral traditions⁶⁸ and is used by communities to shape their understanding of their past.⁶⁹ These alternative record formats help to further questions about concepts such as identity and narratives and allow for greater depth of the capturing of narratives and experience. Bastian argues that the records created by communities both reflects the history of the community, but also creates a frame that contextualises the records and parallels the community activities, which she terms the 'community of records.'⁷⁰ These affective bonds between the records and the communities that produce them create greater understanding of the community, something that might be lost in traditional collection practices and the ensuing discussions of appraisal. What connects Bastian's examples are the ways in which they are used to create new narratives and disrupt old ones. As will be discussed, the development of the archives speaks to an attempt to develop a mechanism for community control rather than surrendering their material to national or state archives.

Drawing on Ajamu X and Topher Campbell's discussion of their collection, I have also come to consider the role of ephemera through Bastian's work on the development of 'communities of records' and the affective bonds that exist between communities and the records they produce in addition to the positioning of Black history as ephemeral. Whilst 'strategic essentialism' offers an important counterargument to the question of essentialism, the collection of material on diverse formats and from a range of different people also helps to broaden out questions of whose experiences are being captured. The importance of ephemeral material and the significance that is attached to them has also been laid out by African American historian Manning Marable. Marable discusses this approach to collecting as building a form of 'living history', which he describes as a way of reconstructing a hidden and fragmented past through a multiplicity of documentary forms, including oral histories and

⁶⁸ Jeannette A Bastian, 'Documenting Communities Through the Lens of Collective Memory', in *Identity Palimpsests: Archiving Ethnicity in the U.S and Canada*, ed. Dominique Daniel and Amalia S. Levi (Litwin Books, 2014), p. 17.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 24.

photographs.⁷¹ For Marable, collecting in this way is essential for understanding and investigating Black history, not only as a political act aimed at change but also to understand the totality of Black experiences. This idea of ‘living history’ as a methodology is not only key to understanding the motivation of Black-led archives, but their collecting in this way is essential for understanding and investigating Black history, not only as a political act aimed at change but also to understand the complexity and totality of Black experiences. Returning to Stuart Hall in *Constituting an Archive*, it is clear that ‘living history’ and ‘living archives’ are similar instances of the same idea. ‘Living archives’ help to subvert the idea of essentialism through the ways in which they shift and help to engage with and contest narratives. For Hall, ‘living archives’ can be understood within his long engagement with the subject of diaspora; as Hall argues diasporic identities are necessarily multiple.⁷² Using Derrida’s concept of ‘differance,’ Hall argues that identities within a diasporic context are not binary and do not represent inside/outside but that meaning and identity is positional and relational ‘always on the slide along a spectrum without end or beginning.’⁷³ Returning to the discussions outlined about the nature of experiences, thinking about the development within this framework of ‘living archives’ helps us to interrogate the ways in which the development of archives can help to prevent the essentialisation of experiences and build more expansive understandings of communities and individuals.

Within archival literature the role of ephemera as a physical type of material is bound up with attempts to provide a definition. The most enduring definition comes from Maurice Rickards, who in 1975 described it as ‘the study of the transient minor documents of everyday life ... everything that would normally go into the waste paper basket.’⁷⁴ In a 1995 article, written by Jim Burant and published in *Archivaria*, titled *Ephemera, Archives and another view from History* Burant notes the difference between ephemera, and the archival imperative which had often been understood as collecting ‘records of enduring value,’⁷⁵ and that is also framed through defining what is valuable. Burant argues that the nature of ephemera has often been at odds with traditional archival theory which focusses on collecting records as evidence of transactions. This highlights the tension that this thesis addresses between what and how

⁷¹ Manning Marable, *Living Black History: How Re-imagining the African-American Past can remake America’s Radical Future*, (Basic Books, 2011) p. xx.

⁷² Hall, *Thinking the Diaspora*, p. 2.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 7.

⁷⁴ Rickards, quoted in Chris Makepeace, *Ephemera: A Book on Its Collection, Conservation and Use* (Aldershot: Grafton Book, 1985), p.7.

⁷⁵ Jim Burant, ‘Ephemera, Archives, and Another View of History’, *Archivaria, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists*, no. 40 (Fall 1995), p. 189.

the archival sector has viewed 'enduring' versus 'ephemeral'. Rickards' definition also highlights another important aspect that will be returned to shortly, the importance of the 'everyday'. It is clear that Burant's discussion of ephemera has clear resonance with Thompson's discussion of value and 'rubbish'.

A recently published entry on ephemera in the *Encyclopaedia of Archival Science*⁷⁶ describes the difficulty of categorising ephemera and argues that it 'defies definition.'⁷⁶ The entry goes on to argue that 'falling in the crack between books, manuscripts, and artifacts, ephemera challenges traditional library and archival approaches to description, discovery, and preservation, yet its value to scholars is significant.'⁷⁷ The entry in the encyclopaedia discusses the approaches to defining ephemera, the value of physical types of ephemera and the challenges associated with collecting and preserving it. It concludes that 'fragmentary, temporary, easily lost or discarded, each item is 'a form of time capsule, a crystallization of another time and place'⁷⁸ and as such merits as much attention, both practical and theoretical, as another archival form.'⁷⁹ Within archival literature there has been limited engagement with the importance of ephemera either as a format to manage or on a conceptual or theoretical level. A survey of key archives journals has highlighted only a handful of articles relating directly to the collection and management of ephemera, although there is a more sustained engagement with ephemera, particularly its management, within Library and Information Science more broadly.⁸⁰ Whilst there have been sustained work on power dynamics within archival literature, there has yet to be a connection made with how power dynamics intersect with the concept of the ephemeral.⁸¹

Drawing together Munoz's discussion of ephemera vs. evidence and the issues of experience and essentialism, there has been sustained engagement with these issues within Queer Theory. Introduced into critical studies in 1990, Queer Theory has worked to reclaim the word 'Queer' to highlight the ways in which ideas and structures are taken to be 'normal' and pays 'close attention to processes of normalization including those that construct

⁷⁶ Luciana Duranti and Patricia C. Franks, eds., Michele Combs 'Ephemera', in *Encyclopedia of Archival Science* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), p. 202.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 202.

⁷⁸ Burant quoted in Michele Comb, in Duranti et al *Encyclopaedia of Archival Science*, p. 201

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 204.

⁸⁰ A search conducted in July 2018 within the LISA database returned just under 450 articles related to 'ephemera' although only approximately 50 related specifically to collecting and managing ephemera.

⁸¹ For key works see Randall C. Jimmerson, *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability, and Social Justice* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009), and Cook and Schwartz, 'Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance'.

categories of race, class, able-bodiedness and age along with the context of place, culture and time in researching experiences, discourses and identities related to this normalizing sexual order. Queer theory problematizes and historicizes the foundational assumptions of all categories which human science research mostly takes for granted.⁸² Although Queer theory focusses particularly on problematizing gender and sexuality, Queer theory offers an important lens through which to think about 'difference' as it applies to archival science, especially the role of race and racial construction in archives and more broadly within historical knowledge production. It is also within Queer theory that I found some of most sustained engagement with the nature of experience and an explicit connection made between experience and ephemerality, and the affective nature of ephemera.

One of the key texts that has influenced much of my thinking on archives and ephemerality is the work by Ann Cvetkovich *An Archive of Feelings* published in 2003. In this work, Cvetkovich writes specifically about trauma and everyday experiences and throughout her work advocates for the creation of an archive that would document the traumatic experiences, through the collection of the ephemeral material of those involved in AIDS activism during the 1980s and 1990s. Although her work focuses on her experiences of working within AIDS activism, Cvetkovich recognises the ways in which trauma can be contained within the everyday experiences of people of colour, members of the LGBTQ community and women. Cvetkovich terms her work 'an archive of feelings' as she is interested in the ways in which culturally produced texts contain traces of feelings and emotions and the ways in which trauma can be an entry point into understanding the community. Cvetkovich's work has parallels within Black communities, particularly when thinking about the effect of racism and colonialism (as outlined earlier in Rupprecht and Bergin's work). Cvetkovich further argues that 'trauma puts pressure on conventional forms of documentation, representation and commemoration, giving rise to new genres of expression, such as testimony, and new forms of monuments, ritual and performances that can call into being collective witnessing and publics.'⁸³ Cvetkovich goes on to argue that 'in the absence of institutionalised documentation or in opposition to official histories, memory becomes a valuable historical resource. Ephemeral and personal collections become a valuable history resource, and ephemeral and personal collections of objects stand alongside the documents of the dominant

⁸² Filax et al., 'Queer Theory/Lesbian and Gay Approaches', in *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, ed. Bridget Somech and Cathy Lewin (Sage Publications, 2004), p. 81.

⁸³ Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Duke University Press, 2003), p.6.

culture in order to offer alternative modes of knowledge.’⁸⁴ This further builds on Thompson and Muñoz’s discussions and provides an important frame for examining how the founders of the archives have attempted to build affective relationships between the material they collected (or generated) and the communities they serve.

Within archival literature this has been covered in *Re-imagining and re-imagining the past after ‘memoricide’: intimate archives as inscribed memories of the missing* Hariz Halilovich, quoting Damian Grenfell writes that the ‘remembering of the dead by the living... draws people into a kind of simultaneity across time and binds them not only to a distinctive past, but also to a new, re-imagined future through collective mourning and recognition.’⁸⁵ Halilovich describes the ‘memoricide’ along with the genocide perpetrated during the war in Bosnia; the destruction of tangible heritage including documents, books, photographs and official records as well as physical monuments that has contributed to social, cultural and psychological trauma.⁸⁶ Unlike the discussions that point to the dangers of archives as solidifying ethnic boundaries, Halilovich describes the destruction of the National Library in Sarajevo precisely because it held documents that showed the ways in which different communities and ethnicities could live together and share a common cultural heritage and memory.⁸⁷ In his description of the genocide carried out during the war, Halilovich shows how the survivors of the war create an alternative ‘more humane and more bearable, narrative’ about what might have happened to their loved ones.⁸⁸ Halilovich’s final case study highlights how material is collected and used to remind survivors of their ‘ordinary’ lives before the war⁸⁹ and to relive feelings such as pride,⁹⁰ as discussed by Ajamu X and Campbell.

This has been taken up by Jack (formerly known as Judith) Halberstam who also engages with the concept of the archive, particularly in their discussions of Brandon Teena, a transman who was murdered in Nebraska in 1993. In *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*, Halberstam describes the tragedy of Brandon Teena, who along with his friends Lisa Lambert and Philip DeVine, a disabled African American man, were killed

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 7.

⁸⁵ Hariz Halilovich, ‘Re-Imaging and Re-Imagining the Past after “Memoricide”: Intimate Archives as Inscribed Memories of the Missing’, *Archival Science* 16 (2016), p. 81.

⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. 82-83.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 84.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 87.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 89.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 91.

in a transphobic murder on the 31st December by John Lotter and Thomas Nissen.⁹¹ The tragic events and story captured the interest of America and was made into the Oscar winning film *Boys Don't Cry* based on the documentary *Boys Don't Cry: The Brandon Teena story*.⁹² Following Cvetkovich, Halberstam formulates the 'Brandon archive' as an archive of emotion and trauma but also by focussing on material produced about Brandon Teena through documentaries, newspaper reports and other cultural productions Halberstam argues that this has created an archive that 'is simultaneously a resource, a productive narrative, a set of representations, a history, a memorial, and a time capsule. It literally records a moment in the history of twentieth-century struggles around the meaning of gender categories and it becomes a guide to future resolutions.'⁹³ Halberstam utilizes the concept of the 'Brandon archive' throughout their work in order to investigate not only how the murder came to be memorialised but how it has been utilised within different discourses relating to transgender histories.⁹⁴ Halberstam argues that the story of Brandon Teena became a symbol of the dangers associated with rural transgender life and the 'urban fantasy of homophobic violence as essentially midwestern.'⁹⁵ Although Halberstam has used the 'Brandon archive' to discuss the limits of narratives about rural LGBTQ experiences, Halberstam points to the importance of moving away from investigating and highlighting extraordinary individuals towards community models in order to build greater understandings of queer experiences.⁹⁶ Halberstam writes that 'ultimately, the Brandon archive is not simply the true story of a young queer misfit in rural North America. It is also a necessarily incomplete and ever-expanding record of how we select our heroes as well as how we commemorate our dead. [...] In the end, we are not simply celebrating a Brandon Teena and denouncing a John Lotter or Thomas Nissen, nor should we be seeing love as the redemptive outcome to a tale of hate; the real work of collecting the stories of a Brandon Teena, a Billy Tipton, or a Matthew Shepard must be to create an archive capable of providing a record of the complex interactions of race, class, gender, and sexuality that result in murder, but whose origins lie in state-authorized formations of racism, homophobia, and poverty.'⁹⁷ This is key to also think about how the 'heroes' of Black

⁹¹ Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005). Halberstam, *Queer Lives*, pp. 23-24.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44-45.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

history have come to be chosen, and what it can tell us about the multiple and complex narratives that can coexist within archival spaces and collections.

Migration and Diaspora

In thinking about value and the move towards using experience as a framework for collecting and assigning value is the framing of individual and community experiences within the concept of the African diaspora, as a force that binds individuals and communities together. This concept also allows for difference and multiplicity and may help to overcome some of the issues raised through a focus on experience. Broadly speaking, a diaspora is conceived of a dispersal of peoples that creates a memory and/or restoration of their homeland and a desire for return.⁹⁸ Throughout much of Stuart Hall's work, he returns to the concept of the African diaspora as a framework. In *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* Hall argues that there are two ways of thinking about cultural identity and diaspora, firstly one that defines a specific shared and common history and culture and which Hall sees as the model for the development of Négritude.⁹⁹ Hall argues that 'we should not, for a moment, underestimate or neglect the importance of the act of imaginative rediscovery which this conception of a rediscovered, essential identity entails. 'Hidden histories' have played a critical role in the emergence of many of the most important social movements of our time - feminist, anti-colonial and anti-racist.'¹⁰⁰ Hall's second proposal focusses on understanding identity and culture through a process of "becoming' as well as being'¹⁰¹ that moves away from seeing culture and identity as fixed. As outlined in the introduction of this thesis, Hall argues:

Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.¹⁰²

For Hall this expanded notion of identity and diaspora is crucial for understanding the impacts of enslavement and colonialism and helps us to account for the importance of difference, whilst

⁹⁸ Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin D G Kelley, 'Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World', *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (n.d.), p. 15.; Hall, *Thinking the Diaspora* pp 4-5; and Harry Goulbourne, *Caribbean Transnational Experience* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), p. 4.

⁹⁹ Hall, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, p. 223.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, p. 224

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

still providing unity.¹⁰³ Borrowing from Césaire, Hall goes on to describe three ‘presences’ that affect how identity is positioned and repositioned within the diaspora, *Presence Africaine*, *Presence Europeene* and *Presence Americain*.¹⁰⁴ I will only deal here with *Presence Africaine* and *Presence Europeene* as they have the greatest bearing on this work. Hall outlines the importance of *Presence Africaine* that was as at once suppressed within the histories of the Caribbean, but which has a profound effect on the Caribbean and which became the source of ‘rediscovery’ during the 1970s.¹⁰⁵ However, the Africa that was rediscovered was not the original Africa, as it too has been transformed due encounters with *Presence Europeene*.¹⁰⁶ *Presence Europeene* introduces the importance of power dynamics and the role of Europe in creating and defining narratives and representations of people from the Caribbean.¹⁰⁷ Hall argues that it is vital to include *Presence Europeene* within any discussions of Caribbean identity as it exists in dialogue. In *Thinking the Diaspora: Home- Thoughts from Abroad* Hall returns to the concept of the diaspora and writes that the African diaspora, modelled on the Jewish diaspora represents part of the Caribbean communities’ sense of self and identity, based on the forced movement and people and a longing to return.¹⁰⁸ Hall argues that within the African diaspora the recovery of a useful history of Africa has been ‘the most powerful and subversive element in our cultural politics in the twentieth century’ in the way that the concept of ‘Africa’ has provided resources through which to think about alternative histories and alternative futures.¹⁰⁹ In writing about the diaspora, Hall also focusses on the ephemerality and fragmentary nature of attempting to reconstruct these histories which he refers to as ‘routes to the present’ and the framework of the diaspora as a way of understanding these historical productions and past genealogies.¹¹⁰ Hall’s discussion of the African diaspora is an important framework for engaging with diversity and difference, whilst still retaining a sense of ‘roots’. I will return to this later in the chapter when I move to discussing the importance of experience.

It is important to note however, that the African diaspora is also a contested terrain and it is necessary to briefly discuss tensions and relationship between using both diaspora and Pan-Africanism as frameworks. In 2000 the *African Studies Review* launched a special

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 228.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 230.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 231.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 232.

¹⁰⁸ Hall, *Thinking the Diaspora*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Hall, *Thinking the Diaspora*, p. 13

¹¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 14-18

issue on the diaspora featuring articles by historians focussing on different aspects of diasporic history. The lead article, *Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World* by historians Tiffany Patterson and Robin D. G. Kelley, provided a provocation to think critically and move away from intellectual framework of diaspora.¹¹¹ Patterson and Kelley argue, following Hall, that much of the literature on diaspora focusses too much on the similarities within African cultures to the detriment of appreciating differences.¹¹² They go on to argue that:

Furthermore, diaspora is both a process and a condition. As a process it is constantly being remade through movement, migration, and travel, well as imagined through thought, cultural production, and political struggle. Yet, as a condition, it is directly tied to the process by which it is being made and remade. [...] Diaspora has always been employed (invoked) in such a way as to hide the differences and discontinuities. The very concept of diaspora has extracted from peoples' lived experiences and then moulded metaphors for alienation, outsidersness, home, and various binary relationships such as alien/native. The metaphor has come to represent experiences and, in so doing, erases the complexities and contradictions it seeks to fit all within the metaphor.¹¹³

They argue that in the construction of the Black diaspora framework that very often the experiences of those outside of the English-speaking world are excluded, and often with a focus on the North American experiences.¹¹⁴ Patterson and Kelley argue instead of using the framework of 'Black Globality' that highlights how Black political consciousness is framed globally and often in dialogue with other struggles such as Irish nationalism, Indian nationalism and ideologies such as communism and later feminism or religions such as Islam.¹¹⁵

The special issue also included a number of responses to Patterson's and Kelley's *Unfinished Migrations*. Two of the commentators, historians Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Michael O. West note how Patterson's and Kelley's argument relates to Pan-Africanism, that is important to address. Both Johnson-Odim and West note that whilst Patterson and Kelley raise key questions, it is vital to understand how Pan-Africanism works as a political or cultural

¹¹¹ Patterson and Kelley, *Unfinished Migrations*, p. 14.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 18.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 20.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 20.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 27.

orientation to galvanise people¹¹⁶, rather than being a competing framework with diaspora. Whilst Patterson and Kelley offer key reminders about the dangers of focussing too narrowly on geographic boundaries, it is important to keep the diaspora as a discursive space to investigate as sociologist Harry Goulbourne writes, the ways in which 'diasporic consciousness is a powerful stimulus of myths, historical reconstruction and the redefinition of collective identity.'¹¹⁷ Goulbourne's discussion of diasporic consciousness is key to understanding the importance of diaspora and its relationship to migration as a key factor in the creation of identities. I am arguing that diaspora is an important broad framework for understanding and investigating how Black communities in London have sought to define their experiences, and am using Pan-Africanism as a lens and viewpoint in which to further examine how these experiences have been organised and understood and in which to construct my own narrative (as outlined).

Within the archival field, there has been a greater attention paid to the idea of 'archival imaginaries'. Part of Caswell's work investigates the idea of archival imaginaries, strategic essentialism and memoryscapes as they apply to community archives. In *Inventing New Archival Imaginaries: Theoretical Foundations for Identity-Based Community Archives* Caswell discusses the ways in which identity-based archives create not only a more representational past but also change what is possible in the future.¹¹⁸ The work on archival imaginaries is further extended in a co-authored paper with Anne Gilliland entitled *Records and their imaginaries: imagining the impossible, making possible the imagined* in which Gilliland and Caswell write about the ways in which imagined archives, archives that may not exist in the literal or physical sense can still have importance attached to them and which should be considered within archival literature. They draw on examples of records that were thought to exist but didn't, either through failure to collect or destruction; records that reflect how individuals are imagined, particularly within a colonial context and finally records that communities believe should exist, using the example of 'UFOlogy' to substantiate their belief in UFOs.¹¹⁹ For community archives particularly, the importance of imaginary records reflects

¹¹⁶ Cheryl Johnson-Odim, 'Unfinished Migrations': Commentary and Response', *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (April 2000), p. 52. Michael O. West, "Unfinished Migrations": Commentary and Response', *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (April 2000): 61–65.

¹¹⁷ Goulbourne, *Caribbean Transnational Experience*, p. 11.

¹¹⁸ Michelle Caswell. "Inventing New Archival Imaginaries: Theoretical Foundations for Identity-Based Community Archives," in Dominique Daniel and Amalia S. Levi (eds), *Inventing New Archival Imaginaries: Theoretical Foundations for Identity-Based Community Archives*. (Litwin, 2013), pp. 35-59.

¹¹⁹ Michelle Caswell and Anne J. Gilliland, *Records and their imaginaries: imagining the impossible, making possible the imagined in Archival Science* (16, 2016), p.64.

the first category and their desire to collect material that should be collected, material that represents their histories and experiences. They write:

In some cases, actual and imagined records confront each other with alternate realities, one representing “the establishment” and the other, disaffection with or opposition to the establishment. In others, they interact in ways that co-constitute new realities or open up new possible futures. There are times also when imaginary records are used by people to justify their own behaviours all the while fully aware that the existence of the records is only imagined, or when people do not actually wish closed records to be opened because this might disappoint or undermine strongly held beliefs.¹²⁰

Caswell and Gililand’s work on archival imaginaries suggests an important area of theory for the development of community or identity based archives, particularly in highlighting the role of the ‘imaginary’ and the need for individuals to feel part of a community and national history and points to the importance of future thinking highlighted in this work. However, for the development of Black-led archives in UK and for this research, I would also like to think about ‘archival imaginaries’ as they relate to perceived absences in the historical imaginary of Britain and the imperial archive. As will be discussed throughout the thesis, the founders of the archives have been engaged in a destruction of an ‘archival imaginary’ that disavows the presence of Black histories and people within the archive. As highlighted by Caroline Bressey’s article ‘*Invisible Presence: The Whitening of the Black Community in the Historical Imagination of British Archives*’ she highlights the ways in which haphazard recording of ethnicity within archival records has led to a presumption of whiteness within the collections.¹²¹ Bressey was able to reconstruct the lives of Black Victorians through the use of photographic collections held by institutions such as prisons and hospitals and compared these with written sources, although as Bressey notes this is a less than ideal methodology due to issues around the visual assessment of race made more difficult by the quality of the photographs.¹²² Although Bressey’s article looks at the presence of race and ethnicity within British archives, it was published in the Canadian journal, *Archivaria*, along with *Love and Lubrication* by Ajamu X, Campbell and Stevens outlined earlier. Bressey’s article raises an important aspect of the

¹²⁰ Ibid, p. 71.

¹²¹ Caroline Bressey, ‘Invisible Presence: The Whitening of the Black Community in the Historical Imagination of British Archives,’ *Archivaria* 61 (Spring, 2006), p. 61.

¹²² Ibid, p. 52.

importance of using particular methodologies to uncover and recover the voices of those who have been captured, but where traditional archival practices continue to hide and the ways in which archiving is a process. This importance of a methodological framework in which to capture the history and experiences of those who have been previously silenced is also key to the undertaking of this research, to highlight the ways in which Black-led archives can not only contribute to the ongoing dialogue about community archives, or Critical Archival Studies but also the methodologies in which they undertake this work and the alternative viewpoints that they can offer.

Furthermore, writing about migration and archives, Arjun Appadurai argues that the feeling of transience and dislocation by migrant communities is also part of the desire to collect and build archives as a way of counteracting the feelings of loss and confusion and one that is linked to the importance of aspiration and imagination outlined in chapter three.¹²³ As will be highlighted, in many ways Pan-Africanism represents a world view that constructs a vision for rendering certain 'archival imaginaries' real, and disrupting colonial ones. Returning directly to the concept of value as it relates to migration, in a paper on psychological aspects of objects, psychologist Paul Camic argues that there is a distinction between the value placed on material between migrant and non-migrant communities. Camic found that migrant communities placed greater value on material that forms a symbolic source of security and cultural identity, as well as helping to manage the process of transition.¹²⁴

Briefly pausing to return to the question, 'what is a Black archive?' the areas of migration, experience and ephemera offer important tools in which to interrogate this question. I conceptualise these Black archives as a discursive and problem space, which has conceptual and literal linkages to diaspora in which to think about and interrogate questions of race and identity. The founders have interrogated the idea of the 'archival imaginary' that imagines the history of Britain as ethnically white and the places Black people 'out there'. For the founders of the archives they have chosen to organise around and navigate the issues of race and racism through the framework of Pan-Africanism. This ongoing work to collect, preserve and make accessible the histories of Black people in Britain can be summed up by Hall:

¹²³ Arjun Appadurai, 'Archive and Aspiration', available at <https://archivepublic.wordpress.com/texts/arjun-appadurai/>, accessed 23 July 2019.

¹²⁴ Paul Camic, 'From Trash to Treasured: A Grounded Theory Analysis of the Found Object', *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts* 42, no. 2 (2010), p 84.

The huge efforts made, over many years, not only by academic scholars but by cultural practitioners themselves, to piece together these fragmentary, often illegal, “routes to the present” and the reconstruct their unspoken genealogies are the necessary historical groundwork required to make sense of the interpretive matrix and self-images of our culture and to make the invisible visible.¹²⁵

Black-led archives have created physical and intellectual space in which to consider and reconsider the production of history and narratives around race and belonging. They have undertaken the collection of alternative material on alternative formats in order to fulfil this goal. Returning to Thompson’s discussion of rubbish theory, it is clear that thinking about the collecting practices of the Black archives in relation to ‘transience’ and ‘durability’ is complicated and complex. On the one hand, Thompson’s discussion of ‘rubbish theory’ offers an important lens through which to view the power dynamics at play when we label material and objects as ‘transient’ or ‘durable’ and the value that we place on them. This is especially clear in the ways in which historical discourses are produced. However, in also thinking about ephemerality and transience and their relationship to migration, Stuart Hall’s description about the possibilities of diaspora (transience) to disrupt the fixity and essentialising aspects of racism then it is clear that by focussing on experience and capturing the ephemeral that the archival collections are able to continually speak for the changing nature of Black experience in Britain. It is the importance of this latter formulation that is the greatest strength of an ‘anti-archive.’

¹²⁵ Hall, *Thinking the Diaspora*, p. 14.

3. Re-constituting an 'archive'

'Se wo were fin a wo Sankofa a yenkyi' (It is not a taboo to return and fetch it when you forget).

Akan Proverb¹

Within the African diaspora, the above proverb is often shortened to 'Sankofa' and refers to the principle of 'go back and fetch it.' Whilst it is unknown whether the individuals that will be discussed throughout this thesis were versed in this particular proverb, the principle of Sankofa can undoubtedly be traced throughout much of the development of Black-led archives in London, and within the wider Pan-African movement that I will sketch throughout this chapter. Conceptually, this chapter seeks to 'go back and fetch' the ideas within the Pan-African movement to reconstruct a genealogy and framework of historical reclamation as an important idea and to investigate how ideas have travelled across the African diaspora, through spaces and time.

This chapter begins in 1900, with a focus on inter-war Harlem and the life of Arthur (Arturo) Schomburg. This period provides the context in which to situate the later development of the Black Cultural Archives (BCA); the George Padmore Institute (GPI) and the Huntley Collection held at London Metropolitan Archives. To understand the development of the Black-led archives in the 1980s and 1990s I begin with the development of Pan-Africanism and the related movements of Garveyism and Communism. I focus on the related movements of Garveyism and Negritude due to the importance placed on them by the founders of the Black Cultural Archives (BCA), the George Padmore Institute (GPI) and the Huntley Collection. This chapter will also trace the often undervalued and overlooked work of Arturo Schomburg, collector and bibliophile who connects these movements and who devised his own theory of archival value, of which the Schomburg Centre stands testament to. This chapter will then trace the key ideas of Pan-Africanism as found in Schomburg's work and will briefly engage with three other movements that share the same theoretical framework and which all contributed to the later development of the BCA, GPI and Huntley Collection.

¹ Christel N. Temple, 'The Emergence of Sankofa Practice in the United States: A Modern History', *Journal of Black Studies* 41, no. 1 (September 2010), p. 127.

Pan-African Movement

The Pan-African movement is one forged in the historical process of enslavement and the development of the diaspora and is a key organising principle for anti-colonial and anti-racist movements within Africa and the Caribbean. However, the diaspora, as outlined in the literature review is not only the physical movement of peoples of African descent around the world but also an intellectual space. In *The Black Atlantic*, Paul Gilroy discusses the ways in which ideas move around the diaspora (or the Black Atlantic) including the importance of travel and the experience of exile and location in helping to create what he terms, the Black Atlantic.² Gilroy describes the Pan-African movement as an attempt to find a similarity within the Black experience in the West whilst considering significant differences.³ From an ontological point of view, Pan-Africanism offers a framework for dealing with, and overcoming the experiences of being Black in times of increasing hostility and threat. I argue that the development of Black-led archives lays in the physical and intellectual importance of the African diaspora through the movement of people and ideas. Throughout the course of this thesis I identify the changing contexts of racism and hostility towards Black people and how Pan-Africanism provided a frame in which to overcome them. Whilst many African descended historians and intellectuals could be labelled as Pan-African, it has no single definition. It has taken different forms at different times, as a response to the social, historical and cultural context in which the proponents have operated and have subsequently created various movements.⁴ Hakim Adi defines the Pan-African movement as the response to the Transatlantic Slave Trade that transported millions of enslaved Africans to the Americas that created the modern African diaspora.⁵ The centrality of the Pan-African movements to the development of Black-led archives cannot be overstated as it represents the foundation of Black political thought, especially as it was articulated throughout the 20th century as a complex idea.⁶ The development of the Pan-African movement, and the hosting of the first conference in London in 1900 and again in 1945, also highlights the importance of the West and the European powers in the articulation of the movement as a direct response to the legacies of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and colonialism. The origins of the Pan-African movement are

² Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), pp. 16-19.

³ Ibid p. 120.

⁴ Sidney Lemelle and Robin D G Kelley, *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora* (Verso, 1994), p.2.

⁵ Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p.2.

⁶ Anthony Bogues, 'CLR James and George Padmore: The Ties That Bind- Black Radicalism and Political Friendship', in *George Padmore: Pan-African Revolutionary* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2009), p. 199.

located with the convening of the Pan-African Conference in London in 1900, the first international gathering of Black people under the label Pan-African.⁷

The Pan-African Conference was convened by Henry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidadian, and attended by delegates from across the diaspora.⁸ The conference was also attended by WEB DuBois, a prominent African American intellectual who established the American branch of the Pan-African Association which emerged from the Conference.⁹ Although Pan-Africanism officially emerged with the convening of the conference, it has antecedents in the writings of African intellectuals throughout the 18th and 19th centuries who used their writing and platforms to fight against the injustices of enslavement and to refute the ideas of African inferiority.¹⁰ There have been attempts to differentiate between the many articulations of Pan-Africanism, with historian George Shepperson arguing in 1962 that Pan-Africanism should be understood as the formal movement, including the conferences and pan-africanism as 'a group of movements, many very ephemeral. The cultural element often predominates. The complicated history of negritude is a good example of this.'¹¹ It is interesting to pause briefly on Shepperson's dismissal of pan-africanism as ephemeral which highlights the crux of this thesis but more importantly, I agree with Adi's assertion that 'Pan-Africanism might be more usefully viewed as one river with many streams and currents.'¹² As this chapter will discuss, it is clear that the many articulations of Pan-Africanism have a clear thread and it is for this reason that I will also refer to all iterations as 'big P' Pan-African. At the core of Pan-Africanism has been the desire for African descended people to rediscover their history and as a 'revolt against the white man's suzerainty in culture, politics and historiography' and it is this that I have identified as the core organising aim of the Black-led archives.¹³ Part of the Pan-African ideology is the development of the idea of a common bond across the diaspora, particularly one that highlights the commonality of experiences arising from the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the subsequent experiences of living under colonialism and imperialism.¹⁴ It is these organising principles around the development of race and racism which is the key aspect for the development of these Black-led archives. Gilroy suggests that

⁷ Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, 'Henry Sylvester Williams' in *Pan African History. Political Figures from the African Diaspora since 1787* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 190.'

⁸ Ibid, p. 191.

⁹ Adi and Sherwood, 'WEB DuBois' in *Pan-African Figures*, p. 48

¹⁰ Adi and Sherwood, 'Preface' *Pan-African Figures*, p. viii.

¹¹ George Shepperson, 'Pan-Africanism and "Pan-Africanism": Some Historical Notes', *Phylon* 23, no. 4 (1962), p. 346.

¹² Adi, *Pan-Africanism*, p. 4.

¹³ Lemelle and Kelley, '*Imagining Home*' p. 2.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 5.

Pan-African ideology is based on three phases of struggle: the fight against enslavement; the struggle for human status and the fight for liberties for free Black populations, and finally the pursuit of independent space in which Black communities and autonomy can develop at their own pace and direction, although these may not be a linear sequence.¹⁵ Within Gilroy's definition of these phases, it is clear that the development of the archives falls within the third phase of Pan-Africanism. However, as I will sketch out, the development of the organisations can be seen through distinct phases and using different approaches to deal with the specific contexts.

The inter-war period (1919-1939) was one of the most politically fervent in the development of the intellectual basis for Pan-Africanism particularly the use of history to try and repair the damage of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and to disrupt the historical narratives and stereotypes that subsequently emerged. To ensure this, a key aspect of the Pan-African ideology has been the focus on publishing to create new narratives, to build alternative public spaces and to imagine new political futures.¹⁶ Writing in 1954, African American anthropologist John Gibbs St. Clair Drake defined Pan-Africanism within Karl Mannheim's work on utopia and ideologies. Quoting Mannheim, St. Clair Drake defined the differences between ideologies and utopias with 'ideologies' as ideas which tend to support a given social structure, and 'utopias' as those which tend to shatter it.¹⁷ St. Clair Drake argued that due to the history of enslavement and colonialism, Pan-Africanism emerged in the twentieth century as a utopian idea to end white supremacy, which then splintered into different social and cultural movements.¹⁸ It is the framework of Pan-Africanism as offering a blueprint for a utopian vision for the future that has guided much of my thinking about Pan-Africanism and as a framework for understanding the motivations of the founders of the Black-led archives in this study.

In addition to creating new historical narratives on which to draw on, the Pan-African movement is one in which independent organisations are built, ones that exist outside of the Government and the State, and which can be seen in the emergence of Garveyism, the Harlem Renaissance and Schomburg's writings that will be outlined. The Pan-African intellectual and philosophical project focusses on the ways in which Black people have been

¹⁵ Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, p. 122,

¹⁶ Carol Posgrove, 'George Padmore's Use of Periodicals to Build a Movement', in *George Padmore: Pan-African Revolutionary*, (2009). p. 94.

¹⁷ John Gibbs St. Clair Drake, 'Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles' (University of Chicago, 1954), p.10.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 19.

responsible for their own emancipation and as a force for social change.¹⁹ The experience of war helped draw together Black people from across the African diaspora and highlighted that oppression of Black people was global.²⁰ As noted by historian Robin D.G. Kelley, 'Black historians during the 1930s faced the past through the prism of an unstable and uncertain future.'²¹ This period saw the growth and acceleration of the decolonisation movements that would see fruition after the Second World War and laid the foundation for the shape of Caribbean politics. This period would also shape the politics of the founders of the archives, as they were born into this period of growing resistance to colonial domination and racism.

I now turn to a brief biographical discussion of Arthur Schomburg, founder of the Schomburg Center in New York. I use Schomburg and the Schomburg Centre as an early example of a successful archive that has developed out of Pan-African thinking. Schomburg also offers a lens in which to start to unpick the importance of networks in the circulation of Pan-African ideas and strategies.

Arthur Schomburg

Arthur (Arturo)²² Alfonso Schomburg was a Puerto-Rican born Black scholar who devoted his life to collecting material on Black history and culture.²³ Kevin Meehan argues that Schomburg's biography is not 'a story that is particularly easy to narrate and place in proper perspective,'²⁴ an analysis that I would agree with. As noted by Meehan, part of the difficulty in analyzing Schomburg not only stems from his involvement in a number of movements and groups but also that he is often discussed within secondary literature as a peripheral figure in the histories of these groups, partly because he did all of his intellectual and historical work whilst employed in a bank.²⁵

¹⁹ Robin D G Kelley, 'But a Local Phase of a World Problem": Black History's Global Vision, 1883-1950', *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999), p. 1056.

²⁰ Ibid, p 1056.

²¹ Ibid, p.1066.

²² As noted by his biographers, Schomburg was born Arturo but anglicised his name to Arthur when he moved to America, however he would shift between Arthur and Arturo at different points in his life.

²³ New York Public Library, 'About the Schomburg Center' <http://www.nypl.org/about/locations/schomburg>, accessed 22/04/2016.

²⁴ Kevin Meehan, *People Get Ready African American and Caribbean Cultural Exchange* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 2009), p.55.

²⁵ Meehan, *People Get Ready*, p. 55.

Schomburg was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1874 to parents of Spanish, African, German and Danish heritage.²⁶ Although little is known of his early life, he often credits his interest in collecting Black history to an incident that took place when he was young. Supposedly, as a young boy a teacher informed him that African people had no history, prompting a lifelong search to prove the teacher wrong.²⁷ Schomburg arrived in New York in 1891 and before turning to historical writing and collecting, became active in the radical Cuban and Puerto Rican independence movements, joining 'Club Borinquen' and the 'Partido Revolucionario Cubano.'²⁸ In addition to these revolutionary organisations he was a founding member of 'Los Dos Antillas' another group that sent arms and medicine to groups working in Cuba and Puerto Rico.²⁹ 'Los Dos Antillas' was dissolved following the American annexation of Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898 and caused a split in the group between those who welcomed the move, and others like Schomburg, who argued for total independence.³⁰ Schomburg's first biographer, Elinor Des Verney Sinnette argued that this split was a catalyst for Schomburg turning his back on his Spanish heritage and becoming fully immersed in the African American community of Harlem, which she also argued was accentuated by his subsequent marriages to three African American women, all named Elizabeth.³¹

However, Schomburg's most recent biographers, Vanessa K. Valdés and Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof argue that this is a far too simplistic take on the multiple identities and categories that Schomburg inhabited.³² In choosing to look at Schomburg through the lens of diaspora, Valdés notes that Schomburg's multiple identities can help to broaden our understanding of race and belonging.³³ As highlighted in the literature review, it is also the concept of diaspora that helps us to understand how the work of Schomburg in 1920s America can serve as a catalyst for the development of archives in a different place and time. It is through the transnational and diasporic networks that the ideas of Schomburg and Pan-Africanism take shape and circulate, but it is also the importance of a physical diaspora that

²⁶ Vanessa K. Valdés, *Diasporic Blackness: The Life and Times of Arturo Alfonso Schomburg* (New York: University of New York Press, 2017), p.3.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 6.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 50.

²⁹ Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, 'Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator: His Contribution to the Collection and Dissemination of Materials about Africans and Peoples of African Descent' (Columbia University, 1977), p. 16.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 18

³¹ Ibid, p. 20.

³² Valdés, *Diasporic Blackness*, p. 9; and Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, 'The Migrations of Arturo Schomburg: On Being Antillano, Negro, and Puerto Rican in New York 1891-1938.', *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21, no. 1 (2001), p. 4.

³³ Valdés, *Diasporic Blackness*, p. 20.

led to Schomburg, and others, living in New York at that time. In 1892 Schomburg joined the 'El Sol de Cuba,' a freemason lodge that was composed mainly of Spanish speakers. However, after an increase in the numbers of Black members, the name of the lodge was changed to the Prince Hall Lodge, no. 38.³⁴ The lodge was named after Prince Hall, a Barbadian who founded the Black Freemason movement in the US during the 1800s.³⁵ Schomburg would remain active in the Lodge throughout his entire life, and it was at the Lodge that Schomburg met John E. Bruce, a man who Schomburg would come to regard as a surrogate father.³⁶ Bruce was born into enslavement and would give Schomburg a first-hand account of the traumas of enslavement and argued for the importance of learning about Black history in order to achieve equality.³⁷ It is also through Bruce that Schomburg was introduced to Pan-Africanism as Bruce was a friend of early Pan-Africanists Alexander Crummell and Edward Blyden.³⁸

Hoffnung-Garskof argues that Schomburg began to build his archive to create a 'permanent scientific testimony to the prominent place of Negro courage and learning in Western culture.'³⁹ In 1911 Schomburg and Bruce formed the Negro Society for Historical Research, and it is around this time that that Schomburg began to actively collect material.⁴⁰ Schomburg stored the Library of the Society at his home, contributing to the Library and allowing people to come to use it⁴¹ as the Society had the core aim of stimulating 'the collection from all parts of the world of books and documents dealing with the Negro' and to bring together people from across the diaspora.⁴² In 1922 Schomburg was elected as President of the American Negro Academy, which was founded in 1897 in Washington D.C to collect evidence of Black people and to undertake research to inspire 'uplift'.⁴³ The development of the American Negro Academy, and a similar organisation, the American Negro Historical Society also founded in 1897 can be situated in the development of other historical societies including the development of the American Jewish Historical Society (AJHS) in the late 1880s. The development of the AJHS has been covered by Elisabeth Kaplan who describes the aspirations of the founders to foster an American, Jewish identity as 'the fusion of Jewish

³⁴ Des Verney, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator, p. 21.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 23.

³⁷ Ibid, pp. 23-23.

³⁸ Hoffnung-Garskof, The Migrations of Arturo Schomburg, p. 22.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 26.

⁴⁰ Des Verney, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator, p. 33.

⁴¹ Ibid, p.48.

⁴² Hoffnung-Garskof, The Migrations of Arturo Schomburg p. 25.

⁴³ Des Verney, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator, p. 2.

ideals and perceived American values into a viable, public, American Jewish identity'⁴⁴ and to promote a 'public face for American Jewry.'⁴⁵ As outlined by Kaplan, the period of the 1880s saw increasing migration into the US opening up questions around the 'the definition of 'Americanness,' and the question of who had a right to the title of American, and became a pressing concern by the 1880s.'⁴⁶ As I will discuss throughout this thesis, the development of the Black-led archives in London also mirrors the desire and tension that exists within the creation of narratives around race and national belonging. Organizations like the American Negro Academy and the American Jewish Historical Society were important endeavors to attempt to shape the meaning of race, identity and belonging, a key aspect throughout Schomburg's work. However, Schomburg only served as president of the Academy for four years, facing many setbacks and eventually becoming disillusioned with some of the Black intelligentsia who were members of the Academy.⁴⁷ Meehan argues that in contrast to WEB Dubois, throughout his life, Schomburg was opposed to the vanguardism of DuBois and focussed instead on highlighting how the masses of Black people were in charge of their own uplift and the ending of racism.⁴⁸ Meehan further argues that it is in Schomburg's collecting and archive building that his vision for mass Black political involvement and which sits within his focus on documenting the agency of people to end their own suffering.⁴⁹

Schomburg became friends with African American philosopher Alain Locke, a friendship based on mutual assistance. On his trips to Europe, Locke would bring back material for Schomburg and Schomburg would help Locke research and verify information for his writing. They belonged to many of the same organisations and on more than one occasion shared the same speaking platform, although Schomburg found Locke 'frosty and untouchable' a fact he only revealed to close friends.⁵⁰ Partly through his friendship with Locke, Schomburg soon found himself at the centre of the blooming Harlem Renaissance. The Harlem Renaissance focussed on a rediscovery of a source of pride in Africa and the use of African history as inspiration to underpin the work of those involved.⁵¹ Many researchers and artists wanted information from him, with Schomburg becoming friends with many of the

⁴⁴ Elisabeth Kaplan, 'We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity', *The American Archivist* 63 (Spring/Summer 2000), p. 136.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Des Verney, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator, p. 45.

⁴⁸ Meehan, *People Get Ready*, p. 61.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Des Verney, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator, p. 98.

⁵¹ 'Harlem Renaissance' in Hazel Arnett Ervin (ed.), *Handbook of African American Literature*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2004.

leading lights of the Renaissance, including Locke, James Wheldon Johnson and Claude McKay⁵² with Schomburg's key written contribution emerging during this period. Whereas Schomburg found Locke 'untouchable', Locke complained that Schomburg's writing was 'impossible.'⁵³ Hoffnung-Garskof attributes Schomburg's poor writing to his dual Spanish and Caribbean identity, as a native-born Spanish speaker who had learned English on migrating to the US, and often resulted in his work being heavily edited when it appeared in journals.⁵⁴ Schomburg's poor writing style and lack of academic qualifications contributed to his status as 'secondary rank among Black intellectuals'⁵⁵ and may be a factor in why he is so often overlooked in histories of the Harlem Renaissance or Black collectors.

Writing in 1925, Schomburg describes his approach to collecting in *The Negro Digs up his Past*, featured in the acclaimed 'New Negro' anthology edited by Alain Locke, as working to 'restore what slavery took away, for it is the social damage of slavery that the present generation must repair and offset.'⁵⁶ The 'New Negro' became the blueprint for the Harlem Renaissance, and Schomburg's work highlights a key aspect of the development of Black-led archives, the centrality of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the historical and racial consciousness of Black people in the diaspora, and its lasting effects and affects. A key to understanding the development of the Black-led archives is the ways in which they all connected the contemporary political situations that they were facing to the history of racism and the Transatlantic Slave Trade. All the founders covered in my research, argued that an accurate representation of history and the role that Black people have played in history is key to envisioning and creating a better future.

Schomburg wanted to highlight the key, fallacious argument of white supremacy: that Black people are inherently inferior to white people, and that systems of enslavement and the global system of colonialism has been for the greater benefit of Black people to civilise and to educate them.⁵⁷ Schomburg argued for the centring of the agency of Black people in their own emancipation and highlighted the rich cultures of African peoples to provide an alternative that Black people can draw from to counteract white supremacy. Although Schomburg recognised the rupture that enslavement created within the diaspora, he also recognised that it was also

⁵² Des Verney, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator, p. 108 and 112.

⁵³ Hoffnung-Garskof, The Migrations of Arturo Schomburg, p. 37.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Arthur A. Schomburg, 'The Negro Digs Up His Past, in Alain Locke, *The New Negro* (1925, reprint 1997), p. 215.

⁵⁷ Schomburg, *The Negro Digs Up His Past*, p.221.

the experience of enslavement that bound members of the diaspora together.⁵⁸ For Schomburg history was intrinsic to the development of culture and he argued for the study of cultural history as part of the unique contribution of African Americans to the development of American society.⁵⁹ Schomburg actively engaged in collecting documentary material but also continued to publish histories drawn from his collection. The key to Schomburg's collection of material and publication activity was to overcome the prevailing racist ideas that Black people had contributed little to American history. Schomburg further argued that 'the Negro has been a man without history because he has been considered a man without a worthy culture.'⁶⁰ Schomburg strove to collect material that demonstrated the covered the whole of Black life and culture and sought to highlight the intricacies of continental African art and culture,⁶¹ stripping it of its association with the primitive. However, Schomburg's interest in overcoming prevailing racist ideas was not primarily to convince the dominant white society of Black people's value, but to build the confidence of the Black community.⁶²

As argued by Adalaine Holton, through the building of his archive Schomburg worked to provide evidence of historical continuity, and more importantly articulated a theory of recovery and the process by which to undertake it.⁶³ Schomburg's theory rested on three aspects: firstly in line with Pan-African principles he wanted to highlight the ways in which people of African descent were involved in their own liberation and activism; secondly, he wanted to place the achievements of individual African Americans within that history of activism to draw out the community effort rather than to perpetuate the idea that African Americans who had achieved success were somehow anomalous; and thirdly to draw upon the history of Africa in which to situate these achievements.⁶⁴ The development of Black-led archives can be viewed within one, or all of Schomburg's ideas, and I shall briefly discuss how Schomburg's theory provides a framework for understanding what the 'constitution,' as outlined in Stuart Hall's definition, of the different archives was trying to achieve. Finally, writing about Schomburg and his contemporaries which included Jamaican historian J.A. Rodgers and African American historian John Henrik Clarke, Robin D.G. Kelley highlights their lasting

⁵⁸ Adalaine Holton, 'Decolonising History: Arthur Schomburg's Afrodiasporic Archive', *Journal of African American History* 92, no. 2 (Spring 2007), p. 233.

⁵⁹ Schomburg, *The Negro Digs up his Past*, p. 220.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶² Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth Century America* (London and New York: Verso, 1999), p. 211.

⁶³ Holton, *Decolonizing History: Schomburg's Afrodiasporic Archive*, p. 219

⁶⁴ Schomburg, *The Negro Digs up his past*, p. 215

impact on subsequent historical scholarship.⁶⁵ Kelley points out that many of the historians were household names amongst those who took an interest in African American history, even though many of them were not historians or intellectuals in the narrow terms of the time.⁶⁶ For my research, this is also another key point of convergence between Schomburg's activities and the work of Black-led archives, particularly the ways in which the process of collecting has also affected the narratives and the construction of their own stories.

The New York Public Library's (NYPL) 135th Street Branch located in Harlem, officially opened on January 14th, 1905. During the Harlem renaissance the heavy use of branch books and journals about Black history and culture was causing rapid deterioration, prompting the white librarian, Ernestine Rose to suggest the creation of a reference collection to limit further damage.⁶⁷ Rose consulted with a few community leaders to look at developing a plan for the collection, including Schomburg, as well as James Wheldon Johnson and Hubert Harrison. Schomburg had already loaned a considerable amount of collection to the library 'to build up a collection which would give the Harlem community a sense of background [with an] accent on achievement.'⁶⁸ On April 1925 the Division of Negro Literature and History at the 135th Street Branch was inaugurated: '1) to preserve the historical records of the race, 2) to arouse the race consciousness and race pride, 3) to inspire art students, 4) to give information to everyone about the Negro.'⁶⁹ By this time Schomburg's collection had grown to the point that 'both the living room and dining room floor were filled, ceiling to floor,' while Schomburg's son, Fernando, recalled that there were 'books from the cellar to the top floor in every room including the bathroom.'⁷⁰ By 1925 Schomburg's collection was widely recognised for its value and he had received several offers to buy it. However, in keeping with his principles, Schomburg wanted to ensure that his collection remained within the African American community in Harlem, where it would be accessible to researchers and to young people, a key part of Schomburg's rationale for collecting.⁷¹ In order to purchase the collection a grant of \$10,000 was made by the Carnegie Corporation, on the conditions that the collection be kept together under the title of the 'Schomburg Collection,' and that a Board of Trustees (including Schomburg be convened to oversee the collection.⁷² The 'Arthur Schomburg Collection' was

⁶⁵ Kelley, *Black History's Global Vision*, p.1058

⁶⁶ *Ibid*,

⁶⁷ Des Verney Sinnette, *Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator*, p. 136

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 137-138.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 138

⁷⁰ Richard B. Moore and Fernando Schomburg quoted in Meehan, *People Get Ready*, p. 65.

⁷¹ Des Verney Sinnette, *Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator*, p. 142

⁷² *Ibid*, pp. 144-145.

opened on January 20th, 1927, 4 days before his 53rd birthday.⁷³ Estimates of Schomburg's collection reveal that Schomburg acquired over 5,000 books, 3,000 manuscripts, 2,000 etchings, and thousands of pamphlets;⁷⁴ including manuscripts of Phillis Wheatley's poems, contemporary scrapbooks of Ira Aldridge and the autobiography of Gustavus Vassa (also known as Olaudah Equiano).⁷⁵

Once the collection was handed over to the NYPL, Schomburg was approached by Fisk University, a historic Black university⁷⁶ to help them to create a Black collection in their Library. After working as a consultant to help identify material Schomburg became their Curator in 1931 following another successful grant from the Rosenwald Fund.⁷⁷ Although he was responsible for laying the foundations for Fisk's historical collections, once the grant from the Rosenwald Fund ended, Schomburg was unable to continue his position at Fisk.⁷⁸ However, Schomburg was quickly informed that the NYPL would take him on as they had secured further funding from the Carnegie Corporation, where he became Curator in 1932 until his death in 1938.⁷⁹ In an article written about the collection in 1944, the author Arna Bontemps highlights that Schomburg's successor, Dr. Lawrence Reddick continued to collect along the same lines set out by Schomburg as one that 'suggests both the past which the collection has sought to rediscover and the kind of future toward which it strives.'⁸⁰ Writing about Schomburg, African American historian John Henrik Clarke describes Schomburg's generosity when it came to meeting with researchers, sharing his knowledge and interest in history and refers to Schomburg as 'an antecedent of the Black Studies Revolution' and 'one of the ideological fathers of this generation.'⁸¹ It is clear from Clarke's brief description of Schomburg that his legacy continues to exist not only in his physical collection but also in the intangible influence that he exerted through his interests, networks and connections.⁷

In the next section of this chapter, I shall outline how Black-led archives form part of a Pan-African tradition and show how their development moves through phases and 'moments', and the extent to which the development of archives represents a final phase. However,

⁷³ Ibid, p. 145.

⁷⁴ Stan Luxenberg, 'The Schomburg Center: The Soul of Black Scholarship', *Change* 9, no. 9 (1977), p. 19.

⁷⁵ Arna Bontemps, 'Special Collections of Negroana', *The Library Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1944), pp. 190-191.

⁷⁶ 'About' Fisk University, <https://www.fisk.edu/about>, accessed 15th June 2018

⁷⁷ Des Verney Sinnette, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator, p. 169

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 177.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 221.

⁸⁰ Bontemps, *Special Collection of Negroana*, p. 193

⁸¹ John Henrik Clarke, 'The Influence of Arthur A Schomburg on My Concept of Africana Studies', *Phylon* 49, no. 1/2 (Spring 1992, p.9.

although the Pan-African tradition has had broad aims at its heart, how these aims have been realised has led to the development of distinctive movements within the broader tradition. It is important to note the global, or transnational effects of the development of Pan-Africanism and the networks in which Pan-Africanism moved and circulated, and how key individuals, provide links between the various moments and inspire one another. I have already outlined how Schomburg represents a successful use of Pan-African principles in the development of an internationally renowned Black archive. I now turn to other branches of Pan-Africanism to trace how they have found their way into the development of the Black-led archives. As outlined, Pan-Africanism provides a broad umbrella in which to group a number of distinct branches, each deeply embedded in the historical political and cultural context such as the rise of communism with many key Pan-Africanists of the period becoming influenced by the work of Marx and some joining the Communist Party and others making use of other political frameworks.⁸² The inter-war period across the diaspora saw the publication of a number of key texts and development of independent movements that would shape the development of Black-led archives. These movements were deeply embedded in the historical political and cultural context such as the rise of communism with many key Pan-Africanists of the period becoming influenced by the work of Marx and some joining the Communist Party. Culturally and politically there was also the development of the Harlem Renaissance in America, the Négritude movement in the Francophone Caribbean and parts of West Africa and the Garvey Movement known as Garveyism. The topic of inter-war Black activities is too broad to go into detail here and has been the topic of recent scholarship.⁸³ However, at the basis of these varied intellectual movements associated with Pan-Africanism are the ways in which they all focus on the ways in which the recovery, and re-telling of history can be used to disrupt traditional historical narratives and provide new opportunities for envisioning a different future. I shall now briefly cover some of the context and activities of other key Pan-Africanists to give a better sense of how they have implemented this broader Pan-African ideology in their work to overcome racism and challenge historical narratives.

This period saw the growth and acceleration of the decolonisation movements that would see fruition after the Second World War and laid the foundation for the shape of

⁸² Adi and Sherwood, Preface, in *Pan-African Figures*, p. ix.

⁸³ For example, see Hakim Adi *Pan-Africanism*, Marc Matera, *Black London* (2015); Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom* (2011); Susan Pennybacker, *From Scotsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain* (2009), Keisha Blain, *Set the World on Fire Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom*, (2018) and Imaobong D. Umoren, *Race Women Internationalists: Activist-intellectuals and Global Freedom Struggles*, (2018).

Caribbean politics. This period would also shape the politics of the founders of the archives, as they were born into this period of growing resistance to colonial domination and racism. Although many of the issues that came to the fore during this period were the result of a period of enslavement and emancipation in 1833, and the continuation of the plantation system which focused on ensuring cheap labour and on growing sugar cane and the creation of a white, planter class who controlled the governance of the colonies.⁸⁴ The Great Depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s saw a virtual collapse of the sugar industry which led to worsening economic and social conditions for workers across the Caribbean including rising unemployment and falling wages, in addition to poor housing and lack of education⁸⁵ and who had no formal outlet or political representation either through parliamentary representation as the right to vote only extended to those who held property or trade unions which were banned across the region.⁸⁶ This increasing militancy and racial politics was boosted by the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy under Mussolini in 1935, known as the Abyssinia Crisis, and had far-reaching international repercussions as many Black people across the diaspora felt that the British Government had betrayed the people of Ethiopia because they were Black.⁸⁷ The Crisis became a symbol of African defiance in the face of European expansion and brought the issue of race and the struggle for freedom to the forefront.⁸⁸

Jamaica

Jamaica was also suffering from the same economic and social issues resulting from the Great Depression and the legacies of enslavement. In Jamaica these issues were exacerbated by failing crops and the rapid growth of the urban population.⁸⁹ The growing radical politics in Jamaica were the result of Garveyism from the 1920s and the development of Rastafari during the period, solidified through the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 and which led to increasing and lasting political activity amongst the poor and working class. These straightened economic conditions collided with a growing political and race consciousness which was found in 'Garveyism' the philosophy of the United Negro Improvement Association

⁸⁴ Cary Fraser, *The Twilight of Colonial Rule in the British West Indies: Nationalist Assertion vs. Imperial Hubris in the 1930s*, in *Journal of Caribbean History*, 30 (1996) pp. 4-6

⁸⁵ W. Arthur Lewis, *Labour in the West Indies: Birth of a Workers Movement*, (New Beacon Books, 1977), p. 15

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 19

⁸⁸ Marc Matera, *Black London*, p. 66

⁸⁹ O. Nigel Bolland, *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean: The Social Origins of Authoritarianism and Democracy in the Labour Movement*. (Ian Randle, 2001), p. 301.

(UNIA) spearheaded by the Jamaican, Marcus Garvey. The spread of the UNIA throughout the 1920s was based on Garvey's message of racial pride and anti-colonialism as a form of mass politics which by the early 1920s was a 'project of transnational network-building, consciousness raising and activism' and whose members were responsible for a number of strikes across the Caribbean during the early 1920s.⁹⁰

Garveyism

Although a divisive figure, the impact that Marcus Garvey has had on the intellectual and political development of Black communities cannot be overestimated, and whose legacy is perhaps most visible in the later movements of Black Power and Rastafari. Marcus Garvey was born in St. Ann's Bay in Jamaica in 1887 and moved to London in 1912 after working with organisations calling for self-rule in Jamaica.⁹¹ Whilst in London Garvey worked on the influential newspaper, the *African Times & Orient Review*, before moving back to Jamaica in 1914.⁹² Upon his return to Jamaica he founded the United Negro Improvement Association, UNIA, along with Amy Ashwood who would later become his first wife.⁹³ The UNIA soon started a newspaper, the *Negro World*, which constantly challenged the entrenched notions of white superiority and advocated self-determination for Black people.⁹⁴ The UNIA has been described as 'the largest and most influential Pan-Africanist movement of the twentieth century. Emphasizing racial pride, Black political self-determination, racial separatism, African heritage, economic self-sufficiency, and African redemption from European colonisation.'⁹⁵ In 1916 Garvey visited America, with the aim of meeting Booker T. Washington, an African American who established the Tuskegee Institute, a vocational educational establishment for African Americans in Alabama that Garvey wished to emulate.⁹⁶ However, Washington died before Garvey was able to meet him and Garvey and Amy Ashwood, founded the first branch of the UNIA in New York, in 1917. Schomburg was closely connected to Marcus Garvey through John E. Bruce as Bruce was the American correspondent for the *African Times and Orient Review*.⁹⁷ Bruce was one of the first people that Garvey came into contact with when

⁹⁰ Adam Ewing, Caribbean Labour politics in the age of Garvey, in *Race & Class*, 58 1918-1928, pp. 24-28.

⁹¹ 'Marcus Garvey', in Adi and Sherwood, *Pan-African Figures*, p. 75

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 77.

⁹⁵ Blain, 'Set the World on Fire', p. 36

⁹⁶ Adi and Sherwood, 'Marcus Garvey' in *Pan-African Figures*, p. 76.

⁹⁷ David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 35.

he landed in New York,⁹⁸ with Bruce becoming Garvey's secretary in 1921.⁹⁹ Schomburg never became a member of Garvey's organisation, but was sympathetic to Garvey's message.¹⁰⁰ The establishment of the UNIA in New York drew large numbers of followers, especially those of Caribbean origin such as Schomburg. The aims of the UNIA were to promote and strengthen the idea of brotherhood amongst Black people, to 'promote racial pride and reclaim the fallen.'¹⁰¹ It also had the aim 'to promote conscientious Christian worship among the native tribes of Africa and assist in the civilising of backward tribes of Africa' and to create 'worldwide commercial and industrial intercourse.'¹⁰² At the crux of the development of what would become the ideology of Garveyism are the ways in which people of African descent should cherish their past, and that linked the culture of Black people to the political struggles.¹⁰³ In addition to instilling a sense of pride in Blackness, the Garvey movement was one of the first movements to genuinely create an international movement of solidarity within the diaspora with branches across the world, from Harlem to the African continent.¹⁰⁴ Part of the UNIA's aims was to create a greater independent economic basis for Black people and so the UNIA established a number of commercial ventures, including the best known, the Black Star Line. The Black Star Line was launched in 1919 as a shipping line to carry goods between the Caribbean, the USA and West Africa and which increased the UNIA's popularity on the African Continent.¹⁰⁵ As the head of a growing movement that called for increasing Black separatism and anti-colonial activities, Garvey came under scrutiny by officials and in 1922 Garvey was arrested for mail fraud due to the haphazard accounting system of the Black Star Line. Garvey was jailed for five years and deported to Jamaica in 1927.¹⁰⁶ In 1935 Garvey settled in London but his stature within political circles began to dwindle and he died in London in 1940.¹⁰⁷

Whilst Garveyism is often associated with Marcus Garvey, recent research on Amy Ashwood Garvey has highlighted her contribution to the development of the movement, and

⁹⁸ Robert Hill, 'On Collectors, Their Contributions to the Documentation of the Black Past', in *Black Bibliophiles and Collectors: Preservers of Black History*, ed. Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, W. Paul Coates, and Thomas C. Battle (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990), p.47.

⁹⁹ Des Verney Sinnette, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, *Black Bibliophile and Curator*, p. 124.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Theodore G. Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (New York: Ramparts Press, 1970), p. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Adi and Sherwood, 'Marcus Garvey' in *Pan-African Figures*, pp. 78-79.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

positions her work as ‘unapologetically feminist albeit in the context of that time.’¹⁰⁸ It is important to note the role played by Amy Ashwood Garvey in the creation and legacy of the UNIA as well as the role she played on later Pan-African organisations in Britain. Historian Keisha Blain describes Amy Ashwood Garvey’s contribution to the development of the UNIA, and particularly her role in ensuring that women were well incorporated into the leadership of the UNIA.¹⁰⁹ Following an acrimonious divorce, Amy Ashwood Garvey left for London in 1922 to join a growing Black community.¹¹⁰ Whilst In London Ashwood Garvey helped to form the Nigerian Progress Union (NPU) in 1924, eventually setting up the Florence Mills Social Parlour, a space that became an important meeting point for many of the anti-colonial and Pan-African radicals of the inter-war period.¹¹¹ In addition to the NPU, Ashwood Garvey also helped to form the International African Service Bureau (IASB) in 1937, along with CLR James and George Padmore.¹¹² Ashwood Garvey spent much of her time travelling between London, the Caribbean and the States before returning to London in 1945 to chair the opening day of the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester. Along with fellow Jamaican Alma La Badie they were the only female presenters, and Ashwood Garvey raised the issue of women noting that ‘very much has been written and spoken on the Negro, but for some reason very little has been said about the Black woman.’¹¹³ During the 1950s and 1960s Ashwood Garvey worked with Claudia Jones, the founder of the *West Indian Gazette* which was an influential newspaper serving the post-war Caribbean community.¹¹⁴ Ashwood Garvey dedicated the last few years of her life to preserving Garvey’s memory through the creation of the Marcus Garvey Benevolent Fund in Jamaica and recording his speeches on a record ‘Up You Mighty Race: Recollections of Marcus Garvey.’¹¹⁵ However, it is clear that in terms of the networks that operated in Britain during the latter half of the twentieth century it is Ashwood Garvey who has played a bigger impact on circulating the ideas of ‘Garveyism’ and its place within the broader Pan-African movement in Britain.

¹⁰⁸ Rhoda Reddock, The first Mrs. Garvey and others: Pan-Africanism and feminism in the early 20th Century British colonial Caribbean, in *Feminist Africa*, 19, (2014) , p.59

¹⁰⁹ Blain, Set the world on Fire, pp.54-55.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 56-57.

¹¹¹ Matera, *Black London*, pp. 106-107.

¹¹² Reddock, The First Mrs. Garvey and others, p. 68.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 69.

¹¹⁴ Adi and Sherwood, Amy Ashwood Garvey in *Pan-African Figures* p. 74.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 75.

Queen Mother Moore

BCA's origins are often cited as the convergence of two separate events; the aftermath of the disturbances of 1981 and a visit to Britain by African American activist, Queen Mother Moore. The importance of Queen Mother Moore to the development of BCA draws together the importance of Garveyism, and particularly highlights the importance of the reparative within the development of BCA and a form of Jamaican Pan-Africanism that the BCA emerged from. Born Audley Moore in 1898 in Louisiana, USA, Moore spent most of her life involved in activism and politics focussing on the liberation of Black people. During the 1920s Moore joined the Garvey movement¹¹⁶ and although a friend of Garvey, Moore left the Garvey movement and later joined the Communist Party becoming secretary of the New York branch. Moore left the Party in 1950 when she became unhappy with the Party's stance on colonialism.¹¹⁷ From the 1960s until her death in 1997 Moore became involved with the Black Power movement, spearheaded the Reparations movement and women's issues in West Africa and gained the honorary title 'Queen Mother' whilst on a trip in Ghana.¹¹⁸ Moore's work on Reparations highlights the aspect of Pan-African thought that focusses on the importance of using history to repair the damage of enslavement. Moore's understanding of reparations was informed by her earlier involvement in the Communist Party of the USA and the Garvey movement.¹¹⁹ In 1955 Moore created the Reparations Committee of Descendants of United States Slaves, likely the first organization to focus entirely on reparations and published followed by the Reparations Committee Inc. in 1962.¹²⁰ In 1963 she published *Why Reparations? Reparations is the Battle Cry for the Economic and Social Freedom of More than 25 Million Descendants of American Slaves* that articulated her vision for reparations.¹²¹ In *Why Reparations?* Moore identified the need for financial compensation, looking to the precedents set during the First and Second World Wars and argued for the economic advancement of Black people along with legal advances. Aside from the calls for financial reparations, it is clear that the development of BCA following the visit of Queen Mother Moore is also underpinned by the desire to provide psychological reparations. The premise for

¹¹⁶ Herb Boyd, 'In Memoriam: Longtime Activist Queen Mother Moore, 98, Dies', *The Black Scholar: Journal of Black Studies and Research* 27, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 1.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ New York Times, 'Queen Mother Moore, 98, Harlem Rights Leader, Dies' at <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/05/07/nyregion/queen-mother-moore-98-harlem-rights-leader-dies.html> <accessed 25/04/2016>.

¹¹⁹ Erik S. Duffie, "'I Wanted a Communist Philosophy, but I Wanted us to Have a Chance to Organize Our People": The Diasporic Radicalism of Queen Mother Audley Moore and the Origins of Black Power', *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 3, no. 2 (2010), p. 187.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

Moore's trip to the UK in 1982 was reported as urging 'our Brothers and Sisters here to join in the development and building of a great monument in memory of our lost ancestors and freedom fighters.'¹²² Moore goes on to describe the monument as 'a comprehensive international depository of African life and culture and a meeting place where we could develop the strategies and resources needed to continue the struggle for liberation.'¹²³ I will return to the importance of the role of monuments to BCA in the final chapter.

Len Garrison

The arrival of Len Garrison to Britain, one of the co-founders of the BCA mirrors the journey taken by many young children who followed their parents to England in the post-war period and reflects much of the focus of Garveyism and Moore's influence on the organisation. Len Garrison was born in Jamaica in 1943 and moved to Chelsea in southwest London in 1954 to follow his parents, who had arrived in the two preceding years.¹²⁴ Although initially interested in photography, Garrison undertook a diploma at Ruskin College in Development Studies in 1971 and while there wrote a dissertation thesis on the emergence of Rastafari amongst Black British youth. After finishing his diploma, Garrison went on to undertake a degree in African and Caribbean history at the University of Sussex, in 1976 and an MA in Local History at Leicester University,¹²⁵ focusing on the 'hidden histories' of the Black community in Nottingham. Described as an 'educationalist'¹²⁶ Garrison maintained a lifelong interest in the education of Black children and in 1976 established the African Caribbean Education Resource, known as ACER. Garrison would go on to co-found the Black Cultural Archives in the 1980s and following his interest in Garveyism and the broader Pan-African principles argued that 'a major task which confronts us today is the application of an anti-racist perspective to the study and re-writing of the history of Africa and African people's in the diaspora. This task involves the reuniting of dismembered pieces of art and artifacts and other evidence, scattered in Europe and elsewhere, which were formerly sources of material evidence of the African people's diasporan history.'¹²⁷ Through this quote from Garrison, we can see his vision of education and history within Schomburg's and the wider Pan-African

¹²² 'Queen Mother Moore Is Back', *Westindian World*, 28 May 1982, Periodicals/49, Black Cultural Archives.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Mike Phillips, 'Garrison, Lenford Alphonso "Len"', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2007., <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-89844>.

¹²⁵ Phillips, 'Garrison, Lenford Alphonso'.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Len Garrison, 'The Black Historical Past in British Education.' Unpublished work, Garrison/3/1/3, p. 6.

vision of reclamation of history. Garrison's description also chimes with the idea of Sankofa outlined earlier in this chapter, in addition to the focus on re-assembling lost histories.

Trinidad

Unlike many of the other Caribbean islands which are relatively mono crop, relying almost exclusively on sugarcane, Trinidad's economy was also based on a large oil industry which began in the early twentieth century and came to dominate Trinidad's exports. Additionally, Trinidad and Tobago, along with Guyana and Belize is also one of the more ethnically and culturally diverse Caribbean territories when following the emancipation from enslavement in 1833 saw 500,000 indentured workers arriving from India with 143,939 arriving in Trinidad. Although Trinidad and Tobago had experienced a series of economic strikes in 1919 following the return of soldiers who fought in the First World War, these strikes were followed by a period of repression and growing restrictions on trade unionism.¹²⁸ However, during the 1930s a new leadership emerged that began to agitate and organise strikes to push for change, particularly on the oilfields where dissatisfaction was growing that only white men were promoted and a visible disparity between the profits generated and the level of wages paid to the workers.¹²⁹

Elma Francois

One of the key organisations that grew out of this period was the Negro Welfare Cultural and Social Association (NWCSA) which was formed in 1935 and grew out of the National Unemployed Movement by Elma Francois, Jim Barrette, Jim Headley and Dudley Mahon,¹³⁰ and broadly Marxist in outlook.¹³¹ Elma Francois was born in St. Vincent in October 1897 and soon became active in improving the lives of her fellow countrymen and women, before migrating to Trinidad in 1919 at the age of 22.¹³² Francois and the NWCSA worked to draw attention to the plight of the poor and the unemployed through the organisation of 'hunger marches'¹³³ and was actively involved in highlighting the Abyssinia Crisis, by encouraging stevedores to refuse to unload Italian ships and the general boycott of Italian and French

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 250.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 259,

¹³⁰ Rhoda Reddock, *Elma Francois: The NWCSA and the Workers Struggle for Change in Caribbean in the 1930s* (London: New Beacon Books, 1988), p. 12.

¹³¹ Lewis, *Labour in the West Indies*, p. 31.

¹³² Reddock, *Elma Francois*, p. 9

¹³³ Reddock, *Elma Francios*, p. 14

goods.¹³⁴ In June 1937 issues came to a head when strikes were planned at the Apex Oilfield, instigated by Tubal Uriah Buzz Butler the charismatic leader of the labour movement of southern Trinidad.¹³⁵ Butler, who had cooperated with the NWCSA planned to start striking on 22nd June 1937 but a warrant was issued for his arrest on the 19th June and the police tried to arrest him whilst he was addressing a meeting of 400-600 workers in Fyzabad.¹³⁶ In the confusion, violence ensued and an island wide rebellion was sparked with strikes spreading across Trinidad, including a number of sugar estates. The disturbances lasted from 19th-30th June and were only put down with the arrival of HMS Ajax and HMS Exeter bringing additional support for the police.¹³⁷ Francois and the NWCSA has been described as being 'responsible for conscientizing many middle-strata young men to their African roots as well as to the necessity for political struggle against colonial domination',¹³⁸ which includes one of the founders of the GPI, John La Rose who I will turn to shortly. Francois passed away in April 1944 and the NWCSA failed to regain the momentum they had prior to the Second World War, although they did send a representative to the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester.¹³⁹

CLR James

During this period, there are other key Pan-Africanists who emerged from this tumultuous time in Caribbean politics; CLR James, George Padmore and Claudia Jones. Cyril Lionel Robert James, known as CLR James, was born in Trinidad on 4th January 1901 and after winning a scholarship to one of Trinidad's elite schools, Queen's Royal College and he moved to England in 1931 to pursue a career as a novelist.¹⁴⁰ Upon his arrival in England he connected with one of his boyhood friends, cricketer Learie Constantine and went to Lancashire to stay with Constantine and his family. Whilst in Lancashire he became interested in the plight of the working classes and became a Marxist.¹⁴¹ In England, James became involved in anti-colonial movements along with another childhood friend, George Padmore and published two key historical texts during this period. In 1938 James published his key text *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, based on his

¹³⁴ Ibid, p. 19.

¹³⁵ Bolland, *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean*, p. 254.

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 260.

¹³⁷ Ibid, pp. 260-263.

¹³⁸ Reddock, *Elma Francois*, p. 5

¹³⁹ Reddock, *Elma Francois*, pp. 54-55

¹⁴⁰ Erin D. Somerville, 'James, C. L. R.' *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*.: Oxford University Press, 2007. Oxford Reference. 2007. Date Accessed 12 Sep. 2017

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192804396.001.0001/acref-9780192804396-e-201>>.

¹⁴¹ Stuart Hall, 'C. L. R. James, 1901-1989' *History Workshop Journal*, no. 29 (Spring 1990), p. 214.

play *Toussaint L'Ouverture* (1936) starring Paul Robeson as Toussaint L'Ouverture. *The Black Jacobins* has been described as 'a classic of Marxist historiography'¹⁴² that traced the history of Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) laying the bedrock for the future study of enslavement and the Haitian Revolution,¹⁴³ including Eric Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944). Williams' work expanded James' critique of Western capitalism found in *The Black Jacobins*.¹⁴⁴ James became interested in Toussaint L'Ouverture and began to research him and the Haitian Revolution due to the lack of historical material on the subject. James wanted to address this lack of material especially as what did exist was steeped in the racism and Eurocentric ideals of the age.¹⁴⁵ The central tenet of *The Black Jacobins* criticised the idea that the Slave Trade was abolished out of a principle of enlightenment on behalf of Europeans and argued instead that part of the motivation for abolition were economic; the Trade was no longer profitable.¹⁴⁶ For James, the period of enslavement also began the period of modernity in which rebellions were a key feature and important for the liberation of the enslaved, and later workers under the economic system in the Caribbean.¹⁴⁷ In *A History of Negro Revolt* also published in 1938 James underscored this importance placed on human agency in changing social circumstances and the role that individuals played in affecting the outcome of history by highlighting the roles of key Black leaders in historic revolts.¹⁴⁸ One of the key aspects in the work was that it also contained a reassessment of Marcus Garvey, who had been pilloried up to that point.¹⁴⁹ In 1938 James moved to America where he continued his writing and analysis of class, but seemed to become less interested in specifically Black issues.¹⁵⁰ However, he returned to Trinidad in 1958 when Eric Williams was elected as Prime Minister.¹⁵¹ Growing disillusioned with Williams' increasing nationalism, James returned to England living in Brixton in the 1980 until his death in 1989 where he actively re-engaged with Black politics and would influence a later generation of Black activists working in Britain.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Christian Hogsbjerg, *CLR James in Imperial Britain* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), p. 160.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 215.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, pp. 163-165.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 175.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 177-178.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, pp.162-163.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 214.

¹⁵⁰ Bagues, 'CLR James and George Padmore,' p. 191-193.

¹⁵¹ Somerville, *James, C. L. R.*

George Padmore

A childhood friend of CLR James, George Padmore was born in Trinidad in 1902. Born Malcolm Nurse, Padmore changed his name in 1925 after moving to America and joining the Communist Party. Padmore changed his name to protect his family from any repercussions of his political activity.¹⁵² Padmore's interest in writing and publishing stemmed partly from his dissatisfaction with the emerging Marxist literature on Africa, as well as literature on Africa that wasn't from a Marxist perspective.¹⁵³ Whilst in America, Padmore enrolled at two of America's historic Black universities, firstly at Fisk in 1924 before moving to Howard in 1925.¹⁵⁴ During his time at Howard, Padmore became close to Alain Locke, and they maintained a lifelong friendship.¹⁵⁵ For Padmore, publishing, particularly periodicals, were essential to building a movement, an idea he borrowed from Marcus Garvey, to build a mass audience and to reflect on the work that was being undertaken.¹⁵⁶ Padmore was elected to the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (ITUCNW) in 1930 working first in Moscow, and then moving to Berlin.¹⁵⁷ Padmore was deported from Germany in 1933 shortly after the rise of Hitler and resigned in 1934 over his disappointment with the shift of direction and the lack of interest in anti-colonial work within the Communist Party,¹⁵⁸ finally settling in London in 1935. Whilst in London Padmore became reacquainted with CLR James, and together they formed the International African Service Bureau (IASB) after the Abyssinia Crisis along with Amy Ashwood Garvey.¹⁵⁹ After James moved to America, he and Padmore began to drift apart, personally and politically as Padmore and Ashwood Garvey concentrated on building a Pan-African movement that culminated in the 1945 Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, hosted by the Pan-African.¹⁶⁰ The Congress brought together a number of politically active groups and individuals from West Africa, the Caribbean and Britain and organised around the

¹⁵² Adi and Sherwood, 'George Padmore' in *Pan African History*, p.52.

¹⁵³ Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917-1939* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011, p. 183.

¹⁵⁴ Leslie James, 'What We Put in Black and White: George Padmore and the Practice of Anti-Imperial Politics' (London School of Economics, 2012). James, 'What we put in Black and white' (thesis), p. 51.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 54.

¹⁵⁶ Leslie James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below. Pan-Africanism, The Cold War, and the End of Empire* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 10.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 24.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.28.

¹⁵⁹ Adi and Sherwood, 'George Padmore', in *Pan African History*, p. 153.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

theme 'The Colour Problem in Britain.'¹⁶¹ It sought to find ways to end colonial rule, or to at least achieve greater self-government. It was during this Congress that Padmore became close to the future President of an independent Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah and later joined him to take up the post of Advisor on African Affairs in 1957. Padmore stayed in Ghana until his death in 1959.¹⁶²

Claudia Jones

Like George Padmore, Claudia Jones is a pseudonym for Claudia Vera Cumberbatch who was born in Port-of-Spain in 1915.¹⁶³ Jones left Trinidad with her family in 1924 moving to Harlem, New York and joined the Communist Party of the United States in 1936 following the Party's involvement in the high profile Scottsboro case.¹⁶⁴ Jones spent her life as a journalist, writing and then editing various newspapers including the *Weekly Review*, the *Daily Worker*, *Negro Affairs Quarterly* and *Spotlight*.¹⁶⁵ As argued by Carol Boyce Davies, Jones' political organising should be viewed through her commitment to Marxist-Leninism but also through her position as a Black working class woman.¹⁶⁶ It is through these multiple positionalities that Jones articulated her politics and argued for the full emancipation of Black women. Jones focussed her organising for the rights of all workers, especially women and making the early links between how the intersections of race, gender and class particularly affected Black women.¹⁶⁷ Through her organising with the Communist Party, Jones was convicted in 1953 under the Smith Act and was deported to England in 1955, arriving in London.¹⁶⁸ On arrival to Britain Jones formed the Committee of Afro Asian Caribbean Organisations to campaign on the issues affecting the Black communities in Britain; housing, employment, education and immigration.¹⁶⁹ Jones also worked closely with her friend Amy Ashwood Garvey as the secretary of Ashwood Garvey's organisation the Association for the Advancement of Coloured People that campaigned against police harassment in Notting Hill.¹⁷⁰ In addition to her political activism, Jones continued her journalism, and started the

¹⁶¹ Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited* (London: New Beacon Books, 1995, p. 11).

¹⁶² Adi and Sherwood, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress*, p.12.

¹⁶³ Carol Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*, (Duke University Press, 2008), p.xxiii.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, pp.31-32.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, pp. 32-34.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p. xxiii.

¹⁶⁹ Adi and Sherwood, 'Claudia Jones' in *Pan African Figures*, p. 102.

¹⁷⁰ Adi and Sherwood, 'Amy Ashwood Garvey' in *Pan African Figures*, p.74.

West Indian Gazette and Afro-Asian Caribbean News (WIG), a monthly newspaper that operated from 250 Brixton Road, Brixton and was one of the first commercial Black newspapers in Britain.¹⁷¹ Through the WIG, Jones brought attention to not only the issues affecting Black communities in the UK, but as the international issues that were affecting Black people across the diaspora. Additionally, Jones also paid close attention to providing information for Black women on hairstyles and fashion and helped to organise beauty contests for Black women.¹⁷² Given the negative stereotypes of Blackness, it is clear that Jones was using the WIG and her feminism to counteract these negative stereotypes, in line with some principles of Garveyism, to highlight how 'Black is Beautiful' long before the phrase came into use in the 1960s. Furthermore, Donald Hinds describes the WIG as:

not merely a vehicle to bring the news of what was happening back home and in the diaspora Britain. It also commented on the arts in all their forms, at a time when Black performers were getting the crumbs, which fell from the production tables. WIG was talking up Cy Grant, Nadia Cattouse, Pearl Prescod, Edric Connor and Pearl Connor, Nina Baden-Semper, Corrine Skinner-Carter, Bascoe Holder, among others. It reviewed the novels of George Lamming, V. S. Naipaul, Andrew Salkey, E. R. Braithwaite and Jan Carew. It reviewed the works of artists and sculptors such as Aubrey Williams and Ronald Moody. It published poems and stories. Its trenchant editorials did not stop at Britain but had an opinion on the what, where and why of the cold war's hot spots.¹⁷³

As will be discussed in the following chapters, Jones' focus on the importance of culture to politics was picked up through the development of the Caribbean Artists Movement, co-founded by John La Rose of the George Padmore Institute. In order to help deal with the racial tensions in Notting Hill in the late 1950s, Jones helped to organise an indoor carnival at St. Pancras town hall in January 1959, followed by five others annually until 1964. Based on the carnival of Trinidad, Jones hoped to use the carnival to 'wash the taste of Notting Hill and Nottingham out of our mouths.'¹⁷⁴ Following bouts of ill health, including the diagnosis of tuberculosis at the age of 10 and a hospitalisation with heart disease in 1954, Jones died on Christmas Eve in 1964.

¹⁷¹ Donald Hinds, *The West Indian Gazette: Claudia Jones and the Black press in Britain*, in *Race & Class*, 50.1, p.88.

¹⁷² Adi and Sherwood, 'Claudia Jones' in *Pan African Figures*, p. 104.

¹⁷³ Hinds, *The West Indian Gazette*, pp. 92-93.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.92.

John La Rose

Following the traditions of publication and the focus on culture the founder of the George Padmore Institute (GPI), John La Rose highlights many of these aspects in his work. John Anthony La Rose was born in 1927 in Arima, to a middle class, 'coloured,' Roman Catholic family descended from Spanish and French plantation owners, Native Caribbean and enslaved Africans.¹⁷⁵ Arima was close to one of the rebellions at a sugar estates in the region, in addition to being the site of a bus drivers' strike.¹⁷⁶ When he was older, La Rose won a scholarship to the prestigious Roman Catholic St. Mary's College, one of two elite schools in Trinidad.¹⁷⁷ La Rose was eventually introduced to Marxism and the writings of Lenin¹⁷⁸ and joined a Marxist study group. This study group eventually joined with the NWCSA in the 1940s along with others to form the Workers Freedom Movement.¹⁷⁹ La Rose would no doubt have drawn inspiration and guidance from those within the NWCSA and their earlier experiences and involvement with the strikes. The period from the late 1940s to the late 1950s continued the development of the growth of Caribbean political parties, combined with universal suffrage and moves towards decolonisation in the early 1960s. La Rose became the General Secretary of the newly formed West Indian Independence Party (WIIP), formed out of the Workers Freedom Movement with membership from the Oilfield Workers Trade Union, the Federated Workers Trade Union and the All Trinidad Sugar Estates.¹⁸⁰ La Rose was the only candidate from the WIIP to contest the 1956 General Election which was won by the People's National Movement under Eric Williams and which eventually saw Trinidad gaining independence in 1962.¹⁸¹ John La Rose arrived in Britain in 1961 following the defeat of the Party which forced him to leave Trinidad, moving firstly to Venezuela and then coming to Britain in 1961 with the intention of studying law.¹⁸² Shortly afterwards he met his partner Sarah White.

¹⁷⁵ Alleyne, *Radicals against Race* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), p. 117.

¹⁷⁶ Bolland, *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean*, p. 262.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹⁷⁸ Gus John, 'La Rose, John Anthony (1927–2006)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2010. Online Ed, Jan 2011), accessed 18 August 2015, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/97081>.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ La Rose quoted in Reddock, *Elma Francois*, p. 56.

¹⁸¹ New Beacon Press, 'A PROFILE OF JOHN LA ROSE', *The Black Scholar* Vol. 26, no. 2 (Summer 1996), p. 27.

¹⁸² Anne Walmsley, *The Caribbean Artists Movement 1966-1972. A Literary and Cultural History* (London and Port of Spain: New Beacon Books, 1992), 38.

British Guiana (Guyana)

This final section focusses on the political context of the Huntleys, whose collection is held at the London Metropolitan Archives. Eric Huntley was born on 25th September 1929 to a relatively prosperous family during the difficult economic times of the Great Depression of the 1930s.¹⁸³ British Guiana experienced some unrest in 1935 but appears to have been relatively sheltered from the rebellions that rocked the rest of the Caribbean in the late 1930s.¹⁸⁴ Unlike Trinidad and Jamaica, a number of unions existed in British Guiana which were able to negotiate on behalf of the workers during the period,¹⁸⁵ which the Huntleys were involved with during the 1950s.

Eric and Jessica Huntley

Eric started work as a messenger in the New Amsterdam Post Office and became involved in trade union activity, becoming Assistant Secretary of the Post Office Workers' Trade Union making his first foray into publishing, publishing a bulletin for the workers,¹⁸⁶ which he used to keep the workers abreast of what was happening internationally particularly relating to the growing calls for decolonisation following the Second World War.¹⁸⁷ Jessica Huntley, nee Carroll, was born on 23rd February 1927 and was raised by her single mother, along with her brothers, following the death of her father when she was three.¹⁸⁸ Working to support her family, whose fortunes declined following the death of her father, Jessica began working at a textiles factory where she quickly became unhappy at the exploitative methods of the factory management and organised a strike.¹⁸⁹

Following the creation of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) in British Guiana under Cheddi Jagan in 1950 Eric Huntley became a member of the Party's General Council and married Jessica that year.¹⁹⁰ After the introduction of universal suffrage in 1953, the PPP came to power but the British Government intervened, suspending the constitution. A year later, Eric was arrested along with other Party members for various misdemeanours and was sentenced

¹⁸³ 'Eric's Story,' available at huntleysonline.com.

¹⁸⁴ Lewis, *Labour in the West Indies* p. 25.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 26.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁸ 'Jessica's Story', available at huntleysonline.com.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*.

¹⁹⁰ 'Eric's Story', available at huntleysonline.com.

to a year in prison.¹⁹¹ Following his release, and with few employment opportunities, Eric moved to England arriving in 1957 leaving Jessica and their sons Karl (named after Karl Marx) and Chauncey. Jessica went on to form the Women's Progressive Organization to represent women's issues within the PPP eventually standing for election at the general election in 1957.¹⁹² However, despite her popularity she was unsuccessful and Jessica migrated to England in 1958, leaving her sons in the care of her mother.¹⁹³ Their sons joined them in 1962 after the Huntleys' had saved enough money for their fare, and a year after they arrived, they had their daughter Accabre (named after one of the rebels in an uprising against enslavement).¹⁹⁴

Eric Huntley met John La Rose in Trinidad on his way to the UK, through a mutual friendship with Cheddi Jagan. Eric and Jessica lived with La Rose, later moving to their own home at Haroldstone Road in Walthamstow.¹⁹⁵ Eric and Jessica would retain close association with John La Rose throughout their political involvement and campaigning during the 1960s to the 1990s. Shortly after arriving in London the Huntleys began canvassing for the Communist Party during the 1959 General Election and formed the West Indian Committee for the Communist Party along with Trevor Carter, Lionel Jeffrey and Billy Strachan.¹⁹⁶ After La Rose emigrated to London in 1961 he and the Huntleys formed the West Indian Branch of the Communist Party although the organisation soon split.¹⁹⁷

Walter Rodney

A major turning point for the Huntleys was the banning of Guyanese historian and activist Walter Rodney from Jamaica in 1968, and part of the general fear within the British establishment of the rise of Black Power. Born in Guyana in 1942 Rodney was awarded his PhD in 1966 from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London on the subject of slavery on the Upper Guinea Coast between 1545-1800¹⁹⁸ and where the Huntleys first met

¹⁹¹ Margaret Busby, 'Huntley, Jessica Elleisse (1927–2013).', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. David Cannadine, January 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/108028>.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ 'Motherland' available at huntleysonline.com <last accessed 23 May 2017>

¹⁹⁶ Andrews, *Doing nothing is not an Option*, p. 79.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 80.

¹⁹⁸ 'David Dabydeen and Shivani Sivagurunathan, 'Walter Rodney', in *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*, ed. David Dabydeen, Cecily Jones, and John Gilmore (Oxford University Press, 2007), 10.1093/acref/9780192804396.001.0001.

him.¹⁹⁹ Rodney undertook his first teaching post in Tanzania, but soon moved back to the Caribbean to work within the growing Black Power movement, using his knowledge of African history to teach the Rastafari and poor communities of Jamaica.²⁰⁰ As a committed Marxist, Rodney felt that it was the poor and working class within Jamaica who would be at the forefront of social change²⁰¹ and so spent time with the Black poor teaching and learning about African history. For Rodney studying and teaching African history was an important tool in the liberation of Black people, to excavate the history of agency and political activism to effect change, but also to create new terms on which people operate and restructure society,²⁰² which is highly reminiscent of Schomburg's work and the broader Pan-African project. It was this work with the Rasta community that brought Rodney to the attention of the Jamaican government who banned him from re-entering Jamaica when he was on his way back from attending the Congress of Black Writers in Canada.²⁰³ The banning of Rodney had immediate international repercussions leading to riots in Jamaica known as the 'Rodney Riots'²⁰⁴ and in Britain a number of activists, including Eric and Jessica Huntley, came together to picket the Jamaican Tourist Board and decided to publish the speeches that had led to his ban.²⁰⁵ For the Huntleys the publication of Rodney's speeches would help to bring his work to a wider audience and to highlight the injustice of the ban.

By the end of 1971 they had published not only *Groundings with my Brothers* but also another title by Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (HEUA), which was written after Rodney returned to Tanzania following his ban.²⁰⁶ HEUA marked a change in direction for Rodney who discussed the overt political nature of the text. Rodney described the ways in which he felt constrained during his time at SOAS writing his thesis but coming to HEUA one of his objectives was to circumvent the ways in which academia can be restrictive. Rodney argued 'it was to insure [sic] that I didn't remain a victim of presenting material in a context and in a form where it was only accessible to certain kinds of people. And among other things, this text was designed to operate outside of the university. [...] The aim of this publication was

¹⁹⁹ Andrews, *Doing Nothing is not an option*, p. 103.

²⁰⁰ 'Walter Rodney' Oxford Companion to Black British History

²⁰¹ Horace Campbell, *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney / Horace Campbell* (London: Hansib, 1985), p. 130.

²⁰² Walter Rodney, 'African History in the Service of the Black Liberation', *History Is a Weapon* (blog), 1968, <http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/rodneylib.html>.

²⁰³ David Austin, 'Introduction to Walter Rodney', *Small Axe* 5, no. 10 (2001), p. 63. 3

²⁰⁴ 'Walter Rodney' Oxford Companion to Black British History

²⁰⁵ 'History of Bogle' (undated), LMA/4462/A/02/012, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives, p. 2.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 10.

to reach our own people without having it mediated by the bourgeois institutions of learning.²⁰⁷ Although Rodney had already been published through Oxford University Press, he chose BLP to be his sole publisher due to their shared political outlook.²⁰⁸ This shared political outlook coalesced not only in their political outlook as Marxists, but also in their desire to ensure that the widest audience and Black community members could have access to this type of material.

The development of Black-led archives in London can be seen within this broad framework of Pan-Africanism and use its different manifestations as their intellectual basis to underpin their work, as a blueprint and a guide, whilst simultaneously invoking these traditions in their contemporary work. As discussed throughout this chapter, the role of Pan-Africanism operates not only as an intellectual and philosophical guide for the founders of the organisations, it is also through physical networks that these ideas have circulated. Whilst I have chosen to discuss these networks according to the Caribbean islands in which ideas first emerged, there are many other ways that these ideas, networks and friendships could be reproduced, as the nature of Pan-Africanism also moves beyond the constraints of the national and highlights the importance of movement and diaspora. Throughout the following chapters I will demonstrate how these underlying principles and foundations guided the development of the archives at different periods of their history. The idea of remaking can also be found within Césaire's formulation of Négritude and his desire to 'return' to a past, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven. In writing on Césaire and the idea of time, Gary Wilder argues that in his poetry in *Tropiques*, Césaire articulated a sense of future possibilities and:

rather than mourn a lost past, it anticipates an alternative future that this Antillean awakening might help call forth, signaling not only the end of colonial domination but the inauguration of a new humanity that has recovered its poetic relationship to knowledge and life, one that has re-conjugated the relation between painful histories and possible worlds, one that has reconciled human, natural, and supernatural dimensions of life.²⁰⁹

Using Schomburg's ideas and theories as a map, as outlined by Appadurai, I have focussed on the work of Arthur Schomburg and considered his writing as a framework and introduction to the work of the Black Cultural Archives, the George Padmore Institute and the

²⁰⁷Walter Rodney, *Walter Rodney Speaks: The Making of an African Intellectual* (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1990), p.26.

²⁰⁸History of Bogle' LMA/4462/A/02/012, p. 12

²⁰⁹ Wilder, *Freedom Time*, p. 26.

Huntley Collection at London Metropolitan Archives. Schomburg's work highlights many of the recurring themes that will be present throughout the rest of the chapters, particularly his focus on using archival collecting to present alternative narratives and to offer a way of transforming the past for the benefit of the future. In the following chapters I shall be investigating the ways in which the development of the Black-led archives has sought to create these new narratives around the meaning of Blackness in Britain, drawing on this tradition of Pan-Africanism. It is also important to note the parallels between inter-war Harlem and post-war Britain, and the ways in which periods of instability have led to the creation of archives. The following chapter will chart the migration from the Caribbean to the 'Mother Country' as a similar moment and the responses of the Caribbean community in the UK, focussing on the development of publishing houses and the education movement to begin to create new narratives.

4. Changing Narratives

For the founders of the archives, the Black Cultural Archives (BCA), George Padmore Institute (GPI) and the Huntley Collection the core rationale of their development has been the intervention in the creation of historical narratives. This chapter focusses on the early engagement with changing historical narratives, firstly through the development of publishing houses and bookshops, and secondly through the direct engagement with education and school curriculums. This chapter focusses on the period of the late 1950s through to 1981, which is often viewed through the lens of a 'crisis period' within British society.¹ This chapter is set against the backdrop of racism, highlighted by the actions around the 1958 riots in Notting Hill and the now infamous 'Rivers of Blood' speech of Enoch Powell in 1968,² but also by the development of Black Power in the UK as a response. Throughout this chapter I argue that this period of the late 1960s to the early 1980s can be understood through the need to anchor the experiences of young people to their Caribbean heritage through the focus on Caribbean figures in parallel with the development of Black Power and as a way to fight racism. For the founders of the archives, this 'moment' of crisis saw the national focus move from adults moving from the Caribbean onto the growing Black youth population.

As argued by Sara Ahmed in *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Other* discusses, the process of migration is marked out by associated feelings of disorientation and reorientation. Ahmed argues that 'diasporic spaces do not simply begin to take shape with the arrival of migrant bodies; it is more that we only notice the arrival of those who appear 'out of place.'³ For the 'Windrush' generation and their children, which is the focus of this chapter, this feeling of being 'out of place' is a result of dominant historical and political narratives that focus on ideas of Black inferiority. As Stuart Hall and Catherine Hall argue, the presence of Black people in the United Kingdom, prior to, and post-Windrush has been met with a sense of forgetting about the impact of enslavement, colonialism and Empire on Britain and the Caribbean. Catherine Hall describes disavowal as the disclaiming of responsibility or knowledge and the refusal to acknowledge something in plain sight.⁴ Writing specifically about

¹ Hall and Back, 'At home and Not at home', p.678.

² Powell's speech is widely reported, but for an essay on the relationship between Griffiths and Powell see Joe Street, 'Malcolm X, Smethwick, and the Influence of the African American Freedom Struggle on British Race Relations in the 1960s', *Journal of Black Studies* 38, no. 6 (July 2008): 932–50.

³ Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology. Orientations, Objects and Others* (Duke University Press, 2006), p. 9.

⁴ Catherine Hall, *Doing Reparatory History*, pp. 10-11.

'Windrush,' Stuart Hall argues that almost from the moment that the MV Windrush, a retrofitted troopship docked in Essex in 1948, it was met with a sense of forgetting. The imperial aspects of the Second World War were forgotten, 'this I think of as the *Dad's Army* version of the national story, seen from this viewpoint, the history of Caribbean migration makes no sense.'⁵ Stuart Hall goes on to argue that equally, race has been disavowed within Britain's self-definition as a nation, with whiteness and national belonging becoming even more coterminous, and that Windrush marked the public recognition that Black migrants were here to stay. This historical process of disavowal and forgetting permanently places people from Africa, the Caribbean and Asia as eternal migrants and in many ways always transient. Alongside this, the refusal to collect material related to 'migrant' communities by mainstream heritage organisations adds to the isolation and dislocation of diasporic communities. Returning briefly to the development of the Schomburg Center outlined in the previous chapter, it is also the process of migration and questions of belonging that also underline the development of these archives. As with the development of the historical societies in the late 19th century that were fuelled by questions of what it means to be American, and who is excluded, the development of publishing houses and later archives can also be viewed through the attempts to complicate the idea of Britishness and presence that began to develop from the 1940s and often excluded the role of Black and Asian people in the history of Britain and its Empire and who can be thought of as British. As will be discussed throughout the next few chapters, the founders of the archives have been attempting to complicate questions of national belonging as well as questions of race and identity.

The docking of the Windrush is also used as shorthand for a specific kind of migration experience, one that is usually framed by the often-negative experiences of Black and Asian people in the UK. The general narrative of the 'Windrush,' firstly focusses on the migration of unaccompanied men seeking work and a better life, followed by their wives and then their children. This narrative of 'Windrush' is often implicitly and explicitly discussed in terms of class, the migration of often poorer, working class people from the Caribbean to fulfil labour shortages in Britain, with most people coming to cities in England as a result of the period of re-building following the destruction of cities during the Second World War. These 'Windrush' experiences are understood within a specific class dynamic of coming to Britain, and the complicated convergences of class and race, especially within social spheres such as housing and schooling. Although the white working classes were also deeply affected by issues of

⁵ Stuart Hall and Bill Schwarz, *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands* (Great Britain: Allen Lane, 2017) p. 178.

housing, education and employment, they became more pronounced for Black arrivants due to racism and would later be compounded by the relationship between the Black community and the police. This racism pervaded all sections in British society, limiting job prospects, forcing Black people into the worst housing and worst schools. These issues compressed many Black people into the lowest rungs of society. The issues of race and class would continue to be an important factor for John La Rose and the Huntleys and would come to dominate the historical and political narrative of Black people in Britain and form an integral part of the development of the GPI and the Huntley Collection.

However, the 'moments' of arrival for La Rose and the Huntleys also situates their migration narratives within a much longer historical tradition of middle class, well-educated students and intellectuals coming to Britain to study or engage in political activities.⁶ La Rose and the Huntleys were following in the footsteps of other key Caribbean political activists including Amy Ashwood Garvey, CLR James, Claudia Jones, and George Padmore as discussed in the previous chapter. Additionally, their arrival could also be situated within the narrative of the growth of student activity during the inter-war period that saw the formation of a number of student organisations such as West African Students Union, the Union of African Students and the Gold Coast Student's Association amongst others.⁷ The West Indian Students Union was also inaugurated at the West Indian Students Centre, Collingham Gardens in Earls Court in 1946 to provide a meeting place for growing numbers of students from the Caribbean.⁸ The arrival of the Huntleys and La Rose place them within the development of an increasingly active and politically engaged population, and as will shortly be discussed, a ready market for their move into publishing. La Rose's arrival in Britain in 1961, came one year before the passing of the controversial 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act that sought to limit the numbers of migrants from the Commonwealth, by implementing a voucher system.⁹ The passing of this Act also ended the 'Windrush' period and can be seen to cement some of the issues around race and class by continuing to problematize the

⁶ See *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003) edited by Bill Schwarz.

⁷ Ron Ramdin, *The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain* (Aldershot: Gower Publishing Company, 1987), p.100. See also, Hakim Adi, *West Africans in Britain: 1900-1960 Nationalism, Pan Africanism and Communism* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1998); Marc Matera, *Black London : The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (California: California World History Library, 2015).

⁸ David Clover, 'Dispersed or Destroyed: Archives, the West Indian Students' Union, and Public Memory,' *The Society for Caribbean Studies Annual Conference Papers* 6 (2005), at <http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/3117/1/olvol6p10.PDF>.

⁹ A. Sivanandan, 'Race, Class and the State: The Political Economy of Immigration', in *Catching History on the Wing. Race Culture and Globalisation* (London: Pluto Books, 2008), p.72.

presence of Black people within Britain, and the need to limit numbers. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act marked the end of free migration from the Caribbean and ushered in a new age where migration was firmly entrenched into the political agenda. This Act is often seen within this context of growing white hostility towards what was seen as the 'immigrant problem' and which sparked anti-Black violence such as in Notting Hill in 1958.¹⁰ The passing of increasingly restrictive legislation throughout the 1970s lent legitimacy to the growing nationalist rhetoric on migration to 'control' entry in order to continue to avoid the 'social problems' caused by increased migration.¹¹ However, although the structure of British society created the situation in which many Black people experienced racism in this way, it also failed to take into account the importance of history and culture to those who had grown up in the Caribbean, especially those like the Huntleys and La Rose who were well educated and politically engaged before their arrival in Britain.¹² It is the foregrounding of providing different narratives for young people that became the motivating factor for the development of the Black-led archives at the heart of this research.

Another important aspect in which to situate the development of the archives from this period is the articulation of what could be understood as the development of a community. Although there has always been a Black presence in Britain, the 'Windrush' period saw a dramatic increase in the numbers of Black and Asian people in Britain. However, the idea of something that could be considered as a Black community has been questioned, including Brian Alleyne who conducted research on John La Rose and his associates. Alleyne argues that the focus on communities 'serve to reinforce historically and theoretically untenable notions of immutable difference between things called "cultures," "communities", "ethnic groups" and "races."' ¹³ Whilst Alleyne's point about the issue of essentialising communities is valid (as outlined in the literature review), I argue that in terms of thinking about the development of the Black archives it is important to recognise that increasing numbers of people from the Caribbean faced many of the same hardships, and came to find understanding and solace from one other and may see themselves as part of a community. For example, resulting from the 1958 riots and the murder of Kelso Cochrane, an enquiry was formed chaired by Amy Ashwood Garvey with campaigning activities centred on Garvey's home in Notting Hill and her organisation the Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.¹⁴

¹⁰ Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for me*, p.155.

¹¹ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 101

¹² John La Rose, 'We Did Not Come Alive in Britain,' *The Race Today Review*, 1987, p. 62.

¹³ Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race* pp. 16-17.

¹⁴ Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for me*, pp. 129-130.

As a mark of solidarity, Kelso Cochrane's funeral attracted over a thousand Black men and women. As Stuart Hall argues:

and then suddenly we discovered what was common between Caribbean people. In spite of the fact that the islands are all different, nevertheless there's a kind of core commonness. So I discovered myself as a West Indian at that point. That was a very liberating moment for me. [...] We thought we can't do this without each other. It works in London.¹⁵

The creation of Black communities in England creates an important reservoir of support in which to work against racism and oppression, but also as will be discussed shortly the audience from which the publishers, bookshops and later archives draw their core visitors. The later development of the archives acts as a way to not only remember these events, but also capturing these experiences and to explore how these issues and events have shaped the formation of Black and Caribbean identities in Britain. Furthermore, as will be discussed in later chapters the development of the organisations also positions them as arbiters of 'the community' and representing community issues and history. However, there are tensions that exist when Eurocentric narratives are replaced with alternative narratives. Returning to the literature review this brings up questions about experience and whose narratives are centred and how far are they representative? And how far can they be representative of everyone?

Black Power

Stuart Hall also discusses the importance of the late 1960s in the development of what could be called a 'Black consciousness'¹⁶ related to the growth of the Black Power movement of the late 1960s. The arrival of Stokely Carmichael (later Kwame Toure), a member of the Black Panther Party in America, and his visit to London in 1967 is often pointed to as one of the definitive moments when Black Power came to London.¹⁷ The emergence of what could be considered a 'Black consciousness' articulated much of what earlier campaigners, including Schomburg and Césaire had been discussing during the early part of the twentieth century, particularly the orientation away from narratives and definitions that framed whiteness as superior and Blackness as inferior. Carmichael visited London to speak at the 'Dialectics

¹⁵ Stuart Hall and Les Back, 'AT HOME AND NOT AT HOME: STUART HALL IN CONVERSATION WITH LES BACK', *Cultural Studies* 23, no. 4 (2009), p. 668.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.674.

¹⁷ Robin Bunce and Paul Field, *Darcus Howe: A Political Biography* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), p.28.

of Liberation conference', facilitated in part by La Rose¹⁸ and his visit sparked a number of influential Black political organisations, such as the Universal Coloured People's Association (UCPA)¹⁹. However, UCPA later split into separate ideological factions, including the British Black Panthers and a number of other organisations. During the 1970s a number of women's groups also formed within the Black Power Movement including the Brixton Black women's group in 1973, founded by Olive Morris along with others brought women together and to deal with women's issues that were overlooked by the developing women's movement and the more male-orientated Black Power groups.²⁰ The Brixton Black Women's group also created the first Black bookshop, Sabarr, in Brixton in addition to campaigning on a number of issues including policing, health and childcare.²¹ Along with the Brixton Black Women's Group, many of these groups would go on to form their own bookshops, and it is the creation of bookshops that is a key response to the growing hostility and racism throughout the 1950s to 1970s .

This reliance on autonomy is also a key aspect to the establishment of many community organisations during this period. For La Rose and the Huntleys, their commitment to politics and campaigning existed before Carmichael's visit, but the growth of the Black Power movement facilitated an interest in the principles of Black Power, and subsequently new avenues for publishing in addition to the growth of a number of independent organisations.²² As highlighted by A. Sivanandan's 1981 essay 'From Resistance to Rebellion,' he gives an impressive roll-call of bookshops that emanated directly from organisations associated to the Black Power movement, in addition to other political organisations:

Finally there were the bookshop cum advice centres, such as the Black People's Information Centre, B[lack] L[iberation] F[ront]'s Grassroots, Storefronts and B[lack] W[omen] M[ovement]'s Unity Bookshop, and the weekly or monthly newspapers: *Black Voice* (Black Unity and Freedom Party), *Grassroots*, (BLF), *Freedom News* (Black Panthers), *Frontline* (Brixton and Croydon Collective), *Uhuru* (Black People's Freedom Movement), *BPFM Weekly*, the *BWAC* (Black Workers' Action Committee) and the

¹⁸ La Rose 'We did not come alive in Britain', p.62.

¹⁹ Bunce and Field, *Darcus Howe*, p.30.

²⁰ Beverley Bryan, Stella Dadzie and Suzanne Scafe, *The Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives In Britain*, 2nd edition, (Verso, 2018) p. 113.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 114.

²² A. Sivanandan, 'From Resistance to Rebellion: Asian and Afro-Caribbean Struggles in Britain,' in *Catching History on the Wing*, 1981, 90–139., p. 118.

less frequent but more theoretical journal *Black Liberator*- and a host of others that were more ephemeral.²³

Missing from the list is *Race Today* published by the Race Today Collective, although this is not surprising as the Race Today Collective was formed after an acrimonious split with the Institute for Race Relations, where Sivanandan was Director.²⁴ It is clear that as a direct response to the political and racial climate of this period, one of the outgrowths of this model of activism is the development of independent publishers and bookshops.

New Beacon Books

Alongside the growing political agitation, the post-war period also saw a boom in interest in literature and art from the Caribbean, particularly with the publication of works by Sam Selvon, George Lamming and V.S. Naipaul and led to the development of the Caribbean Artists' Movement (CAM). CAM, founded in 1966 by La Rose, along with poets Andrew Salkey and Edward (later Kamau) Brathwaite started as a way to draw attention to, and create networks for Caribbean artists in London particularly as it was felt that although there had been interest in their work in the 1950s it was gaining less exposure,²⁵ with fewer critics who were able to fully grasp the complexity of Caribbean art forms. The development of CAM fulfilled a particularly intellectual space for some members of the Caribbean community, following the demise of Claudia Jones' *West Indian Gazette*, particularly those interested in arts and culture. Shortly after the creation of CAM in 1966, La Rose and his white British partner Sarah White founded New Beacon Books (NBB). The foundation of NBB ties together the strands that I have so far been discussing: the development of a community who would be receptive to books that related the Caribbean, growing networks of writers who needed publishers and the growing politics of Black Power that advocated for independent networks and an interest in Black history and culture. The foundation of NBB as a publisher was focussed on printing and cheaply distributing out of copyright material by Caribbean writers, to be sold to the growing Caribbean communities in London.²⁶ NBB is named after the *Beacon* journal of Trinidad in the 1930s, founded by Albert Gomes with contributors such as writers and intellectuals CLR James and Alfred Mendes.²⁷ The *Beacon* was a loose association of writers who focused on highlighting the importance of traditional Trinidadian culture over

²³ Ibid. 119.

²⁴ Bunce and Field, *Darcus Howe*, p. 149.

²⁵ Walmsley, Caribbean Artists Movement, p.35.

²⁶ Edward (Kamau) Brathwaite, 'The Caribbean Artists Movement', *Caribbean Quarterly* 14, no. 1/2 (June 1968), p. 58.

²⁷ Horace Ove, *Dream to Change the World: A Tribute to John La Rose*, DVD, Documentary (Redbox, 2006)..

European expressions.²⁸ In an interview, La Rose discussed his choice to name his bookshop and publishing house after the *Beacon* journal due to the impact that the journal had on those who read it.²⁹ La Rose added, 'I wished to establish a continuity between the past- the thirties- and the period when we started- the sixties.'³⁰ The first book they published was a book of poetry by La Rose titled 'Foundations' in 1966,³¹ shortly followed by a biography of Marcus Garvey by Adolph Edwards and in 1967 *Tradition, The Writer and Society* a series of essays by Guyanese novelist and friend of La Rose, Wilson Harris.³² La Rose encapsulated the need for publishing to create alternative narratives as 'having won the battles for space, for freedom and independence, we are freer to remake ourselves.'³³ This remaking, highlights La Rose's political commitment to social transformation, the creation of an anti-colonial, anti-racist and anti-capitalist society. For La Rose, this could only be achieved through Caribbean independence and establishing continuities with past historical moments and campaigns. In line with Schomburg's argument outlined previously, La Rose wanted to ensure that each successive generation had access to the information they needed, and to be able to draw upon that information to create campaigns, form movements and reach full potential as members of society. La Rose argued that one of the key aspects of colonialism was that information, and the history of political action, was deliberately kept away from those who lived under colonial rule, by the rich and powerful, and he wanted to take control of information to give 'independent validation of one's own culture, history, politics- a sense of one's self- to break the discontinuity.'³⁴ The primary method for breaking this discontinuity was by claiming independence and autonomy through publishing.

New Beacon Books is also the name of the bookshop that became the base of many of the campaigns that La Rose and colleagues were engaged in, and where the George Padmore Institute (GPI) is currently based. In terms of the development of the GPI it is clear that the development of CAM highlights some of the key issues and viewpoints that would later lead to the development of the GPI and resonates with the broader Pan-African ideology and philosophy, including the creation of a centre that would enhance research on 'the people' and not just documents. As highlighted by Brathwaite there is the underlying assumption of a

²⁸ Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p.42.

²⁹ Beese, 'Race Today Interviews New Beacon.'

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Walmsley, *Caribbean Artists Movement*, p.36.

³² Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p. 42.

³³ John La Rose, 'Everchanging Immanence of Culture' in *Unending Journey: Selected Writings* (London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 2014), p.57.

³⁴ Barbara Beese, 'Race Today Interviews New Beacon' (London, July 1977), *Jou*/1/1/93, George Padmore Institute, p.82.

lack of history in the Caribbean and a focus on understanding history through material about them, created by other people. La Rose argued for the importance of creating autonomous frames of reference, away from European ideas,³⁵ in which to give people an opportunity to voice their own thought and experiences, which is clearly an important rationale that would inform the creation of both New Beacon Books and the GPI, as well as the development of the Huntley Collection.

Although present from the beginning, divisions started to grow within CAM, and within the wider community as many sought to grapple with the meaning of Black, as a racial marker.³⁶ As briefly discussed earlier in this chapter, the impact of the Black Power movement in Britain found many within the Black communities seeking to define themselves and to interrogate questions of identity and belonging and to articulate what race means, beyond racism. The founding of CAM had taken 'Caribbean' to mean the racially diverse, geographic region that included white, Indian and people of African descent but by 1968 debate had intensified within CAM about who it was aimed at, and the extent to which members of CAM should engage with 'popular' Caribbean art forms and the growing African Caribbean community.³⁷ Part of the dissolution of CAM in 1972 rested on the division between those who felt that CAM should primarily exist as a racially inclusive meeting place but only for creatives and intellectuals, and those who felt that it should engage with wider communities. There was also additional pressure on those who felt that CAM should cater specifically for the African experience within the geographical Caribbean regions, and those who felt that it should be open to all, in addition to those who argued that there was no such thing as an African derived Caribbean culture.³⁸ These discussions centred on the extent to which culture within the Caribbean could be traced to the African continent and its impact on those within the Caribbean. In considering the extent to which a specific 'Caribbean diaspora' could be said to exist, Harry Goulbourne argues it would be difficult to envision one due to the plurality of the Caribbean.³⁹ However, Goulbourne argues, as highlighted earlier that there was still a sense of linkage to a Caribbean community but one that was more strongly defined by the experiences of people from the majority Black Caribbean islands such as Barbados and Jamaica that at times elided the diversity of the Caribbean.⁴⁰

³⁵ La Rose speaking at '*Africa in the Caribbean*', p.50.

³⁶ Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p. 37.

³⁷ Walmsley, *Caribbean Artists Movement*, p.159.

³⁸ Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p. 37.

³⁹ Goulbourne, *Caribbean Transnational Experience*, p. 16.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 29.

For La Rose and the Huntleys these questions about the role of intellectualism and racial divergence to some extent underlines the differences between their organisations. Speaking in the 1990s, the Huntley's describe the difference as NBB following "a literary tradition" whereas they followed a "political tradition."⁴¹ I take this to mean that the Huntleys viewed the work of NBB as a more intellectual endeavour, particularly taking into account its development alongside CAM, rather than a direct intervention. However, as will be outlined throughout this thesis, the political work of the Huntleys, and La Rose and his associates at NBB was closely interlinked and it is clear that both organisations saw their intervention in publishing as a way of disrupting narratives and giving new voice to the communities. During this interview, the Huntleys also discussed the importance of working within a Black only organisation which they felt was important to 'talk amongst ourselves' although they didn't oppose working in alliance with white or other organisations.⁴² The question of race and the presence of whiteness within the organisations runs throughout the thesis, but will particularly be addressed in chapter seven and discussions about the nature and use of the collections of the organisations, particularly Jessica Huntley's invocation of the need to 'talk amongst ourselves'.

As outlined in chapter three, the Huntleys' entrance into publishing was facilitated by the banning of Guyanese historian and activist Walter Rodney from Jamaica in 1968, and part of the general fear within the British establishment of the rise of Black Power. Eric Huntley was already in possession of a Gestetner machine had begun working on distributing pamphlets and magazines, but the banning of Rodney was the catalyst to begin publishing their own material.⁴³ For the Huntleys the publication of Rodney's speeches would help to bring his work to a wider audience and to highlight the injustice of the ban. With help from La Rose who pointed them in the direction of a publisher, John Sankey, the Huntleys set up Bogle L'Ouverture Press (BLP) and set to publishing Rodney's speeches under the title *Groundings with my Brothers*. BLP was named after key historic Caribbean figures Paul Bogle who was responsible for a rebellion in Jamaica in 1865 and Toussaint L'Ouverture, one of the leaders of the Haitian Revolution of 1804.⁴⁴ As a point of principle, the Huntleys financed their new publishing venture solely through funds raised by friends within the Black community and to

⁴¹ Interview between Harry Goulbourne and Eric and Jessica Huntley, 3 June 1992, LMA/4463/F/07/01/001/C Side B.

⁴² Interview between Harry Goulbourne and Eric and Jessica Huntley, 3 June 1992. LMA/4463/F/07/01/001/E side A.

⁴³ Interview between Harry Goulbourne and Eric and Jessica Huntley, 3 June 1992. LMA/4463/F/07/01/001/C Side B.

⁴⁴ Write On, available at huntleysonline.com.

continue in the vein of self-reliance and organised activities such as parties and dances to raise money.⁴⁵ The initial editorial group included Errol Lloyd, Chris Le Maître, Fitzroy Griffith, Dale Saunders, Barbara Joseph and Earl Greenwood,⁴⁶ along with Andrew Salkey who remained a key supporter and contributor. Between 1968 and 1971 BLP was based at the Huntleys' home at 110 Windermere Road and once '*Groundings with my Brothers*' was published, it was mainly sold to the Black community but they also had to work to build a distribution network as they found that established bookshops were unwilling to stock the book.⁴⁷ The Huntleys not only published *Groundings*, but also by 1971, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. The Huntleys also produced a series of posters and greetings cards which they used to finance the publications, but also as a way of ensuring access to positive images of Black people which was lacking within mainstream British culture.⁴⁸

In 1972, the Huntleys moved to 141 Coldershaw Road, where they expanded into the bookselling business in 1973. Their work with publishing Rodney brought them into contact with teachers, librarians and the community who were looking for more books by and about African and African Caribbean people.⁴⁹ The initial bookselling business was undertaken mostly by mail order, but soon they received a notice from Ealing Council informing them that they had received complaints from their neighbours. The notice argued that operating a business and the numbers of people visiting their premises might 'lead to a fall in house prices and deterioration in the standards of the street.'⁵⁰ The complaints led to the Huntleys receiving a six months' notice to remove the bookshop from their front room and to search for new premises, moving to Chigwell Place and opening a dedicated bookshop, which they named 'The Bookshop.' Here they continued to sell books to the community and to libraries as well as holding events.⁵¹ Returning to the discussion on Black Power in the previous chapter, one of the models for 'The Bookshop' was the 'Drum and Spear' bookshop in Washington DC in the US which was established in 1968 by members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), with the aim of disseminating positive images and children's books.⁵²

⁴⁵ 'History of Bogle' LMA/4462/A/02/012, p. 3

⁴⁶ 'Write on' huntleysonline, <http://huntleysonline.com/>.

⁴⁷ History of Bogle' LMA/4462/A/02/012, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Andrews, *Doing Nothing is not an Option*, p. 129.

⁴⁹ History of Bogle' LMA/4462/A/02/012, p. 10-14

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 15.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

⁵² Beckles, *Pan African Sites of Resistance*, p. 117

How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-Normal

Following the passing of the 1961 commonwealth immigrants act, an increase in numbers of Black children in England presented a new front on which racism continued to affect the Black community, and a shift in the direction of the founders of the archives. The presence of increasing numbers of Black children born in Britain, or those who moved to Britain when they were young reinforced the need to retain connections with the Caribbean and re-affirmed many of the decisions to form publishing houses and bookshops in the 1960s. The arrival of children to Britain was mirrored by Len Garrison and by the older children of the Huntleys, Karl and Chauncey.⁵³

This period specifically highlights the importance of education and the centrality of creating new points of reference and narratives for the next generation and a coalescing of the necessity for publishing as well as a shift in the frontier of activism and archive building. As described in *The Heart of the Race*, the authors highlighted how within the sphere of education many of the issues facing Black communities, particularly racism, class and gender converged. They argued that 'challenging the education system has been part of a wider struggle to defend the rights and interests of the Black community as a whole.'⁵⁴ Whilst traditionally seen as 'women's work'⁵⁵ the provision of education for children became a major site of struggle for the provision of resources and the development of collective action that brought together women and men from across Black communities and loosely termed as the Black education movement.⁵⁶

The issue of education, particularly the distortion of Black history, was not only limited to the education of Black children in the UK, but across the Empire. One of the long-standing directors of Black Cultural Archives, Sam Walker, describes his historical education and the impact that it had on him:

I went to- my secondary education is from Africa the only history I studied was English history, you know, the Tudors, the Stuarts, Elizabethan. That was the history I studied, so when questions- parents questioned about the education of their kids especially those days, people felt that the kids were not [learning] about themselves, they were not role models and they were worried. They did not have that self-esteem and of

⁵³ Andrews, *Doing Nothing is not an option*, p.88.

⁵⁴ Beverley et al, *The Heart of the Race*, p. 53.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 54.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 61.

course, apart from the wider society, what they think of Black kids as well, that couldn't help either. So when they looked at the history curriculum, what they were being taught, perhaps the only that was being taught in the history curriculum was the only thing about slavery, it was taught in such a way that slavery was brought about by Black people themselves and they didn't do anything to stop it or fight against it. When they look at the Geography syllabus, you'd think that Africa is just a small country and they [unclear] by itself, large chunks of Africa they call it by different names, Egypt becomes Egyptology in study. Take a place like Somalia, as if they weren't African, you know, and all these, you take the Arab nations, they are Arab nations they weren't in Africa.⁵⁷

This was echoed by Professor Hakim Adi who discussed his desire to start researching African history as a way of understanding and dealing with the racism directed towards him:

one of my approaches to dealing with it or understanding it was to read and to look into things for myself, and so one of the ways that Eurocentrism struck me was the idea that Africa was backwards, and never contributed anything to history or was written out of history and so on. So, I began to investigate for myself, what 'evidence was there for that?' or 'where was there evidence to the contrary?'⁵⁸

These quotes highlight the pervasiveness of a Eurocentric education and the self-esteem issues that it causes. Furthermore, Adi and Walker's discussion of the education system also describes the rationale for the development of bookshops, publishing and ultimately archives as a way of providing the 'evidence' for fighting and circumventing racist and Eurocentric narratives.

There were two ways that the founders sought to engage with these educational issues. The first, as highlighted in the earlier part of this chapter, La Rose and the Huntleys were keen to establish continuity through naming and first shown in the choice to name New Beacon Books (NBB) after the *Beacon* journal of Trinidad, and the Huntleys' decision to name their publishing house Bogle L'Ouverture, although the early publications of Bogle L'Ouverture were aimed at disseminating contemporary literature through the publication of Walter Rodney's work. The second, was through active engagement with publishing to provide

⁵⁷ Sam Walker Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

⁵⁸ Hakim Adi Interview, mp3, 18 February 2016.

resources that would challenge stereotypes and provide evidence of Black accomplishment, and later active collecting.

One of the most prominent education campaigns during this period was the publication of *How the West Indian Child is Made Educational Subnormal in the British School System*, which dealt with the issue of IQ testing and represented key interventions in the publishing, political and educational arenas. John La Rose and Jessica Huntley were both involved in this issue which began in 1969 and has its genesis in the development of the North London West Indian Association (NLWIA), an association based under the umbrella group of the West Indian Standing Conference established in 1958, in the aftermath of the attacks on the Black community in the Notting Hill area of London and Nottingham.⁵⁹ One of the campaigns that the NLWIA was involved with was to end the practice of 'bussing'. This campaign began after a leaked report from Haringey Education Committee became available and suggested banding schoolchildren in the Borough and then dispersing them so that all schools would have a mixture of abilities. However, it became clear that the bands would be classified according to IQ tests, which was controversial as the testing was increasingly found to be biased on the grounds of race and class.⁶⁰ Following intense pressure through campaigning from the Black community, Haringey Council decided against the plan and did not institute banding in the Borough.⁶¹

However, the key intervention came with the co-publication of a key book by Bernard Coard, *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System* by NBB and the Caribbean Education and Community Workers Association (CECWA). Although CECWA shared much of the same personnel with the NLWIA, including Jessica Huntley, Winston Best and John La Rose, CECWA was established as a specialist Black education group after a 3-day conference on education was held in 1970.⁶² One of the main areas of interest was the impact of the curriculum on Black children and the potential negative self-perception that children might have if they did not see themselves accurately reflected within the curriculum. In their introductory statement, CECWA outlined their aims and objectives as: concern with the 'proper' education of Black children in Britain, which they argued was an education that 'adequately prepares the child to take his rightful place in society as one of its citizens, as well as one which helps him to realise his own identity and self-

⁵⁹ 'Education and Schooling: Origins of the Black Education Movement' (n.d.), BEM/2/1/1/ (27), George Padmore Institute.

⁶⁰ 'Black Education Movement' (undated), BEM/2/1/1 (27), George Padmore Institute.

⁶¹ Andrews, *Doing Nothing is Not an Option*, p. 97.

⁶² Andrews, *Doing Nothing Is Not an Option*, p.89.

image⁶³ through changes within the curriculum; to eliminate racism through education, which would correct misconceptions and a lack of historical understanding through the production of educational resources. More importantly, CECWA argued that the eradication of racism was reliant on white people to undo their own racism.⁶⁴ Finally, CECWA argued that a major objective was the 'restoration of the Black self-image and the fostering of an understanding of native African cultures among Caribbean peoples in general and in Black children in Britain in particular. To this end interest in the history of Afro-Caribbean culture will be encouraged through the promotion of folk music, folk dancing, literature and other folk-lore.'⁶⁵

It is clear that many of the goals of CECWA sit within the Pan-African tradition of using history to counteract the negative stereotypes of history and to try to repair the damage already done to children's self-esteem. It was also during the CECWA conference that Bernard Coard, a PhD student at the University of Sussex gave a paper on the situation he was witnessing whilst working with a number of Black children who had been placed in educationally sub-normal (ESN) schools.⁶⁶ Coard argued that the education system in the UK was not prepared to deal with large numbers of children from the Caribbean who had started to arrive to live with their parents, a number which rose dramatically before the passing of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. A number of issues coalesced, including the use of IQ tests and what was essentially seen as a clash of cultures between children and their teachers⁶⁷ led to a large number of Black children being labelled ESN and being removed from mainstream schools. Coard argued that schools were also creating psychological problems for Black children as a result of the racism they were experiencing that created low self-image and consequently low expectations.⁶⁸ ESN schools were created to deal with children who had low intelligence, (based on an IQ of less than 90 points),⁶⁹ and who could not be educated within mainstream schools, either because of their IQ or other behavioural issues. The ESN schools would train students in basic skills so that they could function in society but no more.⁷⁰

⁶³The Caribbean Education & Community Workers Association. Introductory Statement (Aims and Objects of the Association), BEM/2/2/2/4 (32), George Padmore Institute.

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Bernard Coard, 'Why I Wrote the "ESN Book"', The Guardian, 5 February 2005, <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2005/feb/05/schools.uk>.

⁶⁷ Bernard Coard, *How the West Indian Child Is Made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System. The Scandal of the Black Child in the Schools in Britain* (London: New Beacon Books for the Caribbean Education and Community Workers Association, 1971), pp. 13-15.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.31.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p.7.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.9.

Once students entered ESN schools, the chances of them being removed was incredibly slim.⁷¹ Coard's suggestions to remedy the issue included directly discussing the issue with the Local Authority⁷² and the creation of Black supplementary schools to instil pride and self-confidence through the positive teaching of Black culture and history.⁷³

Following the Conference, Jessica Huntley approached Coard to discuss the publication of his work. Initially to be published jointly between BLP and NBB, Coard's book '*How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System*' was eventually published solely by NBB.⁷⁴ Coard's book would send ripples through not only the Black community but through the establishment, and has become an important factor in the focus on educational achievement. Within the first year the book sold 5,250 copies with a further 3,000 given away to friends, colleagues and associates.⁷⁵

Supplementary Schools

The campaigns such as the anti-banding campaign, the work of CECWA and the publication of Coard's book brought the issue of education, particularly the education of Black children to the fore. The publication of the book in 1971 can be seen clearly within La Rose and the Huntleys desire to provide information to the community through publishing, to raise awareness of the issues and as a political intervention, as had been accomplished by the Huntleys when they first published *Groundings with my brothers*. Part of the response to these educational issues was the establishment of a number of supplementary schools. Supplementary Schools, or Saturday schools that provided additional support in key areas such as mathematics, reading and writing in addition to teaching Black history and culture.⁷⁶ One of the first supplementary schools was the George Padmore Supplementary School (GPSS) founded by La Rose and others in September 1970, along with the Albertina Sylvester Supplementary School. Albertina Sylvester, known as Tina, was from Grenada and was heavily involved with the supplementary school movement and the later Black Parents Movement.⁷⁷ A friend of La Rose, Sylvester's children were one of the first children to attend

⁷¹ Ibid, p.6.

⁷² Ibid, p.37.

⁷³ Ibid, p.39.

⁷⁴ Andrews, *Doing Nothing is not an Option*, p. 90

⁷⁵ Ruth Bush, 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educational Sub-Normal' at <http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/the-pioneering-years/gallery-of-publications/how-west-indian-child-made-educationally-sub-normal>. <Accessed 16 June 2015>.

⁷⁶ Warmington, *Black British Intellectuals and Education*, p. 54.

⁷⁷ <https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/gpi-tribute-albertina-sylvester-1930-2017> <accessed 1/8/2020>

the GPSS whilst operating a Saturday school for younger children from her house. Later, the GPSS and the Albertina Sylvester school merged in 1975, whilst Sylvester continued to support the George Washington Carver supplementary school.⁷⁸ Like much of what I have discussed so far, the rationale for founding the GPSS in 1970 was as a response to the issues raised to improve the life chances of Black children through supplementing the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic in addition to providing an avenue for the teaching of Black history and culture and to instil a sense of pride in their African heritage.⁷⁹ As with publishing, and highlighted in the work of Schomburg, the focus on the teaching of Black history and culture was to try to counteract negative images and promote better self-esteem within young school children.⁸⁰ As with the bookshops and publishers, the GPSS was part of a network of Supplementary schools including the Albertina Sylvester Black Community and Supplementary School, the Kwame Nkrumah School, the George Washington Carver School, the Queen Mother Moore School, and the Huntleys' Marcus Garvey school amongst others.⁸¹

In addition to forming supplementary schools the Huntleys and La Rose also moved into catering for children through the publication of children's books. Jessica Huntley described the need for catering for children as they 'couldn't wait until children are old enough to read Fanon and Baldwin.'⁸² Additionally, at the bookshop they found a number of children and young people were coming in and Jessica was 'strongly aware from these encounters how the negativism of Black images makes young Blacks ashamed of things about Black people. Her idea was to encourage parents to buy books for children.'⁸³ These approaches underlined the work of the bookshop and the publications in creating physical and metaphorical spaces in which young people could find positive references and historical narratives and would underpin the development of the archives.

Len Garrison and ACER

These educational issues also occupied much of the early work of one of BCA founders, Len Garrison. Garrison's thesis, published whilst he undertook an MA, and later

⁷⁸ Kehinde Andrews, *Resisting Racism: Race, Inequality, and the Black Supplementary School Movement*, (Institute of Education Press, 2013), p. 17.

⁷⁹ Black Education Movement, BEM/3/1/4/1, George Padmore Institute

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Andrews, *Doing Nothing is not an Option*, p. 104.

⁸² Interview between Harry Goulbourne and Eric and Jessica Huntley, 3rd June 1992. LMA/4463/F/07/01/001/F Side B, London Metropolitan Archives

⁸³ Meeting held on June 8 1990, LMA/4462/Q/01/010, London Metropolitan Archives.

published as *Black Youth, Rastafarianism and Identity Crisis in Britain*⁸⁴ argued that the repressive situation and racism in Britain was alienating Black children from their parents; from the education system and from society in general.⁸⁵ This alienation was caused by the lack of identification for young people with their African roots, due to a lack of knowledge, but they also could not identify with white culture.⁸⁶ Garrison argued that many young Black people were drawn to Rastafari as a 'defiant protest against cultural denial and racial discrimination'⁸⁷ as it provided positive historical identifications for young people and gave them a sense of pride, and a sense of self. Although Garrison appears to be broadly sympathetic to the issues facing young Black people, he often refers to Rastafari within the text as a 'cult', arguing that it should be 'a means rather than an end' to gain pride.⁸⁸ Garrison argued that in response to these issues mainstream schools should develop multi-cultural and anti-racist material; parents should provide greater support and finally that an Institute should be developed.⁸⁹

As part of his conclusions in *Black Youth*, the African Caribbean Education Research project (ACER) represents his response to the issues as this project sought to redress the imbalances within the British education system through the establishment of a centre that would create multi-cultural resources for use in classrooms. The project also created the Black Youth Annual Penmanship Award, an annual writing competition that was designed to provide a platform for young Black people to engage with writing and literature.⁹⁰ The ACER project worked in partnership with, and was supported by the Inner London Education Authority and sought not only to fill a growing demand by schools for multi-cultural educational resources⁹¹ but also, as outlined earlier, that Black children also needed to see positive representations of themselves within school curriculum materials in order to increase self-worth and subsequently lead to greater achievement in school. Unlike the growth of the Black Supplementary School Movement, which provided additional learning opportunities to Black children outside of mainstream schools, ACER felt that it was vital that all children, Black and white, should encounter positive representations of all cultures within the mainstream school

⁸⁴ 'Garrison, Lenford Kwesi', New Ruskin Archives, accessed 16th March, 2016, http://newruskinarchives.org.uk/wp/?page_id=757

⁸⁵ Garrison, *Black Youth, Rastafarianism, and the Identity Crisis in Britain*. Garrison, *Black Youth*, pp. 5-16

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 17.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 24.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 40.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, pp.35-38.

⁹⁰ Phillips, 'Garrison, Lenford Alphonso'.

⁹¹ Len Garrison, "The Afro-Caribbean Resource Project", in *Against The Tide: Black Experiences in the ILEA*, ed. Sarah Olowe (London: Inner London Education Authority, 1990), p, 175.

system.⁹² The initial aims of the project were to establish a multi-cultural resource library, research and development, the research and development of curricula, the training of teachers in multi-cultural educational skills, the development and distribution of a selective bibliography of multi-cultural resources.⁹³ The overall purpose of the organisation was 'to collect and disseminate material drawn from the African and Afro-Caribbean sources related to the Black child's cultural background for use in the multi-cultural classroom.'⁹⁴ It is clear in the development of Black Cultural Archives (BCA) in the early 1980s that the organisation was another way of putting this into practice, with BCA serving as an opportunity to find the 'evidence' and material in which to challenge historical narratives.

The development of ACER and the Supplementary schools also highlights the tensions that existed on the subject of working within, or in opposition to white institutions, a subject that runs throughout this thesis. This will be covered in more detail in the following chapter, but it is important to note that as part of their political ideologies, La Rose and the Huntleys refused funding from white institutions and relied entirely on fundraising from the community and sales of books. Garrison, as demonstrated through his work with the ILEA was not averse to working with mainstream institutions, as he felt that it would be the best way to make change. However, as will be shown in chapter five, a commitment to autonomy is also highly dependent on context with Garrison putting a caveat on his approach.

These campaigns paved the way for the active development of the archives as responses to these issues, and as a way of ensuring that these campaigns and the wider struggle of the period was not forgotten. As Hakim Adi argues:

I suppose for me, education, especially in regard to history is always, I've always seen it as being you could say transformative. It's about changing things, changing people, changing things, changing understanding so I suppose all of my work has been with that orientation in mind. So, initially as I said, I saw it simply in terms of being able to give back something, which I didn't have, you know, in allowing young people in school to learn about their history of the history of their ancestors in order that- you know, people are armed with that understanding, awareness, consciousness, and so on. As things progressed, I suppose I became more aware of the kind of politics of history, the fact that you know, particular kinds of history are hidden or excluded or viewed in a particular way, is not accidental. That its- the way history is taught or and so on, and

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ 'ACER Project Background', undated, Garrison 2/1/4, Black Cultural Archives.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

the way that history is written and written about is related to wider political questions, both related to, you can say Eurocentrism but also related to falsification of history generally, disinformation about the way the world is.⁹⁵

Adi's discussion of the role of history and education perfectly sums up the approach taken by the founders of the archives. They are using the collection of resources to provide the evidence to argue against racist and Eurocentric ideas, but as will be discussed in the next chapter, they are also using the development of archival organisations as another site of struggle and transformation. Against the backdrop of racism within the sphere of education the founders of the archives saw the development of resources in line with Adi's discussion of education as a site of struggle. As discussed throughout this chapter, the founders of archives have a broad view of education, starting with publishing to provide alternative narratives with a ready audience following the Black Power Movement and their consciousness raising activities. The founders then moved into the specific development of resources for children in order to provide positive anchors and role models. It is this shift and the focus on educational provision for the second generation of the Black communities that provided the necessity to capture and create archival resources to ensure that Black children received positive affirmations of their history and heritage. For BCA this led to the formal creation of the archives, and for the George Padmore Institute (GPI) this represented the next step towards formalisation. In the following chapter I shall discuss the move towards a discussion of how culture and identity converged to create the climate in which greater funding became available and dramatically changed the course of Black British history and the creation of formal archives.

⁹⁵ Hakim Adi, Interview, mp3, 18 February 2016.

5. Culture Shifts

Throughout this work, I have been arguing that the shifts in the context of racism in post-war Britain has led to alternative formations of the Pan-African methodology that I have outlined throughout this thesis. These alternative formations led to the creation of bookshops in the 1960s to cater for the growing Black radicalism fostered by the Black Power movement and then shifted to the educational sphere in the 1970s to deal with the increasing numbers of Black children who were being failed by the education system. The period of the 1980s saw another important shift, one that focused on the 'culture' of white Britain and an anxiety that the migration of the 1940s to 1970s represented an assault on 'British values.' Alongside this anxiety, there is also the increasing role of funding and the impact that this has had on how Blackness was articulated and the shape of the organisations.

In the previous chapter I argued that the questions of exclusion rested on a physical difference between Black and white, however, as outlined in Martin Barker's *New Racism*, the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 marked another shift in racism, which he termed 'the new racism.'¹ According to Barker, the 1980s saw the emergence of a form of racism that was focused on supposed cultural differences between white and Black people and the idea of 'threat' posed to white culture by the migration of Black and Asian people.² As argued by Gilroy, 'the new racism is primarily concerned with mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion. It specifies who may legitimately belong to the national community and simultaneously advances reasons for the segregation or banishment of those whose 'origin, sentiment or citizenship' assigns them elsewhere.'³ This cultural shift of racism has also been linked to the popular solidifying of racial categories and the essentialism of the categories of Black, white and Asian which was viewed through the rise of forms of cultural nationalism both within 'white' and 'Black' communities.⁴ In this chapter I will look at how the context of 'New Racism' forged the next phases of the development of the archives, through the approaches taken by La Rose and the Huntleys in their founding of the 'International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third World Books (Book Fair).' I will also look at how the rise of 'New Racism' was dealt with at Government levels, particularly the role that funding and policy has played in the development of Black Cultural Archives (BCA).

¹ Martin Barker, *The New Racism* (London: Junction Books, 1982), p. 26.

² Ibid, pp. 12-17.

³ Gilroy, *There Ain't no Black in the Union Jack*, p. 45.

⁴ Paul Gilroy, 'The End of Anti-racism', *The Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 17, no. 1 (1990), p. 72.

Greater London Council

The GLC was created in 1965, following the dissolution of the London County Council (LCC) and its powers extended to cover 32 boroughs of London including outer boroughs.⁵ The GLC took on the LCC's responsibilities including housing and education through the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) and throughout the 1960s and 1970s the political control of the GLC shifted between Labour and the Conservatives.⁶ In May 1981 Labour was elected to County Hall, the headquarters of the GLC, led by Andrew McIntosh but shortly after Labour was declared victorious, McIntosh was ousted as leader and replaced by Ken Livingstone.⁷ Livingstone represented a change within the Labour party, and represented a section of the Labour party that was placed further on the Left and was broadly anti-racist, feminist and supported LGBT rights,⁸ and which earned Ken Livingstone the moniker of 'Red Ken'.⁹ The uprisings of 1981 marked the shift in direction of the Greater London Council (GLC). One of the main responses to the 1981 uprisings was the role taken on by the GLC and its distribution of funding aimed specifically at ethnic minorities and socially disadvantaged groups in London. Under Ken Livingstone, the GLC soon ran into problems with the Thatcher-led Conservative Government, Conservative-led local councils and became the target of right-wing newspapers and tabloids who disliked the increased spending grants on LGBT, women's and Black groups.¹⁰ In addition to ideological differences between the Labour-led GLC and the Conservative Government, the GLC also faced opposition from London's outer boroughs who were brought under GLC control when it was established and expanded from the original boundaries of the LCC. This was most clear in the fight over the GLC's flagship project 'Fares Fair.' 'Fares Fair' aimed at subsidising the cost of travel in the city by levying higher rates, or taxes, from across the boroughs. The outer boroughs, particularly Bromley felt aggrieved at subsidising the cost of transport when they had less transport infrastructure, for example, tube stations, and felt they would not benefit from the subsidy.¹¹ They took the GLC to court and the project was overturned, and the management of London Transport was removed from the GLC.¹² The growing antagonism between the GLC and the Conservative Government

⁵ John Davis, 'From GLC to GLA: London Politics from Then to Now', in *London: From Punk to Blair*, ed. Joe Kerr and Andrew Gibson (London: Reaktion Books, 2003), p. 97.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid, pp. 100-101.

⁸ Ibid, p. 99.

⁹ Ibid, p. 100.

¹⁰ James Curran, "The Political Impact of the Media", in *Culture Wars: The Media and the British Left*, by James Curran, Ivor Gaber, and Julian Petley (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 257. >

¹¹ J. Davis 'From GLC to GLA' p. 101

¹² Ibid.

eventually led to the abolition of the GLC. In 1983 the Conservatives included the abolition in their general election manifesto arguing that the GLC and other metropolitan county councils represented additional bureaucracy and waste, as outlined in their white paper *Streamlining the Cities*.¹³ This became the basis of the 1985 Local Government Act which saw the end of the GLC, on 31st March 1986, and other metropolitan county councils, including Greater Manchester County Council, Merseyside County Council, South Yorkshire County Council, South Yorkshire County Council, Tyne and Wear County Council, West Midlands County Council and West Yorkshire County Council.¹⁴

Whilst many of the responses to the abolition of the GLC and other councils focussed on the detrimental effect on anti-racist initiatives,¹⁵ one of the criticisms of the GLC and their focus on culture in their funding criteria rested on the way in which culture and race are seen to operate together. The issue of funding and 'race' at the GLC has been highlighted by Paul Gilroy. In *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* published in 1987, Gilroy devotes a whole section to critiquing the GLC's anti-racist policies, including the designation of 1984 as London's 'Anti-Racist' year. Gilroy argues that the failure of the GLC's anti-racist policies were that they focussed on Black victimhood, promoting the idea that acts of racism occur through individual actions rather than addressing problems of structural and institutional racism.¹⁶ Furthermore, Gilroy points out how the approach of the GLC fixed ideas of race and racism, and suggested that racism was somehow unavoidable whilst offering little concrete examples of how to fight racism.¹⁷ Additionally, the focus on discrete 'races' saw the disintegration of the category of 'politically Black' into more specific ethnic, and cultural differences. During the 1960s and 1970s, the category of 'Black' referred to anyone who was not white and who sat outside of power and was termed 'politically Black.' Sivanandan argues that the decline of political Blackness was partly due to the increase of funding from the GLC that broke down the common cause of Black as a political struggle, into multiple ethnicities and different class formations.¹⁸ For Sivanandan this also led to the growth of multiculturalism, which he felt

¹³ 'The County Council of West Midlands Race Relations and Equal Opportunities Committee. Observations on the Government's White Paper "Streamlining the Cities":' (13 January 1984), RC/RF/4/11/H, Black Cultural Archives.

¹⁴ Martyn Harris, 'The Last Days of the Mets', *New Society*, 21 March 1986, Black Cultural Archives, p.494.

¹⁵ See for example, 'European Congress Condemns Abolition Attack on Ethnic Minorities' (Press Release, 15 May 1985), Black Cultural Archives.; 'GLC Looks to the Future' (Press Release, 9 September 1985), RC/RF/4/11/H, Black Cultural Archives.

¹⁶ Gilroy, *There Ain't no Black in the Union Jack*, pp. 138-139.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 140-144.

¹⁸ A. Sivanandan, 'Challenging Racism', in *Communities of Resistance. Writings on Black Struggles for Socialism* (London: Verso, 1990), 67.

created cultural nationalism, rather than a broad anti-racist position.¹⁹ However, many writers, both Black and Asian have critiqued the importance of the label 'politically Black' as they argue it homogenises Black identity into a binary of Black/White, or Black and non-White²⁰ and undermines the importance of ancestry within a cultural understanding.²¹ Furthermore, writing from the Asian perspective Tariq Modood argues that political Blackness takes an experience of victimhood as its commonality, rather than finding positives²² and fails to take account of the ways in which racism affects groups differently.²³ However, it is also important to note that Modood, arguing against Sivanandan saw the politics of the GLC as creating political Blackness through its catch-all approach to culture.²⁴ Whilst many of the archives developed during the period of 'political Blackness' all of the founders with greater or lesser degree identified themselves within a narrower understanding of Blackness that rested on African ancestry, but as discussed, with different outlooks on working across ethnic and cultural groups. I will return to the role of race within the organisations in greater detail in the final chapter.

Under the leadership of Ken Livingstone, the GLC's funding programme and its commitment to funding projects aimed at underrepresented group saw the creation of an Ethnic Arts Subcommittee.²⁵ Between 1982 and 1985 the funds available to the Ethnic Arts Subcommittee grew from £400,000 to £2,000,000.²⁶ This growth of funding helped to support a number of existing organisations and encouraged the creation of new ones, as well as supporting organisations such as the Roundhouse in Chalk Farm which was designated a 'centre of excellence' for Black arts in Europe; 'Third Eye', a festival of Third World cinema, a Black Theatre season, and 'The Black Experience', a London-wide programme of seminars, exhibitions and performances in February and March, 1986.²⁷ The importance of state-sponsored funding will be returned to in later chapters, particularly how the direction of national policies shape what is possible for the Black-led archives of this research to achieve. The growth of the GLC and their funding initiatives also created precedents for funding Black

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Kehinde N Andrews, *'Back to Black: Black Radicalism and the Supplementary School Movement'* (Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010), p. 52.

²¹ Ibid, p.64.

²² Tariq Modood, 'The Rise and Fall of an Anti-Racism from Political Blackness to Ethnic Pluralism', in *New Left, New Right and Beyond. Taking the Sixties Seriously*, ed. Geoff Andrews et al. (Hampshire: Palgrave, 1999), p. 169.

²³ Ibid, pp.171-173.

²⁴ Ibid, p.169.

²⁵ Gilroy, *There Ain't no Black in the Union Jack*, p. 137.

²⁶ Franco Bianchini, 'GLC R.I.P. Cultural Policies in London 1981-1986', *New Formations* 1 (Spring 1987), p. 109.

²⁷ Ibid.

organisations that presented new opportunities but also challenges. As I will discuss throughout this work, the role of funding and the ways in which funding bodies conceptualise Blackness and approach Black organisations plays a key role in how they developed.

African People's Historical Monument Foundation

This can clearly be seen through the official development of Black Cultural Archives (BCA). A grant from the GLC gave them the necessary funds for the initial setting up phase, with additional funds from the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) for a part-time secretary. Early records of the BCA only state 'early 1980s'²⁸ as the date of origin but often pay special attention to the importance of Queen Mother Moore and the desire to create a foundation and monument for the Black community. However, although often cited as 1981, it is far more likely that BCA was founded in 1982 following a visit by Queen Mother Moore. This visit also inspired Len Garrison, one of the co-founders of the BCA to write a poem titled 'Where are our Monuments?' in which he discusses the absence of Black history, particularly within the mainstream heritage sector, which became key to the vision for the organisation.²⁹ Established as the African People's Historical Monument Foundation (APHMF), the desire to form BCA was discussed in terms of not only creating a physical monument, in line with Moore's vision, to Black history within Britain but also to provide educational resources to promote positive self-image and increase pride and historical awareness within the community, with BCA as a project of APHMF to create an archive.³⁰ The original Board, also known as the Executive Committee of the APHMF included some of the people who had brought Queen Mother Moore over to the UK and were part of a Rastafari organisation based in Brent, 'The Tree of Life' including Askala Miriam and Makeda Coaston.³¹ The original board also included Richie Riley, Habte Levi, Ras Cosmo, Sheridan Tomlin, Lambeth Councillor Amelda Inyang, Gloria Cameron JP, Byron Moore (Adviser, UNIA, Jamaica) Pat Clair and Jim Clair.³² However, it is Len Garrison who is best remembered within the organisation as one of the founders and who was the Chair, steering the organisation until his death in 2003.³³ Additionally, Garrison's ACER project had received its funding through the ILEA but once the GLC was abolished shortly followed by ILEA in 1989, ILEAs work became absorbed into the

²⁸ 'Annual Report 1985-1986' (1986), BCA/1/4/1, Black Cultural Archives.

²⁹ Interview with George Kelly, Black Cultural Archives.

³⁰ Sam Walker, 'Directors Report' (1993), BCA/1/1/1, Black Cultural Archives.'

³¹ Makeda Coaston and Askala Miriam, Documenting the Archives volunteer training recording, mp3, 25 September 2009, uncatalogued, Black Cultural Archives.

³² 'Exhibit Marked "LG1, Constitution"' (1987), BCA/1/3/4, Black Cultural Archives.

³³ Phillips, 'Garrison, Lenford Alphonso.'

services of Lambeth,³⁴ resulting in a change of strategic direction and eventual closure of ACER, freeing Garrison to devote more energy to BCA.

Describing the rationale to start BCA, Sam Walker notes that:

when the, if you like, the idea came along it was a) firstly, let us bring ideas together and see how we can, if you like, rejjig or lobby to rejjig the history curriculum and say, and see what influences we can bring in to it so that our kids know a lot more about themselves. So that was the first thing, it was also, as I said, to collect and document, preserve and disseminate the history as well of Black people. Then thirdly, I think very importantly it's to encourage us, as Black people to offer what we call liberating theories or explanations about our history. And fourthly, to establish links to unite us as we say in the diaspora, to African people in the Caribbean and also in Africa as well. And these are the four main principles, because going back to Queen Mother Moore, this was one of the things that she was talking about as well, about uniting people together from all of the various backgrounds of where Black people have come from to Africa. And, I think that- I think those were visionary ideas from those people to bring all of this about.³⁵

The foundations of BCA highlight the factors that I have been discussing so far; the importance of engaging with a broad idea of education to challenge the development of historical narratives by using the archive as a site of political engagement, through the creation and curation of documentary resources. As noted by Walker, whilst the archive was based in Brixton and focussed on British history, there was always an intention to think broadly about British history. In reports chronicling the history it was argued that the organisation 'will enable our young people to trace the Black presence in Britain as well as make connection with Africa, the Caribbean and other Black communities elsewhere. This will also enable them to build a stronger self-image and identity in this society.'³⁶

Initially in 1984 the funds were used to secure a building at 245a Coldharbour Works where the organisation was based for just over a year until 1986.³⁷ During this time, in order to complete the work to build a monument, the organisation identified an area of land owned by Lambeth Council, an empty site on the corner of Somerleyton Road and Coldharbour Lane

³⁴ 'Letter from Len Garrison to David Udoh' (20 October 1989), BCA/1/2/6, Black Cultural Archives.

³⁵ Sam Walker, Interview, Mp3, 9 March 2016

³⁶ Draft of the Annual Report, management committee meeting 23/7/1993, BCA/1/2/7, Black Cultural Archives

³⁷ 'Coordinators Report' (undated), BCA/1/1/1, Black Cultural Archives.

in Brixton, also known as 'Site D'³⁸. Not only was 'Site D' important to the mission of creating a physical monument as outlined by Queen Mother Moore, it also had additional significance for the Black community in Brixton. The siting of a building on Somerleyton Road was intended to act as the memorial to the early Black settlers in Brixton during the 'Windrush' period. Somerleyton Road became one of the main areas of Black settlement in Brixton, along with Mostyn and Geneva Roads,³⁹ with Brixton becoming one of the main areas of settlement along with the Notting Hill area, accounting for 50% of the Black population in the UK.⁴⁰ Although part of the rationale of BCA was to highlight an on-going Black presence in British history, 'Site D' marked an important moment of arrival and settlement and was therefore central to the history of the Black community in Britain. For BCA 'Site D' was chosen as it represented the '1940s/50s pioneer settlement in London which preceded the large settlement of Black people into Brixton,⁴¹ and would become a site of emotional and historical value for the BCA.⁴²

Soon after identifying the site, the plans for 'Site D' were drawn up and focussed on an 'afrocentric design' by architect Vince Thompson that would stress the 'importance of redressing the balance of a Eurocentric view of history.'⁴³ In order to capture an Afrocentric approach to the building the initial design focussed on recreating the concept of an African village and featured three circular buildings, built on a triangular site that would be connected with walkways and would act as the archive and museum repository, along with gallery space and educational facilities.⁴⁴ The cost projection for building was estimated at £2,000,000 with £1,000,000 covering the cost of the building and another £1,000,000 allocated for the purchase of materials and to cover administration costs.⁴⁵ Given the shift towards cultural racism, the orientation towards an Afrocentric approach marks another response, one that aims to glorify the culture of those of African descent.

Afrocentrism also falls under the umbrella of Pan-Africanism and emerged in the early 1980s following the publication of 'Afrocentricity' by African American Molefi K. Asante who described it as 'African genius and African values created, reconstructed, and derived from our history and experiences in our best interests.'⁴⁶ Afrocentrism, or Afrocentricity places

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Donald Hinds, *Journey to an Illusion: The West Indian In Britain* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture, 2001), p. 62.

⁴⁰ Ruth Glass, *Newcomers: The West Indians in London* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960). Ruth Glass, *Newcomers: The West Indians in London* (London, 1960), p. 35.

⁴¹ Draft annual report, management committee meeting 23/7/1993, BCA/1/2/7, Black Cultural Archives

⁴² Sam Walker, Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

⁴³ 'The Black Cultural Archives Centre' in Exhibit Marked "LG3" (n.d.), 3, BCA/1/3/4, Black Cultural Archives.

⁴⁴ Vince Thompson, Interview, mp3, 24 November 2006, BCA/4/6/2, Black Cultural Archives.

⁴⁵ The Black Cultural Archives Centre' in Exhibit marked 'LG3', BCA/1/3/4, Black Cultural Archives.

⁴⁶ Molefi K. Asante, *Afrocentricity: Theory of Social Change*, 3rd ed. (New York: Africa World Press, 1992), p. viii.

greater emphasis on the importance of heritage through the recognition of ancestors, a key aspect within Queen Mother Moore's vision for the APHMF.⁴⁷ Asante also suggests that although Afrocentricity sits within the broader politics of Pan-Africanism, it differs in methodology and takes inspiration directly from the work of Marcus Garvey and exists as a form of Black Nationalism.⁴⁸ The creation of BCA, in line with Afrocentric principles was viewed as a response to the educational difficulties and 'New Racism' of the 1980s. It was felt that it was not only vital to teach children about their history, but also to glorify African and African Caribbean culture. I will return to a more fulsome discussion of the impact of Afrocentrism on the collecting practices of BCA in the final chapter.

The position of Afrocentrism and Pan-Africanism with the BCA also reflects its approach to racial identity. The question of 'Blackness' within the BCA was discussed in the early days of the organisation. Although the organisation rooted itself within the concept of Blackness as Africanness, as highlighted through the title of the African People's Historical Monument Foundation, there were periodic conversations about the use of the term 'Black'. As discussed by the first director of BCA, Sam Walker:

One of the things that I think I found that towards the end of my time at Black Cultural Archives is that sometime in 1987 when, they had a Board meeting in Black Cultural Archives, I was there, I was still green there but I was there and the Trustees did take a decision to not use the title or the name 'Black Cultural Archives' but to refer this as 'African Cultural Archives' and it should be in the minutes somewhere, but it's in the minutes. But that as it happened, you see because we as British Blacks we, I don't think we are- especially those from the Caribbean I don't think they are comfortable enough to be associated with the term African. [...] I think it will give, be more potent than using the term 'Black' because I always say, just like saying 'Black', it becomes, for me, it becomes a nebulous idea, whereas if you say 'African', it tells you exactly. And I think this was the thinking that those Trustees had, in 1987. But also the whole thing about the Black Cultural Archives as well the vision these people also had was the Pan-Africanism about it all because, when they started there were a lot people there who were of course from the Caribbean, there were also African people there [...] So these were the ideas behind that, that Caribbean people, African people coming

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Ibid, pp 8-11.

together, getting all the histories together it would solidify the position of African people in the diaspora as well as in the world.⁴⁹

Walker's discussion of the subject of 'Blackness' within the BCA highlights some of the issues of intra-community dynamics. From Walker's point of view, there was still a sense that the organisation moved away from embracing the term 'African' over 'Black' due to a sense of discomfort with seeing themselves as African, although they didn't identify as 'politically Black' outlined earlier in this chapter. However, whilst Walker suggests that the BCA was anxious about embracing 'African' he points to the importance of the diaspora to the organisation, as a way of bringing together cultures from across the diaspora under the banner of Pan-Africanism. The intention of the archival collections was to highlight the ways in which African-descended communities have commonalities and experiences and can use this to build communities and learn from one another. Furthermore, whilst Walker noted this meeting, the organisation continued to operate as BCA, so it is unclear what happened to the resolution.

Following a community campaign in which BCA acquired 10000 signatures in support of the development,⁵⁰ in March 1986, under the leadership of Linda Bellos, a former member of the GLC and Black campaigner,⁵¹ Lambeth Council formally agreed to BCA taking over 'Site D' on the provision they secured the necessary funds to realise the project.⁵² However later that year with the abolition of the GLC the BCA was faced with a crisis in funding the day to day activities of the organisation and Lambeth Council stepped in and took over part of the funding. Part of this support saw Lambeth Council giving BCA a lease of 378 Coldharbour Lane where the organisation could continue to collect material and fundraise for the building of 'Site D'.⁵³ Originally a bank, 378 Coldharbour Lane was once the home of Sabarr books, the former home of the Brixton Black Women's group, and was taken over by BCA when Sabarr closed.⁵⁴ The disintegration of the GLC marked BCA's continual fight for funding, and highlights the ongoing role that Lambeth Council has played in the development of the organisation. Throughout the majority of its history, due to financial constraints, BCA was staffed by only one full time member of staff, Sam Walker, initially hired in 1987 as Development Officer, but who had previously volunteered for two years prior to his

⁴⁹ Sam Walker, Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

⁵⁰ Draft annual report, management committee meeting 23/7/1993, BCA/1/2/7, Black Cultural Archives.

⁵¹ Linda Bellos, Interview, mp3, 8 December 2009, BCA/4/8, Black Cultural Archives.

⁵² 'General Meeting' (3 February 1985), BCA/1/2/2, Black Cultural Archives.

⁵³ 'Annual Report' (undated), BCA/1/2/7, Black Cultural Archives.

⁵⁴ Beckles, *Pan-African Sites of Resistance* p-322.

appointment.⁵⁵ Walker became Co-ordinator and then Director in 1994 and was supported by a part-time administrator supported by the work of volunteers, including the Board of Trustees.⁵⁶ Walker noted how supportive Lambeth Council was of BCA, describing the value that it saw in the organisation from its inception:

So Lambeth Council was very committed, they are very committed but the thing is they were always talking about resources and I think if you look on the other hand perhaps they weren't quite sure that they would have support either from the community, from the Government to do what we were trying for. Because, in the eyes of many people it was just a waste of money to pursue this type of objective. Many people didn't realise the value it has, many people didn't realise the value of museums, archives they don't appreciate it for them it's they feel like perhaps it's just a waste of money. And also, because again, some people are not able to estimate the commercial or economic value because... when you think about it people feel that ok, if you give ten million pounds to this, what value do you get- what economic value? You know. Economic value is very easy to measure but social values [laughs] it is something you can't quantify, that it exists to a lot of people question these sorts of things.⁵⁷

This statement from Walker highlights many of the tensions that would plague BCA throughout its early years. Although there was an understanding within the founders and the Council of the value of BCA, it was hard to articulate the value. This would also be frustrated by the general apathy at the time for collecting 'diverse' material within the sector itself. At this time BCA was engaged in a battle to have the importance of heritage not only within the local community but also within the wider, mainstream heritage sector. It also highlights the ongoing question of community value, and who the archive is 'for.' Although there was support from within the community, it was limited, and the question of community support would become an issue for BCA in its future development.

As outlined, whilst BCA wanted to build a monument that reflected the post-war settlement of Brixton, much of its early collecting and engagement focussed on reclaiming the histories of pre-war Black presence. Between the early 1980s and 1990s BCA staged a number of exhibitions including 'Life of Mary Seacole' that developed a teachers' resource pack; 'Black Entertainers' which looked at the history of Black musicians from 1511 to contemporary musicians and two local studies, 'The Forgotten Blacks' on the history of Black

⁵⁵ Sam Walker, Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

⁵⁶ 'Minutes of Management Meeting' (27 January 1994), BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

⁵⁷ Sam Walker, Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

presence in Lambeth over three hundred years and 'The Black presence in Croydon', a collaboration with Croydon library chronicling Black history since the 1700s.⁵⁸ During this period it is clear that BCA was engaged in bringing a broad brush approach to Black history, and in line with Afrocentric principles was engaged in disrupting the narrative of Britishness and belonging, within the framework of Black excellence and a focus on integration. For BCA, this focus on presence and integration was a key cornerstone of their vision to 'fill the vacuum which has been created by the deliberate non exposure of Black people's contribution to British history.'⁵⁹

In 1986, in addition to losing funding following the abolition of the GLC, BCA also encountered another difficulty, one arising from an internal dispute between the Executive Committee and Len Garrison. As noted, the Executive Committee came together after the visit by Queen Mother Moore as a group of individuals who were inspired by her visit, however tensions soon emerged between members of the Committee about funding and the future of the organisation. At the heart of the tension was the division between BCA and the APHMF, whether they were one organisation or two but also who the material belonged to.⁶⁰ Garrison maintained that whilst he was a member of APHMF the decision to form BCA was his alone and that BCA, working with an Archives Committee that was established in 1986 was separate from APHMF.⁶¹ However, the other members of the Executive Committee claimed that BCA had always been conceived as a project of the APHMF and furthermore, Garrison had been receiving funding and collecting material, but withholding the information from the Executive Committee and keeping material at his home.⁶² Although the dispute ended with arbitration to try and reconcile the disagreement, at some point between the end of 1986 and 1988 the original members of the Executive Committee were no longer involved and were replaced with one Board merging the BCA and APHMF committees with new Board members, Dawn Hill, Apollo Sempa and Yana Morris, joining Sandra Knight and Len Garrison.⁶³ In her resignation letter, Amelda Inyang cited her concern with the 'autocratic manner in which important decisions have been made within the organisation over the years'⁶⁴ and the lack of collective decision-making relating to the aims and objectives of the organisation.⁶⁵ In an interview with

⁵⁸ Draft annual report, management committee meeting 23/7/1993, BCA/1/2/7, Black Cultural Archives.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ See BCA/1/3/1 for legal proceedings.

⁶¹ Len Garrison Affidavit, BCA/1/3/1, Black Cultural Archives.

⁶² 'Amelda Inyang Affidavit' (n.d.), BCA/1/3/1, Black Cultural Archives.

⁶³ 'Meeting' (3 March 1988), BCA/1/2/3, Black Cultural Archives.

⁶⁴ 'Letter from Amelda Inyang' (12 May 1987), BCA/1/2/6, Black Cultural Archives.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Dawn Hill, this period was raised and although she was unaware of the specific details of the rift she did refer to the possibility that Garrison and the others weren't 'on the same wavelength about the BCA'⁶⁶ but it seems as though Garrison made attempts to ensure that it was his vision that dominated the organisation by bringing new people in. Whilst Garrison's vision would become key to the development of the organisation, tensions between Garrison and Board members would again become an issue.

The Book Fair

The growth of the GLC and community grants also marked another important shift towards the turn to culture as a site of politics, and a return by La Rose and others to a deliberately cultural approach to politics. However, unlike BCA's move towards Afrocentrism, La Rose and the Huntleys used the context of the 'New Racism' to argue for a more internationalist approach to dealing with the issues of representation of Black history and culture. After the events of 1981, the New Cross Massacre and the disturbances across the country, La Rose and his associates helped to establish the International Book Fairs of Radical and Third World Books (Book Fair) in 1982 with Bogle L'Ouverture Press (BLP) and the Race Today Collective, all politically active and independent publishers. The initial idea for the Book Fair was to provide a place for dialogue and exchange and to give expression to political and social life.⁶⁷ The urgency to create the book fair was also due to 'the failure of the post war settlements to satisfy peoples' urges and aspirations'⁶⁸ that was also seen as the catalyst for the events of 1981. The Huntleys, along with La Rose and NBB and the Race Today Collective organised the first 'International Book Fair of Radical and Third World Books' at Islington Town Hall. Discussing the origins of the Book Fair, Eric Huntley attributes the idea to Jessica who had visited a Black book fair in the United States and was taken with the idea of holding a similar event in the UK, following a successful 10th anniversary BLP event at the Commonwealth Institute.⁶⁹ In 1979 to mark the anniversary of BLP a cultural festival was held to celebrate their longevity, particularly given the attacks on the organisation and to send a message of strength.⁷⁰ The celebration included talks, poetry readings, music, dance and

⁶⁶ Dawn Hill, Interview, mp3, 3 March 2016.

⁶⁷ John La Rose, 'Call to the Book Fair' in *Unending Journey: Selected Writings* (London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 2014), p.26.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Power to the People Film, available at huntleysonline.com.

⁷⁰ Andrews, *Doing Nothing is not an option*, p. 140.

bookstalls run by members of the Bookshop Joint Action, committee who had come together to defend independent bookshops from Far-Right attacks culminated in a variety concert.⁷¹

As a result of the successful celebration Jessica Huntley discussed her idea of holding something similar with La Rose. Following their discussions La Rose went ahead and booked Islington Town Hall without the knowledge of the Huntleys but the event was nonetheless a success.⁷² The Book Fair was described as another form of the activism that La Rose and the Huntleys were engaged in, in terms of providing alternative narratives and frames of references. To counteract the negative social portrayals of the Black communities the 'Book Fair was something else: Black people organising peacefully to affirm and celebrate their creativity'⁷³ and as a cultural manifestation of the political activity that the organisers were involved in.⁷⁴ The first Book Fair was held in April 1982 in Islington Town Hall⁷⁵ and for La Rose, represented another expression of historical continuity of the 1945 Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, again highlighting the importance of Padmore and a cultural continuation of CAM, or in essence a return to the principles of CAM and as an 'interface between culture and politics, provided opportunities for cultural expression and for informed discourse on local and international issues.'⁷⁶ For La Rose, the Book Fair represented the continuity of the Pan-African Congress through the emphasis placed on bringing together people from across the world, and paying particular attention to writers and delegates from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. It represented CAM through the return to the emphasis placed on culture and diverse writers and literatures. The 1945 Pan-African Congress was attended by delegates from across the world, including intellectuals such Kwame Nkrumah, and organised by George Padmore, and Amy Ashwood Garvey amongst others. At the conference, organized to represent Black people across the world, the issues of colonialism and racism were discussed with the final resolution of the conference urging colonial peoples across the Empire to take control of their destiny. The legacy of the Conference can be found within the desire to make the Book Fair 'a meeting of the continents'⁷⁷ and to involve people

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 141.

⁷² Ibid, p. 142.

⁷³ Bryce, quoted in Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p. 58.

⁷⁴ White, quoted in Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p. 59.

⁷⁵ Brian Alleyne, 'Anti-Racist Cultural Politics in Post-Imperial Britain: The New Beacon Circle', in *Utopian Pedagogy: Radical Experiments Against Neoliberal Globalization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 220.

⁷⁶ Sarah White, Roxy Harris, and Sharmilla Beezmohun, eds., *A Meeting of the Continents: The International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third World Books - Revisited: History, Memories, Organisation and Programmes 1982-1995* (London: New Beacon Books, 2005), p.1.

⁷⁷ La Rose 'Call to the Book Fair', p. 27.

from across the world as part of La Rose's wider international outlook. This highlights the development of the Book Fair within a broadly Pan-African framework that aimed at fighting the 'new racism' of the period through highlighting the vibrant and positive cultures that have emanated from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. The Book Fair was organised as a three-day event with a large exhibition of books that contained stalls from independent and national publishers; readings; discussion forums and an evening cultural performance.⁷⁸ As Roxy Harris describes:

The Book Fair actually ran from Thursday to Saturday inclusive, it started on the previous Sunday, we'd have what John La Rose devised as book fair festival week every day from Sunday right round to the following thing, every day we'd have an event, we'd call them forums so they could be about the theatre, it could be poetry reading, it could be prose reading, it could be new technology and the economy, international politics about youth, Malcolm X, about Grenada or, so every night there would be these forums and we would audio record them.⁷⁹

In addition to the Book Fair itself, which provided a place for publishers to meet and to highlight their publications, there was a week-long Festival that ran alongside the Fair.⁸⁰ The Festival provided forums throughout the week, for example, during the first Book Fair, forums were held on Theatre, Film and the role of Performance Poetry.⁸¹ The Festival continued throughout the history of the Book Fair, focussing on topical issues of the time.⁸² The Book Fair was another way for La Rose and the Huntleys to engage within the educational and the recovery of history and culture by continuing to expand the networks and audiences for books that challenged dominant European narratives. However, in describing the work of the Book Fair, La Rose described the importance of making allies across class and racial divides to ensure that change is affected, whilst still retaining cultural, political and social expressions.⁸³ The forums were designed to move away from a model of academic presentations and were designed to facilitate discussions between the audience and speakers. Additionally, the forums were an attempt to combine cultural and political analysis, and to move away from the division between intellectual work and social transformation.⁸⁴ By 1988 BLP were no longer

⁷⁸ Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p. 59.

⁷⁹ Roxy Harris, Interview, mp3, 8 July 2015.

⁸⁰ White et al. *A Meeting of the Continents*, p.16.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, pp.7-14.

⁸² *Ibid*, p.1.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p.14.

⁸⁴ Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p. 61.

involved in the planning and running of the Book Fair⁸⁵ and by 1991 the Race Today collective had also dropped out due to a developing rift between the publishers.⁸⁶ The Book Fair was held annually until 1991 and then bi-annually from 1991-1995.⁸⁷

By 1995 the toll of running the Book Fairs unassisted was starting to become apparent, and La Rose began suffering from bouts of ill health. This period towards the end of the Book Fair also marked the beginning of 'slowing down,' where the intense activism of the 1970s and 1980s was starting to decline.⁸⁸ Larger bookshops were starting to take over smaller ones and the market meant it was not sustainable for them to continue. The abolition of the GLC also affected bookshops who were reliant on their funding, and the closure of the ILEA also marked a shift in educational priorities, moving away from anti-racist and multicultural specific books and resources.⁸⁹ This marks another moment in the archives formally moving into this arena, to disrupt how British culture and history has been defined and who it reflects. Sarah White, co-founder of NBB and GPI described the situation as:

I just found the work of organizing the Book Fair tremendously draining, which is why we had gone from one year to two years, every two years. But also, that in a way, society had changed as well. When we started in the early '80s it was a three-day Book Fair, it was really a four day Book Fair because we had one day for setting up and we were really relaxed, well not relaxed but you know, spacious. By the time we finished no publishers had any spare staff that they could send out for the Book Fair for three days, and so you know in a way the whole ethos of trying to get mainstream publishers there, interested in the Black material that they had and meeting their audience it wasn't- they weren't coming to meet their audience. They were sending the books to just sell them or whatever but it had changed, both because of the way the economy had changed, schools couldn't bring their kids anymore because they had no time, but at the same time a lot of Black material had become much more mainstream so you know, you'd achieved something.⁹⁰

This final sentence from White also highlights another important aspect of NBB and GPI, which was that they only undertake a campaign or activity for as long as they feel that it is necessary

⁸⁵ 'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley' (7 January 1988), LMA/4462/Q/01/010, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

⁸⁶ Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p. 63.

⁸⁷ White et al. *A Meeting of the Continents*, p.1.

⁸⁸ Roxy Harris, Interview, mp3, 8 July 2015.

⁸⁹ Andrews, *Doing nothing is not an Option*, p. 147.

⁹⁰ Sarah White, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

or useful. By the end of the 1980s and early 1990s it appeared as though real change was being made in the face of the provision of multicultural education resources and therefore there was no longer a need for the Book Fair. I shall discuss the impact of 'multiculturalism' and diversity on the further development of the organisations in the following chapter. Although part of the shift in the context of racism that I have been discussing in this chapter, the political climate once again changed and it was felt that there was no longer a place for the Book Fair⁹¹ and led to new opportunities in the form of archival development. Following the ending of the Book Fair it was felt that another organisation, the George Padmore Institute could carry on the spirit of the Book Fair⁹² by continuing to provide a space for dialogue and access to resources. Additionally, during the late 1980s Anne Walmsley, a member of CAM undertook research on the history of the Movement between 1985-1988 and which formed the basis of her book, *The Caribbean Artists: A Literary and Cultural History, 1966-1971*.⁹³ Through undertaking the research she began to assemble primary and secondary material, partly as a desire to form an archive but which also needed a home.⁹⁴

The Huntleys' BLP were also facing greater financial difficulties growing from issues with their international distributors who failed to pay⁹⁵ and the general slowdown within the publishing industry affecting the many small bookshops and publishing during the 1980s. Additionally, the consolidation of publishing into larger bookshops exacerbated these problems as many of the mainstream bookshops refused to stock the books published by BLP and NBB, which shut down another avenue for making their books widely available.⁹⁶ This culminated in an increase of their rent from £3000 to £12000 per year.⁹⁷ In 1990 the Huntleys were forced to close the Walter Rodney Bookshop, although BLP continues to operate.⁹⁸ The Huntleys also experienced issues with the wife of Walter Rodney, Pat Rodney, who wished to terminate the contract they had to publish Walter Rodney's work as well as issues finding authors to submit material for publication.⁹⁹ BLP continued to operate from the home of the Huntleys and they began to look at alternative sources of finance and funding, initially looking

⁹¹ Harris, Roxy, 'Notes Composed by Roxy Harris' (May 1995), BFC/12/01/01/07, George Padmore Institute.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ 'Caribbean Artists Movement' available at <https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/collection/caribbean-artists-movement> <accessed 28/6/18>

⁹⁴ Chris Moffat 'Against Cultures of Hiatus,' p. 49.

⁹⁵ 'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley' (9 September 1990), LMA/4462/Q/01/010.

⁹⁶ Beckles, Pan African Sites of Resistance, p. 141.

⁹⁷ 'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley' (11 August 1990), LMA/4462/Q/01/010, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

⁹⁸ Andrews, Doing Nothing is not an Option, p. 148.

⁹⁹ 'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley' (8 January 1990), LMA/4462/Q/01/010, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

at ways in which their supporters, under the auspices of the 'Friends of Bogle L'Ouverture' could fundraise¹⁰⁰ as well as potential support from the Arts Council, although this would be a compromise on their principles it would secure their future.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, by the mid-1990s it wasn't clear whether there was still the need for the Book Fair to provide a cultural and political space as it was felt by La Rose and the other organisers that the Book Fair had achieved what it had set out to do, stimulating many other centres of cultural productions¹⁰² and providing access to information through publications and embedding diverse histories within society, particular through the rise of multiculturalism.¹⁰³ As will be covered more extensively in the final chapter, the move towards archives for the Huntley Collection did not occur until 2005 but their approach to memorialisation mirrors much of what has been discussed in relation to the development of the GPI and BCA. Following the assassination of Walter Rodney in Guyana in 1980, they renamed the 'Bookshop' the 'Walter Rodney Bookshop'¹⁰⁴ to ensure that his legacy continued to exist in a physical form, as well as through his publications.

Throughout this chapter I have traced the shift in racism and narratives of belonging that moved away from strictly identifying 'Britishness' in terms of skin colour but towards more nuanced descriptions that focussed on difference and culture, but that have also been mediated through funding opportunities. The response from the founders of the organisations was to embrace this new cultural focus, but with BCA moving towards nationalism and Afrocentrism and La Rose and the Huntleys staying rooted in a broader, internationalist approach. The legacies of the disorders in 1981 and 1985 forced Britain to take account of the enduring presence of people of African descent and marked the rise of 'multiculturalism' which will be further discussed in the following chapter.

¹⁰⁰ 'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley' (6 June 1991), LMA/4462/Q/01/010, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

¹⁰¹ 'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley' (18 December 1990), 18th December 1990, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

¹⁰² White et al, *A Meeting of the Continents*, p.23.

¹⁰³ See Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black*, for a discussion on the GLC and the problems of multiculturalism and anti-racism during this period.

¹⁰⁴ Busby, 'Jessica Huntley.'

6. Culture 'Drift'

In his 1999 article *From Scarman to Stephen Lawrence* Stuart Hall takes these two moments to discuss how these incidents represented both a change and a continuation within British society. Although this article focusses on the relationship between the police and the Black community, Hall observes that these events speak to:

'multicultural 'drift'- the increasing visible presence of black and Asian people in all aspects of British social life as a natural and inevitable part of the 'scene'- rather than an 'alien wedge,' to borrow Mrs. Thatcher's felicitous phrase- especially in the cities and urban areas. This is not the result of deliberate and planned policy but the unintended outcome of undirected sociological processes.¹

This 'drift' marks the final phase in this story of the development of the archives and the culmination of the work to ensure the recovery of historical narratives. The 'drift' towards an embrace of multiculturalism can be seen in the 1997 General Election victory of the Labour party, and the celebration of Britain as a tolerant and multicultural society. This chapter continues the discussion of the impact of shifts in policy on the development of the archives, particularly the changes in the heritage sector that embraced the policy of the inclusion of 'minority' histories and that paved the way to greater visibility of the issues of inclusion and representation. Following a broadly chronological approach, this chapter outlines the histories of the organisations from 1992 up to 2016 focussing on how this 'drift' towards multiculturalism, and particularly the role of funding and policy, in most cases, benefited the organisations. However, whilst many mainstream heritage organisations started to address 'inclusion' within their collections, it is important to remember that the development of organisations like Black Cultural Archives (BCA) in the 1980s did so because the mainstream organisations were failing to collect Black history. Hakim Adi describes:

I can remember, I remember two of us going to the Imperial War Museum [laughs], this was maybe 20 years ago or something and we saw the Director and we basically said "you know, why doesn't your museum have any Black people in it?" And basically, we got the reply "well, you know, why should it?" I can't remember exactly what he said but that was the gist of it, whereas these days you know, whatever your criticisms of

¹ Hall, *From Scarman to Stephen Lawrence*, p. 188.

the Imperial War Museum [are] they'll be someone there who would think that you would include African, Caribbean and South Asian people if you are doing something about First World War, Second World War. But in those days [laughs] I think we were basically dismissed as if "why are you raising this question? It's completely irrelevant to this museum."²

As Adi's statement describes, there was a general sense within the wider heritage sector during the 1980s and 1990s that minority histories were peripheral to their work, but as will be discussed in this chapter, that outlook soon began to change.

Following Labour's 1997 election success, the new Government started to turn its attention to 'social exclusion.' In 2000, the government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) launched their policy on museums, archives and libraries entitled *Centres for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All* which outlined their vision for the ways in which museums, archives and galleries could engage with their broader 'social exclusion' agenda. DCMS defined 'social exclusion' as 'a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health, poverty and family breakdown'³ and argued that tackling social exclusion would lead to better outcomes for people, particularly in the areas of education, employment, health and wellbeing and crime. The report outlined the ways in which museums, archives and galleries could tackle 'social exclusion' and also highlighted that those who were at risk of social exclusion were also less likely to visit heritage organisations.⁴ Crucially, the report placed the onus on publicly funded organisations to justify themselves in terms of ensuring their services were being enjoyed by all members of society and highlighted the importance of partnership working to ensure equality within the institutions.⁵ The report highlighted a three stage approach that looked at: access, which included becoming inclusive and accessible organisations; audience development; and museums, galleries and archives as 'agents of social change.'⁶ Many

² Hakim Adi, Interview, Mp3,

³ 'Centres for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All' (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, May 2000), available at, http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100113222743/http://www.cep.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/centres_social_change.pdf, p.9.

⁴ Ibid, p. 8.

⁵ Ibid, p. 9.

⁶ Ibid, p. 10.

mainstream archives, particularly local government and national archives like The National Archives (TNA) began to respond to this initiative.

It is also important to place the development of focus on 'social exclusion' against the backdrop of the publication of the Macpherson Report in 1999 on the murder of a Black teenager, Stephen Lawrence. Lawrence was murdered in a racist attack in 1993 in Eltham South London, whilst he and his friend Duwayne Brooks were waiting for a bus.⁷ An inquiry into the actions of the police, chaired by Sir William Macpherson, found that the Metropolitan Police's handling of the affair was 'marred by a combination of professional incompetence, institutional racism and a failure of leadership by senior officers.'⁸ The publication of the Macpherson Report led to the 2000 amendment of the Race Relations Act which placed on all public services the need to proactively promote equality and equal opportunities,⁹ as well as placing issues of institutional racism high on the Government's agenda.

'Windrush'

Although the victory of Labour marks an important turning point in terms of visibility, the importance of the fiftieth anniversary of the 'Windrush' in 1998 was a key moment in preparing for the development of the organisations, particularly as prior to 1998, 'the Windrush had practically slipped from Britain's historical consciousness.'¹⁰ In their book '*Black History-White History: Britain's Historical Programme between Windrush and Wilberforce*', authors Barbara Korte and Eva Ulrike Pirker argue that it was the BBC's programming and associated activities in 1998 that created the interest not only in 'Windrush' but Black history more broadly.¹¹ They argue that it was the airing of a series by Trevor Phillips and Mike Phillips entitled 'Windrush,' that was accompanied by the book '*Windrush: The irresistible rise of multi-racial Britain*' and a series of events that not only catapulted the 'Windrush generation' into prominence but also cemented it.¹² Alongside the increased awareness driven by the BBC, the issue of community collecting had also reached a head in 1998 when many heritage

⁷ Hall, Scarman to Stephen Lawrence, p. 187

⁸ Macpherson quoted in Hall, *Scarman to Stephen Lawrence*, p. 187.

⁹ Patrick Butler, 'Key Points of the Race Relations Amendment Act Implementation Report', *The Guardian*, 22 February 2001, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2001/feb/22/policy.raceequality>.

¹⁰ Barbara Korte and Eva Ulrike Pirker, *Black History - White History: Britain's Historical Programme between Windrush and Wilberforce*, (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2011), p. 27

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 35.

¹² *Ibid*.

organisations realised they had little material available to mark the anniversary.¹³ The Huntleys were also involved in the 1998 Windrush commemoration activities that took place in Ealing, and helped to establish the Ealing Windrush Consortium. The Ealing Windrush Consortium, chaired by Eric Huntley was established following the development of a BBC project to involve the Black community in the Council's planned events during 1998.¹⁴ Following the success of this work the council wanted to continue dialogue between the council and the community with the longer-term aim of shaping the Council's social policies relating to the Black community, particularly around education and the eventual creation of a cultural centre.¹⁵ As noted by Korte and Pirker, whilst it is the case that a number of projects were set up, focussing only on the work of the BBC and other mainstream organisations it elides the work being undertaken by community organisations such as Black Cultural Archives (BCA) and the Huntleys prior to 1998.

Returning to the importance of the 'Windrush' narrative outlined in chapter four, the Black community were rallying to ensure that the memories of the 'Windrush Generation' were not lost. BCA had already been undertaking a series of oral histories entitled 'Myth of the Motherland' from 1986, which sought to interview people who had come to Britain from 1948¹⁶ and were involved with a project with Lambeth Archives to mark the 40th anniversary of the Windrush in 1988 entitled '40 Winters On.'¹⁷ The Huntleys had already begun to think more carefully about the history and heritage of the Black community in London through two initiatives aimed at capturing the memories of the Black community. The drive for the collection of these memories was the realisation that many of those who formed the 'Windrush generation' were retiring or returning to the Caribbean.¹⁸ Eric Huntley was involved in the Kensington and Chelsea community history group that aimed at capturing the stories of those involved in the Notting Hill Carnival. Although the Huntleys became actively involved in capturing oral histories surrounding the Windrush and the opportunities provided, they had always been interested in the importance of biographies and biographical narratives to 'correct

¹³ Madge Dresser, 'Museums', in *The Oxford Companion to Black British History* (Oxford University Press, 2007), <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192804396.001.0001/acref-9780192804396-e-288>>. <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192804396.001.0001/acref-9780192804396-e-288>>.

¹⁴ 'Ealing Windrush 1998 Consortium- Annual Report, 2nd Feb. 1999'.LMA/4463/C/012/02/001

¹⁵ 'Proposal for Ealing Windrush Education Pack' (1998), LMA/4463/C/012/03/007, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

¹⁶ 'Myth of the Motherland,' available at

<http://www.calmview.eu/BCA/CalmView/record.aspx?src=DServe.Catalog>

¹⁷ The title of the book was a nod to Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech Jones who in 1948 said that the passengers of the Windrush 'won't last one winter', available at <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/months-past/arrival-ss-empire-windrush>.

¹⁸ Ibid.

this gross imbalance in the record of our presence in Britain [our aim] is to encourage prominent individuals from the Caribbean to record their experiences, both in Britain and the Caribbean,¹⁹ through the capturing and encouraging of writing memoirs. The Huntleys also began another biographical project called the 'Caribbean Biographical Project' in 1992, based at the Keswidee centre.²⁰ The rationale for the development of the Caribbean Biographical Project was described as:

unfortunately, the vitally missing link between future generations of Britons with a Caribbean background and the years 1948 to 2000 is likely to be the records of group and individual achievements, and their contributions to, and perceptions of wider society which as emerged in Imperial Britain. One way of helping to correct this gross imbalance is the record of our presence in Britain is to encourage prominent individuals from the Caribbean to record their experiences, both in Britain and the Caribbean. [...] These individuals must be encouraged to write their memoirs. Even if these are not published immediately, the rich material they contain would at least be available to future generations of scholars, writers and the community. Like other communities, Caribbean people in Britain need to capitalise their resources for future generations, particularly our children who need to be aware of the richness of their heritage. Not to write about this experience is to deprive them of aspects of their most valuable inheritance.²¹

It is clear that the local and national activities, spearheaded and funded by the BBC in 1998 gave the Huntleys and other community organisers the framework in which to do the work that they had always wanted to undertake but were unable to, presumably due to finance and capacity issues. Whilst the Huntleys had previously been interested in preserving the experiences and narratives of the Caribbean community for future generations there was also another motivation behind this work:

However, putting pen to paper, as they say is almost ensuring that we did exist. Another reason is that before our very eyes, and sometimes with surprising speed, a whole new generation of our sons, daughters, nieces and nephews and cousins find themselves in the public arena with little or sometimes no background material, as to what should inform them in their various endeavours. Some of the young sisters and

¹⁹ 'Biographies of Prominent West Indians in Britain' (n.d.), LMA/4462/Q/01/010, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

²⁰ 'Meeting of the 6 September, 1992' LMA/4462/Q/01/010. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

²¹ Ibid.

brothers are somehow contemptuous of us and behave as though everything started with them. They have no history and what little do exist [sic] is nothing to be proud, that is, from their self-perceived perspective.²²

This passage highlights many of the key themes that have been running through this research, particularly the need to actively engage in the recording of history and providing documentation for future generations. The final sentence also reflects another underlying motivation for the development of the Huntley Collection and the George Padmore Institute (GPI), which is the need to engage with the creation of narratives that specifically relate to the histories of radicalism and political campaigning within Britain. For Roxy Harris, John La Rose's long-standing friend and current Trustee of the GPI, this focus on youth culture sought to privilege the activism of the youth, which although important, was founded through the earlier activism of those who came to UK as adults, including La Rose. At this same moment, although La Rose and his associates had played a key role in parts of the history of the Black community, they found that they were starting to be written out of these histories in favour not only of the 'Windrush' narrative but also the focus on youth culture.²³ Additionally, the focus on youth culture was reaching academic narratives through the publications of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), which was based in Birmingham and undertook pioneering work on aspects of culture during the 1970s to the 1990s.

The CCCS sought to highlight the importance of agency within culture, rather than focussing on communities and cultural products as objects of study.²⁴ Through the work of Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy, amongst others the CCCS studied the importance of youth culture to the creation of cultural identities and in fighting racism. Writing on the CCCS, Roxy Harris argued that the rise of cultural studies placed too much emphasis on youth culture, obscuring the historical tradition that La Rose and others had not only been a part of, but also had tried to highlight.²⁵ Furthermore, there was a realisation that during this period of 'slowing down' that there was a need to create the documentary evidence of these movements. Harris argued that:

We also were aware of accounts of Black Britain beginning to be spread, which we found unsatisfactory. Typically these accounts left out all the activism that we had been

²² Ibid.

²³ Harris, Interview, 8 July 2015.

²⁴ Warmington, *Black British Intellectuals and Education*, p. 103.

²⁵ Roxy Harris, 'Openings, Absences and Omissions Aspects of the Treatment of 'Race', Culture and Ethnicity in British Cultural Studies,' *Cultural Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996), pp. 339-341.

involved in that we saw as central to understanding Black Britain, was never there and a couple of examples of this, John La Rose was constantly being approached by younger people, to talk about all of this stuff that we had been involved in and he would find himself talking for hours telling people and being audio recorded and giving up so much of his time and energy but for one person to get an account. I think we thought, we analysed why these accounts were coming out without us being involved and we thought 'actually, part of the reason is that we haven't docu- we haven't produced the documentation of the struggles for other people to have' so they don't know about it. And so that's what we said, 'we've got to start doing it' I think that was the original thought that we had.²⁶

It is clear that a number of factors culminated in a greater desire to begin to document Black histories towards the end of the 1990s some driven by changes in Government policy and a greater focus on inclusion but was also driven by a community desire to capture history for future generations.

BASA

Furthermore, another important factor during this period and the greater focus on 'social cohesion' and the need to capture diverse histories was demonstrated in the hosting of a conference by the Black and Asian Studies Association (BASA) entitled the 'National Conference on Ethnic Minority Archives' to discuss issues relating to the provision of material about Britain's Black and Asian communities and to put forward practical ways of dealing with these issues.²⁷ Established in 1991 as the 'Association for the Study of African Caribbean and Asian Culture and History in Britain', the organisation changed its name to BASA in 1997.²⁸ Much of the work of BASA rests on 'foster[ing] research and to disseminate information on the history of Black peoples in Britain'²⁹ as well as lobbying governmental and non-governmental organisations on issues regarding the promotion of Black and Asian history. The BASA membership comprised of teachers, independent scholars, archivists and academics³⁰ and promoted Black history through projects, and the publication of a newsletter that highlighted new work and research in the field. Professor Hakim Adi, one of the founders of BASA

²⁶ Roxy Harris, Interview, mp3, 8 July 2015

²⁷ 'Ethnic Minority Archives' (1998), BASA/2/1/2, Black Cultural Archives. BASA, BASA/2/1/2, at Black Cultural Archives.

²⁸ 'Home,' Black and Asian Studies Association, available at <http://www.blackandasianstudies.org/>.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Caroline Bressey, 'Radical Histories: Radical History Then and Now', *History Workshop Journal* 83 (2017), p. 218.

describes the rationale for setting the organisation up as emerging from the lack of 'promotion of the subject, in terms of archives, museums, teaching, National Curriculum and just, getting people together.'³¹

Adi went on to say:

So we set up an association, which was originally called the Association for the Study of African, Caribbean and Asian [pause] Culture and History, ASACACHIB was the acronym and no one could remember the acronym, or what the title was, which was why it was turned to BASA. The reason why we didn't say, we didn't call it, initially Black, was because we included South Asian and there were all kinds of issues about using 'Black' anyway so we thought it was better to be specific about what we were actually concerned about. So we established that, it had a newsletter which Marika edited, which- it was set up basically to encourage more concern for this history and as I say, to try and make sure that at every level; school, university, the archival, museum and so on it was taken seriously and it was useful. And at that time no one was really doing that, that work, so we- the newsletter was a way of kind of highlighting things that might be written, or people may have been researching.³²

Throughout the interviews undertaken with members of the archives, the support of BASA and particularly Marika Sherwood was highlighted as a key factor in maintaining interest in Black history during the 1990s. Colin Prescod, trustee of the Friends of Huntley Archives describes Sherwood's role in documenting Black history, he notes that 'Marika came along and so she got that idea and inside of that moment, one thing she discovered was actually there is this hole, there is a history a real history, a lived history of Black presence in Britain that makes it impossible to talk about Black people only here since the Windrush, yes and it goes back too.'³³ Prescod continued to say that 'she stopped, she resigned her job and decided that she could live frugally and she'd just start digging around for the evidence to produce at the beginning little pamphlet things' adding that 'she's, she got the message, got the bug and turned herself into somebody who's digging up that long line of presences, the archive, digging in the archive because it's in there and the people who don't know, didn't know it was there, now dig it out all the rest of it. So, what she's done is very interesting it seems to me.'³⁴ Finally, he noted that 'I think it's worth doing an interesting film study of her,

³¹ Hakim Adi, Interview, mp3, 18 February 2016.

³² Ibid.

³³ Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2017

³⁴ Ibid.

just to look at how this strange Hungarian Jewish woman turns herself into a serious anti-racist activist at the level of archives and changing discourse, challenging discourse.³⁵

This was also brought up by Sarah White who noted:

I always think of the '90s as an upsurge of interest in Black history. I think, well a leading person in all of that was Marika Sherwood, with her Black and Asian Studies Association and her regular magazine digging up bits and pieces all over England about Black people who had lived here over the years and keeping it you know, very much in the public eye and her intervention about school curricula and all of this, she was excellent. And, there were a number of conferences in '90s about it, and we used to attend a committee. I can't remember what it was called, where you had some, librarians or archivists from, from local libraries from local councils there. And you had people like ourselves who were interested in setting up their own archive with their material, people like Marika who had been working in the area for some time, and discussing the issues so that was very interesting as well.³⁶

The presence of Sherwood within my research also disturbs the narratives of Black history development that focuses exclusively on Black people. It is clear that Sherwood, as a white woman was pivotal in keeping space for Black history to develop and helped to create a network of people interested in promoting history. I will return to the question of race in the final chapter. The work of Sherwood and BASA during the early 1990s was key to putting the importance of Black history on the agenda of policy makers and can be seen to coalesce with the victory of Labour in 1997. As a result of this focus on inclusion and the drive to diversify collections, from both the Black community and the wider policy agenda this period also saw ground-breaking projects such as Caribbean Studies Black and Asian History also known as *CASBAH* (1999-2002),³⁷ a project to map archival holdings relating to Caribbean sources and to provide a toolkit for archives to interrogate their holdings relating to Caribbean history, along with *Moving Here* (2005-2007),³⁸ a project that digitised and brought together material on twentieth century migration. These projects, *Moving Here* and *CASBAH* attempted to directly address the issue of the availability of material relating to minority communities on the internet, through mapping and digitising it. As discussed by Colin Prescod, whilst these initiatives

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Sarah White, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

³⁷ At the time of writing, this project website was no longer available but can be viewed through the Internet Archive Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140820145631/http://www.casbah.ac.uk/> >

³⁸ This project is also no longer live but can be viewed here <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.movinghere.org.uk/>.

began to give greater weight to the collection and creation of Black collections at mainstream organisations, it was also in part due to the effort of community organisations such as BCA, GPI and the Huntley Collection:

But it seems to me but it's related, if you are talking about the interventions with Black archives, in the late 20th century, early 21st century, then there is thing which is happening over here which is related, you know, so who's doing this other stuff? Because all these archive people are doing what I call a 'living archive', the stuff we know about, this is the history we are absolutely sure about because we have been in it, we have been making it. Yes? And how dare you not be realising it ought to be registered, because and we're people, and we know, and I'm repeating myself deliberately, we know over there when we didn't do this, when we were- on the plantations we were inventing duh dah and all the rest, all these things which are themes of Britishness yes? that are now boasted about, a bit like Stuart Hall's a cup of sugar in the cup of tea, things that we knew that we were putting into British culture we don't see ourselves in the stories as you tell them. With that history on our backs we're damned if we are not going to be making a noise now, as soon as we can, do you know nobody is remembering this? Nobody is [unclear] kids know this, so we have to do it, we have to insert it ourselves.³⁹

As noted by Prescod, the focus on the 'Windrush' and the national move towards thinking about 'inclusion/exclusion' gave the archives a vehicle in which they could 'insert' themselves. Although Prescod was discussing the broader 'we' of history, his point is also reminiscent of the points made by the Huntleys and Harris about the younger generations, as there also seems to be an underlying fear that these activists, or this history of activism was being overwritten or forgotten. The specific 'we' of the founders of the archives were not only the ones who had 'lived' the history but were also working to ensure that they were remembered. This was echoed by Hakim Adi, who when I asked him about the role of BASA and other organisations in creating and keeping the space for Black history during the 1990s he concurred that these organisations were vital:

Yeah, I think we raised people's awareness and we kind of created the conditions if you like. We put the history on the, on the map may not be quite the right expression but we championed that history and tried to create the conditions in these various areas- for it to develop, so as I say, archives, schools, higher education, museums.

³⁹ Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2017

And either as BASA or as individuals we were involved in all of those areas throughout that period. So yeah, I think we, I think we definitely made an impact. We made sure that people didn't forget or lose sight of the importance of this history.⁴⁰

As noted, this period should also be understood as a coming together of opportunities and shifts in policy that were themselves generated by the previous campaigning and activities of the founders of the archives; 'the other stuff' that Prescod describes.

AMBH

In this next section I turn to a major project undertaken by BCA, which in many ways was made possible by this extraordinary work and effort of individuals and organisations during the 1990s to continue to champion Black history. Throughout the 1990s, BCA continued to maintain a low-key existence, putting on exhibitions and hosting small groups in its building at 378 Coldharbour Lane. By this time, Len Garrison had moved to Nottingham in 1988, although he remained involved. The Coldharbour Lane building was refurbished and reopened in 1990,⁴¹ but the rest of the decade marked increased turmoil for the organisation. Although the organisation continued to hold small exhibitions, run workshops and hold events by 1995, over a decade after its foundation, the organisation had failed to establish itself and was suffering from increasing cuts from Lambeth Council which hampered its work, with its funding cut from £46,000 to £35,000 in 1995.⁴² In addition, the unsuitability of the building as an archive repository was becoming increasingly clear as the basement would often flood as a result of its positioning near the River Effra.⁴³ To supplement the organisation's income the ground floor that was used as an exhibition space was rented out to Timbuktu books.⁴⁴ This partly returned the space to its former use as a bookshop, but which impacted on the space available to the BCA, particularly as the basement was unusable for storage. During this period BCA also started to draw negative feedback from its local community in Brixton. As BCA continued to only employ one full time member of staff, it made it difficult to keep the building open and to attend meetings off site. This led to the community impression that BCA was always closed when people came to visit and questioning of the place of the organisation and

⁴⁰ Hakim Adi, Interview, mp3, 18 February 2016.

⁴¹ 'Letter from Sam Walker to Len Garrison' (26 July 1990), BCA/1/2/6, Black Cultural Archives.

⁴² 'Management Committee Meeting' (8 April 1995), BCA/1/2/4 (2/2), Black Cultural Archives.

⁴³ Directors Report September 2001, BCA/1/5/3, Black Cultural Archives.

⁴⁴ Letter dated 31st July 1990, BCA/1/2/6, Black Cultural Archives.

its usefulness within the community.⁴⁵ A further blow was dealt to the organisation when they learned in 1997 that their application to transform 'Site D' into the permanent home of BCA was finally rejected as the organisation was unable to raise the necessary funds to complete the project.⁴⁶

Following the establishment of the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) both the BCA and Middlesex University had applied independently for funding to establish a resource base dedicated to promoting Black history. HLF was created in 1994 on the establishment of the National Lottery, to provide support for 'good causes like heritage, the arts, sport and charities.'⁴⁷ Following the dissolution of the GLC, the HLF remains one of the few organisations that fund archives and heritage, but one of the key aspects of the HLF is that they are not revenue funders, which means that they do not regularly fund organisations like the Arts Council, for example, to cover core operating costs.⁴⁸ They instead fund on a project basis. Generally, the HLF's strategic priorities mirror those of government policy towards the funding of community groups and can be seen in the emphasis on 'social exclusion' under the Labour Government. However, a major change occurred in 1998 when BCA embarked on a new project with Middlesex University.⁴⁹ The partnership was initially established as both organisations were promoting access to Black history resources, with teaching of Black history developing at Middlesex. The partnership came about as the culmination of a number of factors, including increasing interest in issues of race and diversity and increased availability of funding through the establishment of the HLF.

Middlesex University's initial idea was to create an archive of Black heritage in Haringey, East London, where Middlesex University had a campus, to capitalise on its work on race and the development of the Centre for Racial Equality Studies (CRES) in addition to the work on culture and education.⁵⁰ Middlesex entered into discussion with Haringey Council to potentially turn the Town Hall into an archive⁵¹. Newspaper reports from 1996 show that whilst the project was supported both by Haringey Council who were willing to invest £20,000

⁴⁵ Conrad Peters, Interview, 2 March 2016.

⁴⁶ Minutes of the AGM of Board of Trustees, Thursday 26th June 1997, BCA/1/1/2, Black Cultural Archives.

⁴⁷ 'Our History,' The Heritage Lottery Fund, available at <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/our-history..>

⁴⁸ Arts Council 'Regular Funding for Organisations' at <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/apply-funding/funding-programmes/regular-funding-for-organisations/>. <Accessed 03 August 2015>.

⁴⁹ 'AMBH Meeting' (6 September 1999), BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

⁵⁰ 'AMBH Final Report' (July 2003), BCA/1/5/3, Black Cultural Archives. AMBH report, 2003, BCA/1/5/3, Black Cultural Archives, p. 13.

⁵¹ 'New Nation' 9th December 1996 in BCA/7/4, Black Cultural Archives.

for a feasibility study and was supported by Tottenham MP Bernie Grant,⁵² the project also received backlash from Conservative councillors who wrote that the proposed project would be 'wasteful, racially divisive and a personal monument to Mr. Grant.'⁵³ Bernie Grant was one of three Black MPs (along with Dianne Abbott and Keith Vaz) to be elected to Parliament standing for the Labour Party in 1987, which was one of the first times that Black people had been elected.⁵⁴ Grant quickly became a vocal MP and drew criticism due to his staunch advocacy of Black people's rights and issues.⁵⁵ Grant and the BCA worked together as part of the African Reparations Movement (ARM), founded in 1993 after a Conference on Reparations held in Nigeria.⁵⁶ During a meeting in 1996 it appears as though the first mention of working with Middlesex came about through ARM which aimed at creating a Black Studies programme at Middlesex. However, it is unclear how the shift was made from both the CRES and ARM who were interested pursuing the project in 1996 to the eventual development of AMBH with Middlesex in 1998. As both organisations, Middlesex and BCA, were working towards the same goal to establish a Black archive and heritage centre, the HLF and the South Eastern Museums Service (SEMS) suggested that they should work together, and form an independent organisation.⁵⁷ This project became the National Museum and Archive of Black History and Culture (NMABHC), although it was renamed the Archives and Museum of Black Heritage (AMBH) in 2001⁵⁸ due to it failing to meet criteria to be considered a national project.⁵⁹

Although both parties were looking to use the collaboration to secure a permanent archive building HLF suggested that Middlesex and BCA should first work towards building the profile of the project⁶⁰ in order to maximise the chances of a later successful capital project bid. In 1999 a successful bid of £344,000 was accepted by HLF to create the AMBH project that was conceived as a two-year pilot project running from 2000-2002. The project seconded Professor Lola Young from Middlesex as Project Director, Sam Walker from BCA was also seconded on a part-time basis as Project Co-ordinator. They were supported by a steering

⁵² "Row over cash for black museum", Tottenham and Wood Green Journal 5th December 1996, in BCA/7/4, Black Cultural Archives.

⁵³ Sunday Telegraph December 29 1996, from BCA/7/4, Black Cultural Archives.

⁵⁴ 'Bernie Grant' A Short Biography, available at <http://berniegrantarchive.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Bernie-Grant-A-Short-Biography.pdf> (accessed 27 June 2020)

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ 'Africa Reparations Movement, available at <http://www.calmview.eu/BCA/CalmView/record.aspx?src=DServe.Catalog>, (accessed 27 June 2020).

⁵⁷ Meeting of the Board of Trustees 23rd November 1999, BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

⁵⁸ Minutes of the AMBH Board of Trustees held on 20th Feb [2001], BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

⁵⁹ Walker, Interview.

⁶⁰ AMBH Final Report, p. 14.

committee composed of members from Middlesex and BCA, with Dawn Hill, a trustee of BCA appointed to the position of Chair.⁶¹ At this point, £344,000 was the largest funding ever secured for a Black-led heritage project,⁶² with early reports on the project highlighting its ambitious nature. Press statements and reports from 1999 show that the scope of the project was initially to employ twelve members of staff to improve access to the collections, including expanding the current opening hours from Monday to Friday by appointment, to a drop in system open seven days a week.⁶³ The proposed partnership with Middlesex can be clearly understood within this broader interest in addressing social exclusion and an interest in partnership work in the sector, as well as a steadily growing understanding of the importance of Black history, or as Hall argues the 'drift' towards the acceptance and appreciation of diverse histories. This partnership highlights the importance of timing and policy climate, but also highlights some of the issues of partnership working when conceived as an answer to funding attached to policy agendas.

Problems soon emerged within the project, relating to timescales and personnel, but also fundamentally to the position of the project in relation to the structure of BCA. The project highlighted the on-going tension between BCA's commitment to independence, but also its reliance on external support. It seems that whilst the organisation was happy to make use of grant funding, partnership work of this kind caused tensions and issues within the project. Although partnership working was broadly conceived as important for successful projects and outlined in the government's policy, partnership working can also be a source of tension. In this case, the main source of tension was the return of Garrison to London in 1997 and who was immediately unhappy with the project plans, especially the condition of the agreement to create a separate charitable organisation.⁶⁴

Although Garrison had left London in 1988, he continued to exert a degree of control over the direction of the organisation. During the AMBH project he brought new people onto the Board, including current Trustee Conrad Peters. In an interview Peters describes how he was approached by Garrison to join the Board as a way of preventing the AMBH project from being taken over.⁶⁵ As with the split in 1986/87, it was not the first time that Garrison brought new people onto the Board whom he felt he could trust to promote his vision for the organisation. The main areas of concern within BCA was the potential of AMBH to

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 15.

⁶² Press release from 'Spotlight' Week ending 3rd September 1999, BCA/7/4, Black Cultural Archives.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Interviews with Conrad Peters, Dawn Hill and Sam Walker.

⁶⁵ Conrad Peters, Interview, Mp3, 2 March 2016.

overshadow, and subsume the work of BCA, in part due to the position of Sam Walker as the then Director of BCA and his secondment to the AMBH project.⁶⁶ In an interview, Sam Walker describes the situation, as ‘there was this feeling that Middlesex was going to take over and we were going to lose BCA, that was up to the time when it folded, there wasn’t any trust.’⁶⁷ Walker felt that there was also a feeling that he had ‘sold’ BCA to Middlesex, whereas Walker saw the project in terms of increasing the professionalization of the organisation through employing qualified people and access to Middlesex’s resources.⁶⁸ Walker describes the issues as:

I think because when the University came along, Len and some other people were not happy because they felt that the University was going to come and take the BCA away, and the BCA would be lost. And at the beginning, number one, they said “ok, Sam you still maintain being the Director of BCA”, BCA as an entity will still be there and AMBH will be different. And I used to go to meetings and there was some hostility coming from the side of Black Cultural Archives feeling that Middlesex was going to take BCA away. In fact, some of them felt that I sold Black Cultural Archives to Middlesex University, so that thought seriously continued and then of course, ok we got the money and we were able to get some professional archivist, a PA, we had a researcher and these were highly qualified people, academically qualified people who are coming along so all of us were working together.⁶⁹

The tension between BCA and Middlesex was echoed in interviews with current Board members Dawn Hill and Conrad Peters.⁷⁰ Dawn Hill, who joined BCA in 1988 described the issues in the project as stemming from Len Garrison: ‘who kept thinking that they want to take his project away from him. I mean, he’s, he was paranoid about that which wasn’t the case. The whole thing was to, look at the- look at what was needed to move this organisation to a different level.’⁷¹ She added that:

I don’t know because it was very difficult dealing with him and Middlesex, he wanted to control everything and it wasn’t possible because if you are going to have an organisation that’s going to grow and that’s going to be a bigger organisation then just a community organisation down in Brixton you have to actually look at it in a completely

⁶⁶ Meeting of the BCA Sub-Committee, 2nd November 1999, BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

⁶⁷ Sam Walker, Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Interviews with Conrad Peters and Dawn Hill

⁷¹ Dawn Hill, Interview, mp3, 3 March 2016.

different way and start looking at it, what are the things that need to happen to make this organisation, get to a different level? And I'm sure he had very good ideas in his head, but he gave us a very difficult time [laughs], at the meetings, very difficult.⁷²

For Conrad Peters, who was brought onto the Board by Garrison during the AMBH project his feeling was that:

there were some challenges for the BCA in the sense that they felt threatened that Middlesex might eventually take over the project, because of the status, because of the academic side of things. I think they thought, there was a concern at least, they'd probably take over and approaching the end of the project we had to draw up an exit strategy.⁷³

However, Walker and Hill both felt that the organisation would have benefitted greatly from the partnership in terms of making the BCA better known, and to improve the level of professionalism of the organisation, but ultimately the project failed to move beyond the initial stages. When asked about what prompted the tension, Walker argued that:

part of the reason why, they felt so strongly about it that there were white people from the University sitting there as well, this should be a Black thing. From my perspective, I was thinking there yes Black people there, white people there but you can ride on their backs and you can get what you want. That's the way I was looking at it. I know that whatever they were thinking at the time Middlesex University has got better resources, they've got better name recognition, they can go about and [unclear] that when it comes to funds. I think, perhaps they were a bit jealous as well because here are people that can speak in places that others can't.⁷⁴

It isn't clear whether the tension stemmed from the general Afrocentric ideology of the organisation, which stresses the importance of retaining independence for Black organisations, or as a result of the personality issues that also led to the 1986/87 split, particularly with the sense of ownership that Garrison had over the BCA. It is likely to be a combination of both aspects, but which ultimately led to difficulties with the project. Furthermore, the issue of race was one of the key factors that underpinned much of the ethos

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Conrad Peters, Interview, Mp3, 2 March 2016.

⁷⁴ Sam Walker, Interview, Mp3, 9 March 2016.

of the work of the archives. One of the key aspects of the work of BCA up to this point was the desire to staff the organisation by Black people, and which reflects the issue of race that Walker highlighted. Throughout the organisation's history there were attempts made to create training opportunities for Black people to become archivists, many of which failed to get off the ground.⁷⁵ Jon Newman, the Archives Manager at Lambeth Archives describes his association with the organisation and the difficulties that the organisation faced:

I helped out on a number of interview panels for archivist or archivist type posts and on at least two different occasions the BCA coming up against this kind of fundamental problem which was they- in terms of their own identity- they wanted to, they needed to appoint Black staff and there were no qualified Black staff, or if they were qualified Black staff they weren't coming forward for that job. So I remember being party to at least two interview sessions where there was an attempt to appoint a Black archivist, on one occasion appointing a Black candidate who really sort of had office admin and maybe a little bit of records management experience and that was a very kind of unhappy and unsuccessful appointment and she couldn't cope and she wasn't supported and she quickly left. I remember that as being a kind of a, a common thread I suppose running through that decade, decade and a half. A desire to professionalise, a desire to appoint a Black archivist, a desire to get control over the collections but running parallel to that, an equally strong desire to have that process undertaken by Black staff and they never seemed to find any. So, it must have been a terribly frustrating time for Sam.⁷⁶

Newman highlights the other issue that the organisation was dealing with, they not only had to contend with collecting material that the sector at the time didn't see as necessary, but were also dealing with a dearth of qualified Black staff who would be able to work with the collections. As has been highlighted the role of race and 'Blackness' has been discussed throughout the development of the organisations, with all three taking different stances. As highlighted in chapter four, this question of race and Blackness led to the demise of the Caribbean Artists' Movement (CAM) but it is clear that New Beacon Books has always been more comfortable with an expansive understanding of Blackness, particularly when it came to working with others. For the Huntleys and the development of Bogle L'Ouverture Books (BLP),

⁷⁵ Report to Management Committee Meeting 4th July 1992, BCA/1/2/7; Minutes of the AGM of Board of Trustees, Thursday 26th June 1997, BCA/1/1/2; Report to Board of Trustees, April 2005, BCA/1/5/4 at Black Cultural Archives

⁷⁶ Jon Newman, Interview, mp3, 2 May 2016.

they were happy to work in partnership with white organisations such as the Bookshop Joint Action Committee but focussed on having African descended people in decision making roles in the organisation. For the BCA their approach to race is less clear cut, particularly when it comes to funding and decision making as the issues raised by Walker in relation to Middlesex could be solely understood in terms of race but more likely issues stemming from Garrison and his desire to retain control. This is an issue that will be discussed later in the chapter, and more fully in the following chapter.

The issue of trust is particularly important within Black community endeavours, and generally within all community archives when working with mainstream organisations.⁷⁷ As outlined, the history of the post-1948 Black settlement was increasingly marked by tensions between Black communities and the State, particularly in areas of schooling, housing and policing. For BCA, as Middlesex University represented the establishment some were concerned that Middlesex would take the credit for the work that the BCA had undertaken especially as it was perceived to be of greater professional standing and that the project would lead to a loss of identity,⁷⁸ which was a key aspect of the formation of BCA. However, Middlesex was also concerned about the ability of BCA to manage the project alone due to its limited staff resources and infrastructure and were wary of becoming the lead in the project, acknowledging BCA's fear that it would be seen as taking over a Black community project.⁷⁹ In an interview with Hakim Adi who was employed as a lecturer in history at Middlesex, he raised the issue that at Middlesex there 'wasn't really an environment which was, you'd say supportive in the sense that it had any particular interest in what I was doing, or even the courses that we taught.'⁸⁰ Adi added that 'you didn't get the feeling there was any great enthusiasm in the university leadership for history or for humanities and although I did various things while I was there, I wouldn't say I was particularly supported.'⁸¹ It is clear that whilst the project was led by individuals from Middlesex who were keen to see the project through, they may not have had full intuitional backing. If this is the case, it raises the question of what would have happened to the project if it had continued beyond the initial stages but those working for Middlesex moved on or were given new priorities.

⁷⁷ See Flinn, '*Community Histories*', pp. 167-168

⁷⁸ Conrad Peters, Interview, Mp3, 2 March 2016

⁷⁹ Meeting of the BCA Sub-Committee, Black Cultural Archives.

⁸⁰ Hakim Adi, Interview, mp3, 18 February 2016.

⁸¹ Ibid.

Although there was tension from the outset both parties agreed on the creation of the separate, legal body, AMBH, on the provision that the time limitations of the organisation be made clear and that on completion of the project, it would either be wound up or a new permanent body could be created from another successful bid for capital funding.⁸² Following these agreements, the project focussed on increasing the accessibility of BCA's collections, extending the range of the collections and strengthening BCA's position in terms of increasing awareness of the work of the organisation.⁸³ Formally, the project set out an ambitious programme of outreach activities in six targeted geographical areas; the creation of outreach and educational materials for use in primary and secondary schools, in addition to creating material for adults; the creation of displays and exhibitions; the provision of remote access and an increase in contributions to the collection; the expansion of the existing collection through; and seeking the location and identification of other relevant collections.⁸⁴

The tension in the project from the outset created a number of internal difficulties, which were exacerbated by external problems. The project only recruited eight, instead of the twelve members of staff originally intended, including Sam Walker and Lola Young all based at Coldharbour Lane. The new staff members were Sheila Gopaulen, seconded from the Public Records Office (now the National Archives) as a part-time researcher, Alice Rowbotham in the post of archivist, Carol Tulloch as exhibitions curator, Dr. Roshi Naidoo also seconded from Middlesex to work as the Education and Outreach Manager, Angela Brivett as part-time Marketing and Audience Development Manager and Yejide Akinade as an administrative assistant.⁸⁵ Alice Rowbotham and Sheila Gopaulen were in post by the end of December 2000, with all members of staff in place by May 2002. The original remit for the Research post was to research and create a database of similar collections across the country. However, in 1999 the CASBAH project, initiated by Marika Sherwood at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies was awarded funding from the Research Support Libraries Programme to map resources relating to the history of Black and Asian people in the UK,⁸⁶ with activities taking place during the same timeframe as the AMBH project but with a significantly greater staff team and infrastructure. As such, there was little point in AMBH duplicating the work of CASBAH so the role of researcher was re-orientated towards

⁸² 'Middlesex's View', Minutes from meeting 13th December 1999, BCA/1/2/4, Black Cultural Archives

⁸³ Letter of Intent, BCA/1/2/4, Black Cultural Archives.

⁸⁴ AMBH Report, p. 19.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 17.

⁸⁶ CASBAH, available at

https://web.archive.org/web/20131512222500/http://www.casbah.ac.uk/about_project.stm.

investigating the collections at BCA and assisting with exhibitions work.⁸⁷ Additionally, the job description for the Archivist, Alice Rowbotham was also changed to reflect the shift.

Alice Rowbotham encountered numerous difficulties in this work, firstly the condition of the collections, given their poor storage over a number of years and lack of provenance and other contextual information, and the lack of space and shelving to undertake the work.⁸⁸ The space issue was further compounded by an on-going dispute with Ajani, the owner of Timbuktu books who had been renting the exhibition space on the ground floor of 378 Coldharbour Lane. During the 1990s an African American PhD researcher, Colin A. Beckles wrote his thesis on Black bookshops and included a section on BCA and Timbuktu. Beckles describes the set up as:

the archives occupies one side of the building and the bookstore the other; however, when you walk into the store or observe the site from the sidewalk, it appears that there are on organisation as there is no divider. This benefits both organisations considering that there is a high overlap of clientele. As such, people move freely from one side of the building to the other, whether or not they specifically came to the bookstore or to the archives.⁸⁹

Beckles' observation of the mutual relationship between the bookshop and the archives and the positive benefit that the bookshop had for BCA, in addition to the general relationship between bookshops and archives as demonstrated by New Beacon Books and the George Padmore Institute and the Huntleys.

Timbuktu books had been granted a lease of the space since 1990 but a dispute arose over the lease once the AMBH project had been given the go ahead in 1999. The issues with Timbuktu books rested not only on the additional space needed, but also that the owner of the bookshop had fallen into rental arrears totalling £4564.⁹⁰ Although the AMBH project cemented the issues with the bookshop, there had been issues since at least 1996 when a special meeting was held. This meeting discussed space and storage, the closing procedure in addition to the public perception of BCA. The meeting noted that 'Ajani is of the view that problems with the public arise largely because of the interest in the Archives and that many people come into the shop because they expect the Archives to provide a number of services

⁸⁷ AMBH report, p. 33.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 38.

⁸⁹ Beckles, *Pan-African Sites of Resistance*, p. 307.

⁹⁰ Meeting of the Board of Trustees, 19th February 1998, BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

such as legal aid and counselling.⁹¹ It appears that whilst people were coming to the archives, they weren't sure what to expect and saw the archives as more of a community centre offering different services. However, as Beckles also highlights, it would not have been unusual for visitors to Black bookshops during this period to expect advice. Beckles points to bookshops such as New Beacon and the Huntleys, along with the Black People's Information Centre bookshop based in Notting Hill who were offering advice and using the space as a meeting point for the communities.⁹² However, it appears that BCA and Timbuktu books were not in a position to offer this level of service. In order to overcome some of the space issues during the AMBH, the project was also given space in Brixton's Tate Library to facilitate the extra members of staff and work that needed to be carried out on the archive collections.⁹³

The issue of space wasn't resolved until 2000 when the bookshop became the centre of a community campaign to save it.⁹⁴ This campaign highlighted some of the difficulties that BCA faced in terms of its community profile. As I noted at the beginning of this section, there was little activity generated by BCA. Much of this was related to their lack of capacity and funding, operating on a shoestring budget and with only one full time member of staff. However, this created a rift between the organisation and the community that it claimed to represent. Peters discusses the position of BCA as:

BCA was already under the spotlight by the community and there were also accusations about not delivering what we said we would be delivering. Rightly so because the structure was not there to deliver those promises, attempts were made to have exhibitions which happened, sometimes with only one Director, one member of staff it was difficult to be there and be elsewhere so it was closed sometimes because Sam was at meetings but was getting the blame because there was no one there when people came to visit.⁹⁵

This was echoed by Jon Newman who said:

Yes, there was a growing, maybe anger is too strong a word, but annoyance with, on the one hand the kind of claims that BCA was making about the African- what's it-project and "we are the national archives for the community" and the reality, which was

⁹¹ Minutes of Meeting held on 13 December 1996, BCA/1/2/4 (2/2), Black Cultural Archives.

⁹² Beckles, *Pan-African Sites of Resistance*, p. 125.

⁹³ AMBH report p. 17.

⁹⁴ Meeting of the Board of Trustees, 22nd September 1999, BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

⁹⁵ Conrad Peters, Interview, mp3, 2 March 2016.

sort of cardboard boxes in the attic room, above the shop in Atlantic Road and nothing really happening.⁹⁶

However, whilst there was growing anger at BCA Newman also went on to discuss the impact that BCA had within the community as well as the wider heritage profession. Newman noted:

At the same time people were coming to me as Lambeth archives to deposit material saying “actually no I don’t want to deposit stuff with BCA because I don’t think it’s safe, I don’t think it’s secure, I don’t think it’s reliable I’d rather deposit it with you.” So, Lambeth archives did start to collect some moderately important Black collections, but almost on the back of BCA’s perceived inability to get its professional act together I suppose. I was aware at the time - that the kind of dilemma they were in that they had taken onto themselves the mantle of being *the* Black community archive, not just for South London, not just for London but apparently nationally but apart from a kind of small annual grant from Lambeth council and whatever little bits and pieces they could scratch together from fundraising, that there was no kind of strategic approach to doing it. So, it was [pause] difficult. I was also aware of you know, BCA being used at that time by other kind of cultural organisations piggy backing on its credentials and credibility to do often, their own pieces of work and in a sense, you know we weren’t completely blameless in that so in 2000 we decided we would do a- we’d identified some funding from what was then the DFE [Department for Education] for a piece of work around kind of Black history and education. And we undertook a project which became known as- it resulted in the *Windrush Forbears* book.⁹⁷

It is clear from Newman’s assessment that BCA was raising the profile and importance of archiving and community collection both within the Black community of Brixton, as well as the sector. Unfortunately, as described by Newman, the organisation was also not viewed as being ‘professional’ enough to undertake the challenge it had set itself. Furthermore, it was also being used by the mainstream heritage organisations as a way of branding themselves as working with communities, even though BCA itself did not have full support from the community. BCA’s relationship with the community would continue to be a source of support and tension, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁹⁶ Jon Newman, Interview, mp3, 2 May 2016.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

End of AMBH

Although the project encountered numerous difficulties, it increased the profile and visibility of the work of AMBH, and the role of Black archives and museums within the heritage sector. One of the key successes of the project was the exhibition work undertaken by Carol Tulloch who staged five exhibitions, two at Coldharbour Lane and three externally. The first exhibition was the 'Tools of the Trade' which looked at the culture of Black hairdressing, taking oral histories with hairdressers from the 1950s-2002 and which considered the role of technology within hairdressing.⁹⁸ This exhibition was partly the result of a study day held at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) titled 'Black hair and Nails: A Day of Record' which had been in the pipeline before Tulloch started work at AMBH and resulted in two community exhibitions, 'Grooming an Identity: Hairstyles of the African Diaspora' held at Brixton's Tate Library and the Afro-Hair and Beauty Show at Alexandra Palace.⁹⁹ The other major exhibition held at 378 Coldharbour Lane was 'Picture This' that looked at the history of representation of Black people, particularly in advertising and set out to find new ways of looking at the material, within the context of a Black community collection, and which gave members of the public the opportunity to donate material to the archive.¹⁰⁰

In order to meet the revised objectives AMBH recruited historian, Peter D. Fraser who was a visiting senior lecturer at Middlesex University, to look at the collection and to rationalise the collecting policy.¹⁰¹ Fraser's overall opinion of the collection was that although the project was named 'Archives and Museum of Black Heritage', the collection appeared to correspond to that of a research library with some archival resources, but was almost unusable due to the ongoing inaccessibility of the material.¹⁰² Fraser suggested that the collection of material should focus on the post-1945 period with the collection of material from 1900-1945 a secondary priority.¹⁰³ Fraser went on to suggest that the purchase of pre-1900 material should completely cease and the archivist should become more active in seeking material, rather than waiting for donations.¹⁰⁴ Fraser's report highlighted the dichotomy within the development of the organisation. Whilst BCA had the desire to become a mainstream museum the report highlighted that the strength of the collection lay in the book and printed material collections,

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 24.

⁹⁹ Carol Tulloch, 'The 'black' Curator' in Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo, eds. *The Politics of Heritage: The legacies of race* (Routledge, 2004), p. 174.

¹⁰⁰ AMBH report, p. 30.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 19.

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 53.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

rather than objects. Although the project initially intended to create roles for both an archivist and a curator, only the archivist post was created. It isn't clear why the decision was made to hire an archivist over a museum curator, but it may have been due to the higher proportion of printed material over objects, or the distinction between the two roles was less clear to those within the project. Finally, Fraser's report also highlighted that a great deal of work still needed to be undertaken as after almost two years of employing an archivist, the collection was still almost unusable and required substantial work in order to overcome the issues highlighted.

The AMBH project also highlighted a change in perspective of BCA, which may partly have been in response to Fraser's report on the collections, moving away from strict collecting towards operating as a 'common reference point',¹⁰⁵ and to become an intermediary between the Black communities and the heritage profession. Previously, BCA had considered itself outside of the sector and had been working and collecting material that it felt was not of interest to the mainstream sector. However, during the AMBH project it is clear there was a reorientation in considering how BCA could work as a mediator between the Black community and the heritage sector. This may have been partly due to the realisation that the strengths of the collection lay not in its objects or strictly archival collections, but in its printed material and books. Additionally, in the intervening years between BCA's establishment in the early 1980s and the end of the AMBH project the heritage sector had moved closer in understanding and sympathising with BCA's goals and had actively sought to collect similar material under the 'social inclusion', 'access' and 'diversity' agendas. Pragmatically, at the time, BCA's skills lay not in the organisation's ability to collect material but its position to interpret and advise. Additionally, the difficulties of the archivist in cataloguing and processing the collections may also have further highlighted the serious space limitations at BCA in its current location, which would only be solved by acquiring a new building but which would cause serious issues in the meantime.

This new position of BCA was expressed as 'our collection and display will demonstrate black peoples involvement and interest in their own history, and will challenge museum professionals and others to historicise their practice, and to reformulate it after intense negotiation with idea and individuals with which they are unfamiliar and which are external to their traditional boundaries.'¹⁰⁶ Part of the new approach of the organisation would also involve making greater use of emerging technologies, such as the Internet, as a way of bringing material to a wider public and for educational purposes and included working the BBC

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 49.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 48

to highlight the 'Picture This' exhibition.¹⁰⁷ The key objectives for BCA to continue after the project were on-going fundraising for a new building, particularly after the final rejection of the bid for 'Site D'; to look at increasing the expertise of the organisation through Board redevelopment and the continued employment of professional archivists and curators to ensure the momentum of the AMBH project. Although the project provided BCA with an initial boost in terms of greater exposure and a clearer sense of what should be achieved in the future, it also left BCA in a more vulnerable position, the loss of a building, increased attention on the organisation and the death of Len Garrison in February 2003.¹⁰⁸ Following the death of Garrison, Conrad Peters became Acting Chair, and the Board consisted of Arthur Torrington (Secretary), Julia Crear (Treasurer), Dawn Hill, Apollo Sempa, Annette Duberry, Chris Le Maitre, Sharon Burton, Sandra Knight, Spartacus R, and Yana Morris with Jacine Cooper (niece of Garrison) joining in 2003.¹⁰⁹

In December 2003 the partnership with Middlesex officially ended and AMBH was dissolved, leaving BCA to take forward the work that had begun by AMBH. Although the project was fraught with issues and tensions, in interviews with remaining Board members the project was seen as being important to the organisation in paving the way for later stages in BCA's development. As noted by Dawn Hill the project was able to create a 'very good project report that said that what this, where these archives, how they could be used and that they were of note, yes that they were of note.'¹¹⁰ Although Conrad Peters shared some of the misgivings of the project he concluded that the project:

was an important part of our development, the BCA's development because from that experience we- expertise was brought on, the staff team. Archivists who were professional, there were educational people who were brought on, so we had a good team of professional people from industry who were addressing the work of the BCA through the AMBH project. And obviously, we learnt a lot from that experience, and we were that much further ahead when the project finished.'¹¹¹

This is particularly interesting given the fact that some of the issues could have been avoided and proved to the organisation that there could be value in certain types of partnership working and what can be achieved. Following the end of AMBH Ken Goulding and Peter Fraser from

¹⁰⁷ 'Picture This,' BBC, available at

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/pop_ups/02/uk_black_representation_in_advertising/html/1.stm

¹⁰⁸ Board Meeting 6th May 2003, BCA 1/2/5 (2/3), Black Cultural Archives.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Dawn Hill, Interview, mp3, 3 March 2016.

¹¹¹ Conrad Peters, Interview, mp3, 2 March 2016.

Middlesex along with Ken Mannering and Gareth Griffiths agreed to join a BCA Advisory Board¹¹² although there are no records relating to the remit and work of the group.

At this point, it is worth reconsidering the position of Schomburg as one of the models for the organisation, as a collection based within a larger institution, i.e. the New York Public Library. In an interview with George 'Fowokwan' Kelly, one of Garrison's long-time friends who served as a Trustee, Kelly highlights a certain naivety of using the Schomburg Center as a model stating that it was assumed that it could be copied, but without consideration of its position within a publicly funded institution.¹¹³ He reflected that it was assumed that 'you could set up a structure, apply for funding and the government will give you the money'.¹¹⁴ The organisation hoped it could retain independence and still receive funding, but this turned out to be a difficult proposition. Writing about the Schomburg Center, Amina Dickerson points to the higher level of resources available to the organisation, which is unique to the Center and points out that the growth of the Schomburg can be attributed to its position within the New York Public Library system (NYPL), particularly the financial and professional support that the Center receives.¹¹⁵ Additionally, Adalaine Holton defines Schomburg's collection as being supplementary to the mainstream archives, particularly with the NYPL, rather than a strictly 'counter-archive,'¹¹⁶ in the way BCA might conceive itself.¹¹⁷ This raises the continual ideological difficulties BCA faced. In attempting to retain independence the organisation was limited in the options available and found that working with a mainstream, white organisation raised issues and tensions; but without funding BCA would struggle to establish itself.

Huntley Collection at LMA

This is the same issue that the Huntleys were grappling with when they decided to attempt to create their own archive, although the Huntleys were able to overcome them following a model that represents the closest formation to the Schomburg Center. At the outset, the Huntleys had originally considered creating their own independent organisation but found it difficult to get it off the ground. As with La Rose and the shift to creating the George Padmore Institute (which will be discussed later in this chapter) and has already been

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ George 'Fowokan' Kelly, Interview, mp3, 2009, Oral/4/2, Black Cultural Archives.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Amina Dickerson, 'Archival Life in the New Century', *Third Text* 15, no. 54 (Spring 2001), p. 102..

¹¹⁶ Holton, *Decolonizing History*, p. 119.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 236.

discussed, the Huntleys clearly had an eye on the future and the need to retain information. Maureen Roberts noted:

Jessica always called it “her rubbish” “all this rubbish” but she kept it. She was inquisitive, you know, person. And later on she just wished she’d kept more because they didn’t realise just in terms of conservation and preservation and things, what could be done, so she wished that she had... kept things that had been thrown out that had got damp or whatever. I think what they understood very clearly was that the work they were doing was important. I think that was, that was very clear. And I think also, what was understood was that this was an educational tool that if people understand about the past, they potentially could have a better future. And also, they had been doing, you know like the talks? They were always taping, recording, I think if you are doing that you have a sense of the future because that’s the only reason to tape and record and to put things down on paper. So, I think that that, idea of it’s important that we know our history that we preserve our history, I think that’s the very backbone of what they were doing.¹¹⁸

After initially considering London South Bank University, the Huntleys were put into contact with London Metropolitan Archives through a mutual contact at Hampshire Archives, Yinnon Ezra in 2004.¹¹⁹ Following 1997, as most archives began to engage with the questions around access and social inclusion, London Metropolitan Archives (LMA) as the statutory body for the archives of the City of London and collector of material related to the Greater London Area,¹²⁰ began to assess the gaps in their collection and realised that they lacked material from the Black and Asian communities.¹²¹ As described by Richard Wiltshire who was the archivist responsible for the Huntley Collection noted, ‘it is an outstanding archive from the point of view of its breadth, it’s completeness I would say and something for us at LMA was very much a first because when it came in the early 2000s- February 2005 it hadn’t, we didn’t have any deposits from the community and this wasn’t a small one, it was a big one as well in terms of its size.’¹²² Maureen Roberts who was hired as the first cataloguer of the archives and then

¹¹⁸ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017.

¹¹⁹ Andrews, *Doing nothing is not an Option*, p. 156.

¹²⁰ Richard A. Wiltshire, ‘Business Archives in the Public Sector: Strategies for Promoting Collections at Guildhall Library and London Metropolitan Archives’, *Principles & Practice*, May 2009, p.68.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

moved into LMA's education department described the relationship between LMA and the Huntleys as:

Ok, so there's this whole thing when you look out at London and you see London and all these communities and as an archive you realise 'well we're not really reflecting exactly what's out there' and so you know you have something sort of drop in your lap in terms of the community and it's a huge thing because this is a massive collection covering so much from the '50s, late 1950s to the then present, 2005. So, everyone knows the back history of communities and organisations so a lot of thought and effort was put into exactly how the community would be handled with reference to the collections. And that thought and effort was from both sides, so it was from the Huntley side who had always worked in a supportive, manner, in terms of the community. They had a stalwart group of you know, supporters who were advising and saying 'well, this is what we need to do. This is what we need to do' and then from the LMA point of view they wanted- because realising this was the toe in the water, this was the first step they wanted to get it right, in terms of working with the community.¹²³

Although the Huntleys had attempted to create their own archival organisation they were happy to deposit the material with the LMA, particularly as the material was becoming damaged by mould and was taking up space in their house.¹²⁴ As highlighted by Roberts, this was undertaken on the provision that the Huntleys would retain ownership of the material, which is deposited with LMA as a long-term loan which Roberts noted as 'the fact that the Huntleys still owned the collection, all of that was vital and really important. And I think in the end, Jessica was just happy to get rid of the stuff out of the house [laughs].'¹²⁵

As discussed by Roberts, the partnership between LMA and the Huntleys represents a completely different dynamic to that of Middlesex and BCA, particularly because of the different aims and objectives from the outset, the benefit of more awareness of partnership working and perhaps a greater appreciation of the importance of the material. From the start of the relationship, LMA was acutely aware that the Huntley Collection would represent the first collection deposited from the African Caribbean community in their collection and as such the approach from the LMA was that they 'wanted to get it right'.¹²⁶ Following the publication of *Centres for Social Change*, a slew of further reports and policies emerged,

¹²³ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017.

¹²⁴ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

¹²⁵ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

mostly driven by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA)¹²⁷ and included *British Archives: The Way Forward* (2000); *Taking Part* (2001); *Changing the Future of our Past* (Archives Task Force, 2002); and *Giving Value* (2005). Broadly speaking, these reports focussed on the importance of access as it related to archives and included thinking of ways of increasing access to archives, both in terms of physical access through broadening the user base and providing digital access through online catalogues. It is also important to note that within the language of 'social exclusion', race and ethnicity became tied to the agenda as an 'issue' that needed to be addressed along with other political concerns like anti-social behaviour and low educational attainment.¹²⁸ One of the ways it was felt to address these 'issues' was to try and engage with underrepresented communities, including Black communities, as identified through outreach, community consultation and proactive community collecting.¹²⁹

In addition to the focus on underrepresented communities, the period of the mid-2000s also saw a change in the archive profession's interest in, and relationship with community archives. The 2004 Community Access to Archives Project (CAAP) combined the 'social exclusion' agenda and a shift towards an understanding of the value of community archives. The CAAP sought to develop a best practice model to facilitate effective working partnerships between community archives and professional archivists, and to generate a better understanding of material by community archives.¹³⁰ Following CAAP, a number of further reports and projects aimed at promoting interest in, and understanding of how community archives developed with community archives placed firmly in the view of the archival profession.¹³¹ These include the Community Archive Development Group, established in 2006 (now the Community Archives and Heritage Group) which mapped the community archive terrain in the report *Community Archives Landscape Research* (2008) and which now holds annual conferences and offers support.¹³²

¹²⁷ The reports have been outlined on the Archives and Records Association website available at <http://www.archives.org.uk/publications/journal-of-the-ara-sp-1111397493.html>, as well as on The National Archives' website available at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/case-studies-and-research-reports/research-reports/>.

¹²⁸ Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, '*Community Archives and the Sustainable Communities Agenda*' p. 1

¹²⁹ See Katie Norgrove, '*Taking Part: An Audit of Social Inclusion Work in Archives*' (National Council on Archives, 2001).

¹³⁰ Community Access to Archives Project Final Report, p. 5

¹³¹ See also Flinn '*Community Histories, Community Archives*' for discussion on the context of the development of the professional interest in community archives, pp. 13-15.

¹³² 'About', Community Archives and History Group, available at <http://www.communityarchives.org.uk/content/about/history-and-purpose>.

For the LMA the timing of the approach of the Huntleys came within a year of the Mayor's Commission on African and Asian Heritage (MCAAH) that lasted between 2003-2005 and within the wider focus on heritage.¹³³ The MCAAH was created by Ken Livingstone on his election to the newly created position of Mayor of London in 2000. Writing in the foreword of the report, Livingstone said 'I established the Commission on African and Asian Heritage as part of my commitment to celebrate and champion London's hidden history. The Commission's remit was to develop the strategic framework and action plan for engaging London's mainstream and community heritage sectors in uncovering, promoting, documenting and preserving the many strands and stories that make up the real picture that is London's heritage'¹³⁴ and in some ways picks up where the GLC finished. The first report, *Delivering Shared Heritage* (2005) highlighted the continuing problem of lack of representation within the heritage sector, despite almost six years of attention being drawn to this issue through MLA reports and focus on policy initiatives. The main chapters of the report focussed on increasing representation in collections; diversifying the heritage workforce; supporting independent organisations and building partnerships and working with the education sector. The report contained many key recommendations to overcome these issues, including the creation of a Heritage Diversity Task Force (HDTF) which could find ways to implement the recommendations. However, by the time the HDTF published its report, *Embedding Shared Heritage*, in 2009, Ken Livingstone was once again deposed and Boris Johnson had become Mayor in May 2008 and the UK was reeling from the global financial crisis meaning that the report failed to gain further traction.

For LMA, projects like the MCAAH and the HDTF had again raised the importance of diverse histories and diverse collecting and had benefited from nearly a decade of thinking about how to work with communities, particularly as Deborah Jenkins, the Assistant Director (Heritage) at City of London was involved in the Commission.¹³⁵ Prior to taking in the Huntley Collection, LMA worked on drawing out the longer presence of Black communities across its collections and undertook the *Black and Asian Londoners* project in 2002 which found references to Black and Asian people in Parish registers¹³⁶ but as the first major collection from the Black community, the LMA made the Huntley Collection one of their key priorities

¹³³ Clara Arokiasamy, 'Embedding Shared Heritage: The Cultural Heritage Rights of London's African and Asian Diaspora Communities.', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18, no. 3 (May 2012), p. 340.

¹³⁴ 'Delivering Shared Heritage' (London: Mayor's Commission on African and Asian Heritage, 2005), p. 3.

¹³⁵ Makeda Coaston, 'Embedding Shared Heritage: The Heritage Diversity Task Force Report.' (Greater London Authority, 2009).

¹³⁶ Black and Asian Londoners project, available at http://learningzone.cityoflondon.gov.uk/dataonline/lz_baproject.asp.

and invested significant funds into creating a project that catalogued and made the material accessible. The importance of the collection to the LMA was highlighted during interviews, through the way in which senior members of LMA decided to take the collection before any serious appraisal of the material was undertaken. Richard Wiltshire described the situation as:

I think at LMA we also did quite a bit of reading up before we went and realised what they actually had done and realised the archive must follow that it was kind of assumed that the archive would follow that, and hoped that it would follow that and so the decision “yes take it” was very quick which interested me at the time. And I think it was partly, I can understand why because, I think with something like that, you know, you want to go for it but I think also, I was of the mind that when you actually thought more about it there were issues with the collection. So, it’s unsortedness, the amount of time you have to go through it and also the physical condition because some of it was mouldy, quite a bit so, just naturally in terms of acquisitions those were the sort of things you do need to look at and I think the decision was made very quickly, without that.¹³⁷

The decision was also taken to ensure that the cataloguing of the collection was undertaken immediately rather than applying for external funding, and a post of ‘researcher’/ ‘archive cataloguer’ was created by LMA to assist in the cataloguing of the material. Whilst the LMA was focussed on ‘getting it right’, the Huntleys also wanted to ensure that the process went smoothly, and that the community retained some form of input into the use of the material. Deborah Jenkins saw the accession of the Huntley Collection as part of a deliberate policy to increase the representativeness of the LMA’s holdings, and that she was personally committed to ensuring a smooth and equitable process.¹³⁸ Additionally, the Huntleys approached members of the community to form a committee to sit alongside the collection and to oversee the ways in which the material is used. The committee they initially established was called the Huntley Advisory Group (HAAG), and later became Friends of Huntley Archives at LMA (FHALMA) who have the main responsibility for organising the annual Huntley Conference. This is also reminiscent of the approach taken by Schomburg and his collection. After Schomburg deposited his collection with the New York Public Library he was a member of a Board who were responsible for overseeing its management, before being employed as a Curator.¹³⁹ Discussing the development of HAAG, Margaret Andrews remembered that:

¹³⁷ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

¹³⁸ Deborah Jenkins, Interview for Community History Project, interview by Andrew Flinn, 14 July 2008.

¹³⁹ Des Verney Sinnette, *Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black bibliophile and curator*, p. 180.

Jessica handpicked everybody that was involved so it is very much about the way, not them as individuals necessarily, but them around the process and the way in which they worked. I think it was, yes it was about them, but it was about the way they worked and how they used individuals to further the causes that they were pursuing.¹⁴⁰

Andrews also noted that:

because, the Huntley archive was the first significant Black archives [LMA had] received- Colin [Prescod] in particular felt it was important that the LMA weren't simply left with those boxes that we actively worked with them in interpreting them, in helping them in the interpretation of it. So, the, you know, the advisory group was instigated by the Huntleys themselves and their friends.¹⁴¹

For the Huntleys, the creation of HAAG was in line with their political principles and way of working. Colin Prescod noted that:

Jessica called me, contacted me one day. Maybe it was an email or so and she said "Colin I am going to talk to you, we are giving our archives to [unclear] to the LMA and I'd like to talk to you and some other people about what we do with it now we have it there, what it means and stuff." I said, "Jessica, I will, of course I have to support you and Eric, so I'll come along," but the one thing I have to say to you is the archive of activists which is what I couch them as, this is the point about the Huntleys.'¹⁴²

Furthermore, as 'an archive as activists' Prescod suggested that 'the archive of activists, if it's going in to anywhere, the archive is only as good as the amount of action you generate around it. You have to make it work. It won't work, if it just sits in an archive collection and the usual suspects, graduate students, journalists, imaginative- creative writers go, you know, people who know how to- the Hilary Mantel's of the world, go and they dig out stuff and they do something else with it.'¹⁴³ Following Prescod's advice the creation and development of the Huntley conference was a key component in the agreement between the Huntleys and the LMA.

¹⁴⁰ Margaret Andrews, Interview, mp3, 13 July 2017.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2017.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

For the Huntleys and FHALMA, although their material was physically housed at the LMA, they see the conferences as a way of maintaining intellectual control over the material and to continue to engage with the issues and themes from within the material and to continue to engage with the community. It is not the physical placement of the material that is key, but instead they place greater emphasis on the ways in which the material is used. The Huntleys' background and interest in education meant that they were committed to using the Huntley Collection to challenge the telling of British history and to ensure that the younger generations were made aware of this history. For them, simply depositing the collection with the LMA would not have been enough to ensure that the collection was used to its fullest capacity. The Huntley conference is key to ensuring that the collection remains animated and brings the collection to the community to which it relates. This has had the added benefit of raising the profile of the LMA within the Black community, as well as generating more deposits from the Black community. Since the deposit of the Huntley Collection, LMA has received other collections from members of the community associated with the Huntleys including publisher Arif Ali, community activist Sybil Phoenix and writer Petronella Breinburg.¹⁴⁴

In addition to funding the cataloguing of the collection the LMA also undertook the financing of the annual Huntley conference, which takes place in February. The placement of the conference in February was a deliberate decision to place it within the calendar of LMA events, but not in October¹⁴⁵ to ensure that it was not seen as part of any potentially tokenistic Black History Month events:

we get asked about you know, well what have you done for Black history and one of the things we have to say is that we actually don't do Black history in, just in October but the idea is that we embed in different events that we are having, that we are doing in twelve months a year. Because the Huntley conference was very deliberately put in February and that's to take it out of that October, sort of niche, so it's in February.¹⁴⁶

The annual Huntley conference began in 2006 with the purpose of engaging the Black community, along with academics, with themes that emerged out of the collection.¹⁴⁷ One of the key aspects of the conference has also been the engagement of a younger audience with the history of activism so from the initial planning of the conference, consideration was also

¹⁴⁴ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

¹⁴⁵ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2017.

given to the set up and provision of activities for children and younger people.¹⁴⁸ Although the LMA had always intended to have an annual 'Black history' conference,¹⁴⁹ the undertaking of the conference under the aegis of the Huntley conference provided some logistical difficulties. HAAG (and later FHALMA) wanted to ensure that the conferences connected to the Black community and the work of the Huntleys and an understanding that the overall structure of the conferences should be different to what was usually undertaken at LMA, this included not only the provision of hot food, but also the continued addition of a cultural element through the use of music or poetry,¹⁵⁰ reminiscent of the early Book Fairs. By the second conference it was also decided to break the conference up into workshops or 'groundings' that would further reflect the work of the Huntleys and reference to Walter Rodney but also to ensure participation and dialogue. As with the Book Fairs, the approach taken to the Conferences continues to reference the early work of the Huntleys and serve as a reminder of the historic continuations and the political activity that led to the creation of the archives. The LMA was the sole funder the conferences, covering the costs of foods, speakers and printing but since 2015 FHALMA have had the responsibility of covering these costs, although the venue remains free as LMA are committed to hosting an annual conference dedicated to Black history, although is no longer part of LMA's core programme.¹⁵¹

Although LMA has funded the collection, part of the rationale for moving from an advisory group to a 'friends' group was to support the financing and funding of the activities, particularly as there has been a gradual withdrawal of financial support from LMA. It is also important to note that this withdrawal of support has been discussed in interviews as a mutual move towards independence for FHALMA,¹⁵² but also a pragmatic approach given the straightened financial situation that many government-funded institutions have found themselves in since the economic crash of 2008. This would put the Huntley Collection and FHALMA closer to the model adopted by Schomburg in terms of an external board to manage the collection. Although the collections are on long-term loan, as mentioned, the LMA had initially funded the position of an assistant cataloguer/researcher in addition to bearing the brunt of the costs for the annual Huntley conference.¹⁵³ As noted, the post of assistant cataloguer was initially filled by Maureen Roberts, a friend of the Huntleys who had been published by them and who was involved with group who were initially looking for a home for

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017.

¹⁵⁰ Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2016.

¹⁵¹ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2016.

¹⁵² Interviews with Maureen Roberts and Margaret Andrews.

¹⁵³ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2016.

the collection.¹⁵⁴ The post was designed to be filled by someone with ‘demonstrable knowledge of the Black community’ and the recruitment process was also monitored by the Huntleys.¹⁵⁵ Richard Wiltshire described the rationale as:

the idea was, part of the recruitment was to- one of the criteria was that the individual needed to have demonstrable interest or involvement in the Black, African Caribbean community so that helped weight it towards people who kind of know and understand what was going and be sensitive as well maybe and that might help but I think the main thing is actually making sure that it was opening up a career in that way.¹⁵⁶

Maureen Roberts held the post for 18 months before moving into the Interpretation Department, where she is currently Senior Development Officer.¹⁵⁷ Roberts had initially been on the original steering project to find a home for the collections and prior to that, had been published by the Huntleys. However, when taking the post, Roberts who came from a teaching background expressed her primary interest in teaching and interpretation, so eventually moved onto that area. Describing her role, and the need for someone with knowledge of the Black community Roberts highlighted that:

because I was passionate, it was my community, it was my history, I always go back to this phrase, Nelson Mandela phrase ‘the struggle is my life’ and so for me, this is a little bit like a calling as opposed to it being like a job, so if you are from that community you want this information, you aren’t going to feel, ‘well, it’s five o’clock I’ve got to go home now’ it’s going to be “well, is this right? Have I got it right? Has everybody else got it right? Can we do a little bit more? Can I persuade someone to do me lunch for £5 instead of £10?” it’s all of that. So, yeah. So, I think that if you’re from the community you understand the importance of the material to the community and you can find ways to connect the community to that material also. And, kind of, what’s, how to put it? [pause] Sort of [pause] not persuade, it’s sort of allay fears that things are not being done in the right place or in the right way or it’s not coming from you know, a good decision, the reasons perhaps for a decision being made.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2016 and Andrews, *Doing nothing is not an Option*, p. 156.

¹⁵⁵ Interviews with Richard Wiltshire and Maureen Roberts.

¹⁵⁶ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2016.

¹⁵⁷ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2016.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

Roberts' description of why it was important for people from a community working on their archives and returns us to a discussion outlined earlier of BCA attempting to find Black archivists to run the archives. As noted by Roberts, there is an added understanding and kinship with the collection. However, as argued by Colin Prescod, the importance of diversity within collections goes beyond merely having Black people working on Black collections:

Yes. Ok, so, first level is the archive and anybody can animate that as long as they know what they are animating but that's easier said than done because you do have a sensitivity and sensibility about all that kind of stuff and it could easily rely on somebody who has a lived connection to that kind of stuff, so you'd always want to have- you'd think for the moment, we haven't had the revolution yet, cultural revolution. So, while we haven't had that it seems like we are going to be stuck with trying to always make sure there's something that speaks out of Blackness that's inside of making those decisions. So yes, the fact, it's not a skin colour thing, it's about a consciousness, it's about knowing stuff. And people can come from anywhere.¹⁵⁹

As Prescod argues, there is a need to ensure that there are people working on collections that understand the history and have a certain amount of connection to the material, which may not be related to skin colour and as exemplified by Prescod's description of Marika Sherwood. At the time when the LMA and the Huntleys were undertaking the documentation of the collection those who understand Black history were more likely to be Black. However, as outlined in the literature review, and will be discussed in the following chapter there are issues with a simplistic approach which reduces understanding of race to experiences but does raise important questions about diversity within the sector.

When Roberts moved into the education department the post was re-advertised and filled by Emma Agyemang, a young woman of African descent, who held the post until August 2009 when she moved on to work at Keats House. Once Emma Agyemang left, the post was not re-advertised due to the financial issues facing LMA and the rest of the cataloguing of the collection fell to Richard Wiltshire and volunteers. At the time of interviews, the cataloguing was still being finalised, almost 12 years after it was initially deposited. Had the material been deposited later, it is very likely that it would have remained uncatalogued, or a major external funding bid would have to be submitted.¹⁶⁰ The move towards independence sits within FHALMA's aim of retaining control of the collection and offers opportunities to apply for funding

¹⁵⁹ Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2016

¹⁶⁰ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

that LMA may not be eligible for, or have the capacity to fulfil. As noted, the economic crash of 2008 has considerably straitened many Government funded organisations and it is conceivable that with shifting priorities the ability and desire of LMA to support the collection at the levels it did in 2007 seems difficult.

One of the major achievements of FHALMA to date has been the development of a major six-month exhibition at Guildhall Art Gallery during 2015-2016, titled *No Colour Bar: British Art in Action 1960-1990* (NCB). The idea for NCB originated from one of the Huntley conferences, 'Art and Activism' and looked at the work of 25 artists who were associated with the Huntley. In his article '*Archives, race, class and rage*' Colin Prescod describes the exhibition as a mixture of art and archives in which the archives gave 'social and historical context and to add a socio-political narrative as a complement to aesthetic appreciation of the break-through artworks displayed.'¹⁶¹ NCB was a partnership exhibition between FHALMA, LMA and the Guildhall Art Gallery (GAG) and was funded through a grant from the HLF of £297,400.¹⁶² It was also during the application process, that the organisation moved fully and formally from HAAG to FHALMA. This included creating clear and transparent reporting structures and to become formally constituted as a charity. This signalled FHALMA's independence and opportunities to raise money outside of LMA, particularly the large sum applied for from the HLF. The exhibition was co-curated by Makeda Coaston and Katty Pearce and featured archival documents from the Huntley Collection in display cases, surrounded by artwork ranging from traditional canvas to sculpture. In the centre of the space was an installation curated by Michael McMillan which represented a recreation of the Walter Rodney Bookshop that included audio visual material. The aim of the exhibition was to 'explore and present the work of a range of Black visual artists, whilst considering the socio-political, historical and cultural background centred in London from 1960 – 1990,'¹⁶³ particularly those artists who were associated with the BLK Art group of the 1980s including Eddie Chambers, Denzil Forrester, Sonia Boyce and Keith Piper. The BLK Art group was formed by second generation migrants in the 1980s with an explicit focus on race, racism and politics.¹⁶⁴ The centring of the Bookshop within the exhibition hall worked to highlight the importance of spaces in the creation of literary and artistic outputs, and also the historical tradition upon which the

¹⁶¹ Prescod, *Archives, Race, Class and Rage*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁶² 'Press Release,' Heritage Lottery Fund, available at <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/two-new-exhibitions-explore-art-and-diversity-20th-century>.

¹⁶³ 'Welcome!', *No Colour Bar* (blog), 24 June 2015, <http://nocolourbar.blogspot.com/2015/06/>.

¹⁶⁴ See Stuart Hall '*Black Diaspora Artists in Britain: Three 'Moments' in Post-War History*', pp. 17-19.

artists were working within.¹⁶⁵ Part of the strength of the exhibition was the ways in which the installation, artwork and archival material worked together, in dialogue to highlight this multifaceted history of the Black community. In addition to the main exhibition space, other pieces were used throughout the Guildhall to work as ‘interventions’, sitting side by side with the art on permanent display.¹⁶⁶ Although the exhibition had been incredibly successful it also created its challenges. These challenges included expanding the concept of history and heritage with the funders, the attempts to create an organisation whilst undergoing a funding bid and strains on internal relationships. At the heart of the exhibition was the intention of being ‘deliberately provocative, in the very best sense – conceptually mixing art and archive; polemically proclaiming Black Britishness; aesthetically blending art and politics’¹⁶⁷

George Padmore Institute

As ‘slow builders and consolidators’, whilst the GPI was officially constituted in 1991, the first eight years of the organisation’s existence were dedicated to renovation and preparation of the material.¹⁶⁸ Since 2002 the activities of GPI, mostly cataloguing and working with schools have been supported through grants from the HLF. These HLF grants have seen the opening up of most of the archives held at GPI through 3 archive projects:

Changing Britannia (2002-2006)

Crossing Borders (2006-2009)

Dream to Change the World (2010-2015).

This funding also saw the appointment of an archivist, Sarah Garrod in 2003, who has been in the post since. These grants have ensured that the GPI can meet the core aims to ‘establish a base to develop resources, information and archival material available on the Black population that has settled in Britain and on the countries from which they originate, and

¹⁶⁵ ‘Marsha Lowe in Conversation with Eddie Chambers: Problems and Progress’, *No Colour Bar* (blog), 12 July 2015, <http://nocolourbar.blogspot.com/2015/07/>.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Announcing the 10th Annual Huntley Conference: “Mountain High: Archive Deep”’, *No Colour Bar* (blog), 29 September 2015, <http://nocolourbar.blogspot.com/2015/09/>.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Aubrey Williams and “ACTS OF REBELLION”’, *No Colour Bar* (blog), 30 October 2015, <http://nocolourbar.blogspot.com/2015/10/>. >

¹⁶⁸ Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p. 101.

to make those resources available for use by the public.¹⁶⁹ Returning to the question of social inclusion, co-founder of the GPI, Sarah White noted that:

Firstly, the importance of independent archives because the public, the people at the local- in the local council were saying “oh well, we’d love to have people’s archives but they don’t- they are very suspicious” or whatever, and we said “well actually, the problem is, you might take the archives but they might just be sitting down in a basement for years and years” so there needs to be some sort of, you can’t guarantee a commitment to make these archives available. So, if people want to maintain some control over them, which I think has now been solved up to a point now, but in those days, the local authority librarians and archivists weren’t really aware of that.¹⁷⁰

White’s comment highlights many of the issues that were raised during the late 1990s and early 2000s, particularly in the reports about community archives. White notes the general distrust between community groups and the local council, particularly about the desire to use and catalogue the material. This also highlights the difference in approach undertaken by the LMA with the Huntley Collection as they sought to not only ameliorate these issues through the development of the Huntley Archives Advisory Group, but also through the immediate project of cataloguing the material.

From the point of view of the GPI it could be argued that the use of HLF grants undermines the general position of autonomy and ‘slow building.’ Although the GPI initially wanted to undertake much of the work themselves, maintaining their adherence to autonomy, there were two issues which became clear. The first was the seemingly ‘closed shop’ of the profession and the second was the time it took to catalogue material. White discussed the issues of trying to find out information about running archives, she noted,

We knew very little about it, thought one could just go to an evening class and learn how to do it, but that didn’t happen, you know, that wasn’t available. It’s more available now I think but, in those days, no, you know, you either did a three-year university course or you weren’t really allowed into the thing. But there was one very accessible and helpful independent archivist called Janet Foster who I was put onto by an old school friend of mine actually- no, not school friend an old university friend who turned

¹⁶⁹ ‘Home’, George Padmore Institute, available at <http://web.archive.org/web/20020126061636/http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/>.

¹⁷⁰ Sarah White, Interview, Mp3, 20 July 2015.

up living round the corner and is- was an oral historian at the Open University so I was asking her, you know 'how do we, how do we go about this?'¹⁷¹

The practical work of archiving proved to them the necessity of professional input, and therefore the need to apply for funding. Throughout the interviews, all of the Trustees noted that although they had originally intended to remain a volunteer led organisation, the realisation of the intensity and at times complicated nature of the cataloguing process led them to take the decision to hire a professional archivist. It must be noted that through the use of grant money the organisation has catalogued almost the entirety of the collection in almost the same space of time it took to catalogue one when working solely with volunteers.

In terms of working with the HLF, Michael La Rose argued that they only approach them 'for specific bits of work and as I said to you earlier, that all of this activity that I talked about before was independently financed so this was a new era for us in terms of the HLF and it was something that we thought, that it was be- we wanted to be- give the- to stand by our ideals when we do that work so it's always about one piece of work that we think is important that we think should be funded etc.'¹⁷² Also discussing the role of funding and the role HLF, trustee Roxy Harris argued that:

what I learnt was that a lot of these other organizations folded, as soon as the grants were pulled, they just folded. And, so that was a continuation of our politics. We took that thinking into the archives, and so managed to keep going up till now because we do what we can, and if we don't get money for projects then we either can't do them or we have to do them more slowly or we don't have the spirit of 'we can't do anything then' and I think, that's I think that's a continuation of what we learnt before.¹⁷³

It seems that for the GPI they have a very pragmatic approach to the use of project funding from the HLF, as they approached the funders to undertake the work that they wanted to achieve, rather than to fund the organisation itself per se. As outlined in the previous chapter, organisations like BCA have been heavily reliant on state funding, first through the Greater London Council (GLC) and through the HLF and the AMBH project, but consistently through funding from Lambeth Council. The question of funding and approaches to funding will be

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Michael La Rose, Interview, mp3, 27 June 2015

¹⁷³ Roxy Harris, Interview, mp3, 8 July 2015.

returned to shortly as it raises concerns for organisations like the BCA who have no other means of support and as will be demonstrated, affected their next phase of development.

For the GPI, between 2002-2006 the main activity of cataloguing was completed under the Changing Britannia project. This catalogued the collections of the Caribbean Artists Movement (CAM), New Cross Massacre, Black Parents Movement (BPM) (and its sister organisation the Black Youth Movement, BYM), the Black Education Movement (BEM) and some of La Rose's newspapers and ephemera.¹⁷⁴ The cataloguing of the collections map very closely onto the activities and campaigns that New Beacon Books, John La Rose and his associates have been involved with. Only three years after Garrod was hired John La Rose was taken ill and died in hospital on 28 February 2006. In tribute to La Rose, the official charity title of the GPI was changed from the New Beacon Educational Trust to the John La Rose Trust in 2011. The next project undertaken, the Crossing Borders project (2006-2010) focussed on fully cataloguing the Book Fair material, as well as the European Action for Racial Equality and Social Justice, organised in the face of rising European racism and xenophobia during the early 1990s and consisted of a deputation to Maastricht.¹⁷⁵ This project also marked an increase in the amount of outreach undertaken by the organisation, and the first users to the archive.¹⁷⁶

This second project also marked the gradual change in HLF priorities towards greater involvement and outreach, which suited the aims and objectives of the GPI. GPI/NBB continue to publish books that capture the history of the organisation, including *Changing Britannia* (1999), *Building Britannia* (2009) and 'A Meeting of Continents' (2011) a history of the Book Fair and continued to hold talks at the building.¹⁷⁷ The final project, Dream to Change the World (2010-2015) project has been the largest project, both in terms of cataloguing but also greater outreach by the organisation and the gradual increase of funding from the HLF, to £206,000¹⁷⁸ for this project. Along with on-going outreach and external activities has culminated in the most ambitious project that the GPI has embarked on. The Dream to Change the World Project saw the cataloguing of John La Rose's personal archive material, the delivery of school sessions, the online publication of an essay on the early history of NBB, the publication of 'Unending Journey' selected writings by La Rose and an exhibition held at

¹⁷⁴ George Padmore Institute, *Newsletter*, no. 6 (2001)

¹⁷⁵ La Rose, Interview, George Padmore Institute.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Garrod, George Padmore Institute.

¹⁷⁷ George Padmore Institute, *Newsletter*, no. 6.

¹⁷⁸ 'Press Release', The Heritage Lottery Fun, available at <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/%C2%A344million-spring-lottery-bonanza-londons-heritage>.

Islington Museum during the summer of 2015. Additionally, throughout the interviews many of the interviewees pointed to this project, and particularly this as one of their greatest achievements to date.¹⁷⁹ This is partly because it is the most ambitious but also engaged more people with the collections through outreach activities such as work with schools, the online publication of a brief history of NBB and the exhibition. To mark the 50th anniversary of New Beacon Books (and the 25th anniversary of GPI) in 2016 *Beacon of Hope* was published that contained the online history of NBB that was compiled as part of Dream to Change the World and the poetry contributions by Jay Bernard, the 2016 poet-in-residence.¹⁸⁰

Road to Raleigh Hall (BCA)

The period between 2003 and 2005 was to be one of the most difficult periods of BCA's history and forced the organisation to re-group and reconsider its future direction. A number of significant developments occurred within the organisation, which included the consideration of a building known as Raleigh Hall as an alternative to 'Site D' and paved the way for the creation of a new project, Documenting the Archives (DTA). One of the major hurdles that BCA encountered during this period was that as the AMBH project was beset with difficulties and only partially successful in its aims, and 'unfortunately, HLF will not acknowledge AMBH as being part of BCA, and therefore will not recognise the achievements of AMBH as that of BCA. BCA will therefore have to demonstrate its ability to manage projects.'¹⁸¹ This was due in part to the way the project was structured as a separate venture between BCA and Middlesex. From the point of view of HLF they may have felt that BCA would have to demonstrate its ability to manage projects on its own as they had concerns about BCA's capacity to manage large projects, which prompted them to suggest that BCA and Middlesex University join together to create the AMBH project. These fears were confirmed by the failure of the project. This is in contrast to the GPI and NBB who had previously resisted funding, they also had a clear track record of managing projects and campaigns. Throughout the majority of BCA's existence, it had relied on support from Lambeth Council, ranging from the provision of buildings to direct funding for the post of the full-time member of staff. After the ending of the AMBH project, this support from Lambeth became crucial to re-establish the organisation, overcome some of the issues that emerged during the AMBH project and for setting the organisation on its current path.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Michael La Rose, George Padmore Institute, and Garrod, George Padmore Institute.

¹⁸⁰ See Ruth Bush and Jay Bernard, *Beacon of Hope* (London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 2016).

¹⁸¹ Board Meeting 3 June 2003, BCA/1/2/5 (2/3), Black Cultural Archives.

In an interview with Conrad Peters who took over as Acting Chair on the death of Garrison, he repeatedly stressed the importance of 'maintaining the vision'; 'I was quite adamant that Len's vision would not fall into the wrong hands because it was too important for him and therefore what I saw happening was not about respecting Len's entity but grabbing what they saw was important.'¹⁸² Partly resulting from the death of Garrison in 2003, the organisation experienced a degree of upheaval, appointing seven Chairs, three as Acting Chair and two removed by the Board for perceived failures between 2005 and 2012.¹⁸³ This change in personnel highlights part of the difficulty the organisation faced on the death of Garrison, particularly as he exerted strong control on the organisation. From an external point of view, Lambeth Archives Manager Jon Newman described the opinion of the community towards BCA as the BCA claiming to represent the history of the community and 'the reality, which was sort of cardboard boxes in the attic room, above the shop in Atlantic Road and nothing really happening. And there were the other, the several attempts to get it funding and get it happening and they failed as well.'¹⁸⁴ Walker also discussed the difficulties faced by the organisation as 'doubts about the organisation not having a permanent building. Doubt as to professionalism of people who were there to handle those papers, whatever. Doubts as to how accessible it would be to other people. These were the three main issues.'¹⁸⁵ Walker's discussion of the issues facing BCA further highlights the failure of the AMBH project as this was the main aim of the project, to make the collections accessible and professionally run. Considering these problems that BCA were facing, emerging from a failed project and lacking clear and direct leadership, it became all the more important to regroup and consider what the next stage in the organisation would be.

In order to overcome some the criticisms raised about BCA by the community, the organisation embarked on a number of events and exhibitions that aimed to raise its profile and to re-connect to the community. These included 'Black in the British Frame' curated by historian Stephen Bourne on the work of Black actors and actresses;¹⁸⁶ Black Icons curated by Len Garrison, prior to his death on the fight against racism;¹⁸⁷ an art exhibition inspired by the Black presence in Edinburgh;¹⁸⁸ a retrospective on the work and history of BCA;¹⁸⁹ Black

¹⁸² Conrad Peters, Interview, mp3, 2 March 2016.

¹⁸³ Interviews with Dawn Hill and Angela Lyon.

¹⁸⁴ Jon Newman, Interview, mp3, 2 May 2016.

¹⁸⁵ Sam Walker, Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

¹⁸⁶ 'Annual Report 2003-2005' (n.d.), BCA/1/4/7, Black Cultural Archives. Annual Report 2003-2005, BCA/1/4/7, Black Cultural Archives.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

Gold, curated by Jacine Cooper and funded by Barclays Bank and Norwich Union on the contribution of Black people to sport and one of the most popular exhibitions for BCA at the time¹⁹⁰ and finally Twin Lens Reflex a photographic exhibition in partnership with Lambeth Archives that highlighted the work of Lambeth photographer Harry Jacobs and Nigerian Bandele 'Tex' Atejunmobi of images taken during the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁹¹

At this time Brixton had been undergoing a period of investment and redevelopment starting in 1993, initially with an unsuccessful project called the *Brixton City Challenge* that aimed to develop the central square.¹⁹² Although the project failed to extend the benefit of increased funding to the local residents¹⁹³ it culminated in the area of central Brixton, located opposite the Town Hall being renamed 'Windrush Square' in 1998 to commemorate the Borough's Caribbean population.¹⁹⁴ In 2001 Windrush Square was selected as a pilot scheme for the Mayor of London's '100 Squares for Londoners' project which proposed to incorporate an area known as Tate Gardens into Windrush Square to create one large open space,¹⁹⁵ but which left Raleigh Hall, a derelict building sitting on the newly developed Windrush Square. Raleigh Hall is a Grade II listed building that was on Lambeth's asset transfer list, and which had also been on the 'Buildings at Risk' register since 1992.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, in 2001 a report commissioned by Lambeth suggested that the best use for Raleigh Hall should be as a Black cultural centre, complementing Windrush Square¹⁹⁷ and recommended that a community led group would be the preferred option.¹⁹⁸ In 2002 Lambeth Council, along with a group known as Brixton Area Forum comprising community groups and individuals who liaised with Lambeth Council sought expressions of interest to redevelop Raleigh Hall.¹⁹⁹ Shortly before the end of the AMBH project, BCA wrote to Lambeth Council expressing an interest in taking over the building, and which the Council agreed to in principle.²⁰⁰ In addition to agreeing to BCA taking over the building for a 99-year lease at a

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² 'Meeting' (3 June 2003), BCA/1/2/5 (2/3), Black Cultural Archives.

¹⁹³ Mike Rahman, 'A Dream Unfulfilled', *Independent*, 15 December 1995, <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/a-dream-unfulfilled-1525824.html>.

¹⁹⁴ ABL, Draft business plan 2004, BCA/1/7/7, Black Cultural Archives, p. 9.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 8.

¹⁹⁷ 'Raleigh Hall – Information Item 285/03-04' (London Borough of Lambeth, 2003). London Borough of

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Brixton Forum, 'About' available at <http://brixtonforum.btck.co.uk/About%20us> <accessed 25/01/2016>

²⁰⁰ 'Cabinet Meeting' (London Borough of Lambeth, 29 October 2007), <http://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=4229>.

peppercorn rent,²⁰¹ Lambeth Council also allocated funds to commission a feasibility study (in addition to an interim grant aid BCA were receiving through Lambeth Arts)²⁰² and a joint steering group was set up with representation from BCA, Lambeth Council and the Brixton Area Forum (BAF).²⁰³ Paul Reid describes the rationale behind the BAF as:

trying to address issues of representation and involvement I suppose, for Black people to have a greater say and a greater stake in the community that we know and at times love and at times hate. So my role in a sense was trying to work with residents, businesses, community organisations, elected members, politicians, senior officers in the council to address some of the key strategic issues facing the council but at the same time not divorced from what I understood the issues to myself, personally. And so, we invited the Black Cultural Archives to get involved in the Brixton Area Forum, the Brixton Area Forum eventually becomes the voice of Brixton and I was instrumental in advocating on behalf of Brixton.²⁰⁴

Reid goes on to note that the added benefit for BCA of its involvement with the BAF is:

through myself I suppose and the work of the Forum and the Town Centre gains immediate access to senior managers and elected members right the way through to the leader of the council, the Chief Executive and eventually the GLA or the ILEA- the LDA at the time. Which means that the concerns and the interests and the tensions have a vehicle through which to engage with major decision makers.²⁰⁵

As discussed by Reid, for the BCA having representation on the BAF gives it greater access to those within the council who are responsible for decision making and the future of the organisation. Using these newfound connections, BCA was able to make a better move towards gaining a building. At the same time, a new committee was established called the 'Raleigh Hall Action Group' that consisted of members of the Brixton community and BCA so that they could work closely on what was needed to ensure new and continued support, and to advocate on behalf of BCA.²⁰⁶ As highlighted earlier, this was at the time when BCA only had one member of staff and limited funds to undertake exhibitions and outreach work. This

²⁰¹'Cabinet Meeting' (London Borough of Lambeth, 22 March 2010), <http://modern.gov.lambeth.gov.uk/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=4229>.

²⁰² 'Development Meeting' (26 March 2003), BCA/1/2/5 (1/3), Black Cultural Archives.

²⁰³ 'Draft Business Plan' (2004), BCA/1/7/7, Black Cultural Archives.

²⁰⁴ Paul Reid, Interview, mp3, 12 March 2016.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ 'Directors Report' (2004), BCA/1/2/5 (2/3), Black Cultural Archives. Directors Report 2004, BCA/1/2/5 (2/3), Black Cultural Archives.

negative impression of BCA also meant that some members of the community felt that they had little choice in supporting BCA's proposal to taken on Raleigh Hall, as it was presented to them as either BCA taking it over, or see it privately redeveloped.¹⁶² Whilst the community were in favour of Raleigh Hall becoming a cultural centre, they were not necessarily in support of BCA.¹⁶³ However, one stipulation to the acquiring of Raleigh Hall was that BCA would have to move from 378 Coldharbour Lane so that the Council could sell the building to private developers.²⁰⁷ In return for Raleigh Hall and the loss of 378 Coldharbour Lane, the Council offered the organisation a building in Kennington, a vacated Day Centre located at 1 Othello Close. BCA moved into 1 Othello Close, in July 2005 after a ten-week renovation period to update the building,²⁰⁸ after 20 years at 378 Coldharbour Lane. BCA embarked on a successful HLF bid in 2007 to undertake an 18-month project, called Documenting the Archives (DTA),²⁰⁹ which will be returned to shortly.

The funds made available by Lambeth Council for a feasibility study saw BCA employing a consultancy firm, ABL Cultural Consulting to look into putting together a funding application to convert Raleigh Hall and to address some of the issues raised by HLF about BCA's capacity to manage large projects, including the development of a Business Plan and Development and Capacity Plan.²¹⁰ To deal with the fundraising aspect ABL suggested that another consultancy firm, Brakeley Ltd. should take this on and they investigated the potential of BCA to raise the necessary funds to secure and run Raleigh Hall on a permanent basis.²¹¹ The Brakeley report stressed many of the issues that had already been raised relating to BCA's capacity and readiness to undertake a major capital project. This report noted that 'the board has huge passion and enthusiasm for BCA and its aims, but in our opinion lacks the experience, contacts and skills to enable it to undertake a large capital and revenue fundraising campaign.'²¹² The report also noted that 'from our analysis it is clear that although the project is, in our opinion capable of attracting funding, there is no sustainable structure at BCA that can deliver the fundraising requirements for Raleigh Hall and any future revenue funding needs.'²¹³ Furthermore, the report undertook some interviews with other stakeholders from the Black community that noted 'none of the interviewees were sure what BCA was

²⁰⁷'Meeting of Board of Trustees' (8 February 2004), BCA/1/2/5 (2/3), Black Cultural Archives. .

²⁰⁸ 'Minutes of the AGM of Trustees' (26 July 2005), BCA 1/2/5 (1/3).

²⁰⁹ 'DTA Final Report' (March 2011), p. 8.

²¹⁰ Director's Report 2003-2005, BCA/1/2/5 (2/3), Black Cultural Archives, p. 5.

²¹¹ 'Brakeley's Audit' (May 2004), BCA/1/2/5 (3/3), Black Cultural Archives. Brakeley's Fundraising Audit, BCA/1/2/5 (3/3), Black Cultural Archives.

²¹² Ibid, p.7.

²¹³ Ibid

actually doing, and what its aims were. Its uniqueness was not clear, and there was consensus that this needed to be re-visited by a group of influential and respected people from the African and Caribbean community.²¹⁴ Other quotes from these external stakeholders confirmed the issues outlined earlier with many expressing feelings such as ‘I know nothing about BCA but have often walked past the offices in Coldharbour Lane and thought it was a bookshop;’²¹⁵ ‘it does not know what it is for, except that it is a good thing to do;’ ‘BCA needs to redefine its strategic role together with Black archiving in London and the rest of the UK. How will they fit in with each other?’ and ‘they have not sought to make the idea of BCA popular. If you asked people in the street what it does they would not have a clue.’²¹⁶ The report also highlighted the position of BCA within the wider heritage sector, not only the increased interest from the sector in collecting material relating to ‘hidden histories’ under the diversity and social inclusion agendas, but also the movement within the heritage sector to increase professionalism and to streamline work. The report highlighted the work of organisations such as the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) to standardise approaches to cataloguing and access, with the emergence of standards such as BS54:54; the work of the Public Services Quality Group to look at access practices and the development of ISAD(G) by the International Council of Archives, and represents a tightening of what was considered core to the archival world as a profession.

As highlighted by ABL this put BCA in a more awkward position with potential funders who would expect that any archival organisation should meet these standards as the basic minimum requirements, but which would be difficult for BCA in its current position. As already noted, this general feeling was already held by HLF who suggested on a number of occasions that BCA would need to work on improving its infrastructure before further funding would be secured.²¹⁷ However, although BCA was in a weaker position following the end of the AMBH project, ABL’s report also has an underlying sense that there was an assumption that BCA would be unable to reach the level of ‘professionalism’ necessary to engage with mainstream organisations. The draft business plan from ABL continued much of the same line of thinking from the AMBH report, including the decision to focus on collecting post-1945 material and the positioning of BCA in relation to other heritage organisations, to provide greater

²¹⁴ Ibid, p. 8

²¹⁵ Ibid, p. 13

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ ‘Board Meeting’ (June 2003), BCA/1/2/5 (2/3), Black Cultural Archives; ‘Minutes of Board Meeting’ (August 2005), BCA/1/2/5 (1/3), Black Cultural Archives; ‘Minutes of Board Meeting’ (July 2006), BCA/1/5/4, Black Cultural Archives.

interpretation of material.²¹⁸ However, given the state of affairs in terms of BCA's position both within the local community and the heritage sector it is not surprising that this would be the case. ABL also suggested that BCA should position itself, and the creation of Raleigh Hall as a 'cultural heritage centre' and to avoid using terms like 'archive' or 'museum' due to the expectations that using these words would raise, particularly from funders and policy makers and to some extent in relation to professional practice.²¹⁹ For ABL the term 'cultural heritage centre' is used to describe an organisation that 'places itself at the centre of a network of related organisations, including museums, archives, libraries and other content generators including media and performing and visual art organisations.'²²⁰ Given the position of BCA after the AMBH project, and Fraser's report on the collection, the relative success of the AMBH project in engaging with policy and working in partnership and the less than favourable community response, it is not surprising, albeit disappointing, that ABL suggested that BCA should concentrate on its work in interpretation of history through learning and outreach, rather than a strong focus on collecting and collections management. This could also build on the growing interest in digital platforms to connect collections and material without necessarily collecting the material. This could further be extended to an assumption that the material collected by the organisation was not of archival or museum quality. As previously suggested by Fraser following the AMBH project, by shifting the focus away from collecting, the report from ABL was focussing the organisation on working within the existing practices of the heritage sector, rather than operating completely independently of the sector.

In addition to changing Board members and Chairpersons, as an outcome of the skills review the longstanding Director, Sam Walker was felt to lack the necessary skills that would be required to move BCA into the next phase of development, particularly in relation to managing a large scale building project and the potential expansion.²²¹ Walker stepped down in 2006²²² and was replaced by Paul Reid who as discussed had been seconded from Lambeth Council and who had been actively involved in the Windrush Square and Raleigh Hall development projects in his role as Brixton Town Centre Manager.²²³ Walker described the situation as:

²¹⁸ Draft Business Plan 2004, BCA/1/7/7, Black Cultural Archives, p. 18.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ 'Minutes of Personnel Sub-Committee Meeting' (18 March 2005), BCA/1/25 (1/3), Black Cultural Archives.

²²² 'Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting' (28 March 2006), BCA/1/5/4, Black Cultural Archives..

²²³ Paul Reid, Interview, mp3, 12 March 2016.

They gave [the report] to us and I saw one sentence about them, I think having a new CEO or something and then I asked the question, 'what is this about you know?' I said, "are you telling me are you having a new CEO? Am I being sacked? Or whatever." We haven't talked about this before, nobody has ever talked to me about this before and then, it was then that his consultant said they want to interview me and all sorts of stuff. And then [unclear] but what I know is that at the end of the day they said that they wanted somebody with new skills, that's how they put it.'²²⁴

Whilst it is clear that BCA was under intense pressure to rectify the issues that were being raised by the funders and the external community regarding BCA's performance and inadequacies, it is clear that they should have handled the situation with Walker better.

To maintain Garrison's original vision, although education and outreach always played a key role, it was vital for the organisation to be able to continue to collect material they felt accurately reflected the experiences of the Black community in Britain. It could be argued that in response to the ABL report and on-going questions about the value and importance of the material held by the organisation and its status in relationship to professionalism, BCA embarked on a successful HLF bid in 2007 to undertake an 18-month project, called Documenting the Archives (DTA).²²⁵ The DTA project was one of the first phases in proving to HLF and other funders that BCA were in a position to not only manage larger scale projects alone, address its infrastructure and management and to document and showcase the potential of the organisation to collect, care for, and make accessible material relating to Black history and heritage. The DTA project was in many ways a staging post to the bigger application to HLF for the Raleigh Hall project. The objectives of the DTA project were:

- 'To document the archive and library collection to international cataloguing standards;
- To develop and use an appropriate catalogue database which can be searched online via the BCA website;
- To preserve and conserve valuable and fragile items;
- To provide access to the collection via the catalogue;
- To digitise key items and make them available online;
- To engage volunteers in these processes of description and preservation.'²²⁶

²²⁴ Sam Walker, Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

²²⁵ DTA Final report, March 2011, p. 8.

²²⁶ Ibid, pp. 7-8.

Although the AMBH project had the cataloguing of the collection as an aspect of the programme its failure in this area meant that the collection was still un-catalogued, and the true value of the collection was still difficult to assess. The DTA project was devised to fully catalogue the material and to work towards the later Raleigh Hall project.²²⁷ The DTA was in many respects a second attempt at the same project, with many of the same outcomes as the original AMBH project, but as noted by Hill, '[the HLF] wanted to know whether these archives were worth spending money on.'²²⁸

The project created four posts, of which three were full time heritage professionals including a Documentation Manager and Documentation and Cataloguing Officers.²²⁹ The post of Documentation Manager was filled by Tamsin Bookey and although the posts were advertised widely throughout the heritage sector, the documentation posts were filled by archivists with Tamsin Bookey joined by Steven Spencer and Jessica Womak.²³⁰ This also led to a re-orientation of the posts and change of titles more in line with archival practice to Collections Manager and Assistant Archivist.²³¹ To support the cataloguing a Project Board was convened to provide professional advice and support and which reported to BCA's Board of Trustees. Members of the Project Board were Maureen Roberts as Chair (BCA Trustee), Paul Reid (BCA Director), Tamsin Bookey as Secretary, Dr. Andrew Flinn (Director of Archives Programme, UCL), Jon Newman (Archives Manager, Lambeth Archives), Sue Donnelly (Archivist, London School of Economics) and Dr. Gemma Romain (Interpretation and Outreach Officer, The National Archives).²³² Bookey described the collections when she arrived as:

all of the collections were in plastic bags or boxes and they were all stored higgledy piggledy in what was an old kitchen and it contained library books, archives and museum objects and they were not arranged in any order, they had just been piled into a kitchen. There were no shelves, it was not in any way a fit for purpose environment for collections storage or reading room.²³³

Bookey goes on to say:

²²⁷ Dawn Hill. Interview, mp3, 3 March 2016.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ DTA Final Report, p. 9.

²³⁰ Ibid, p. 12.

²³¹ Ibid, p. 13.

²³² Ibid, p. 14.

²³³ Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017.

and then we also had to procure IT services, so one of the outputs of DTA was to have a catalogue but we didn't even had any computers so I'm not quite sure how we justified this to HLF or whether we just did this all under the overheads line of the funding bid but we had to get a kind of, backed up server environment, as not just independent, staff using their own computers. Certainly, for the first few months I brought in my laptop from home and I was working on that because there was no IT infrastructure. So within the first 6 months we got new computers and we leased them and some tech support from a local company called Support Plan who, did sort of remote office IT setups for small businesses and they gave us a discount because we were like a local voluntary sector organisation.²³⁴

The work undertaken by the DTA project also saw an unprecedented opening up of the archives in terms of access to the material. Whilst at Coldharbour Lane, BCA was only able to accommodate researchers by appointment, which was dependent on the availability of Sam Walker. Additionally, it is difficult to see how easily research could be facilitated as the poor condition and accessibility of the material was highlighted during the AMBH project. Not only were the collections catalogued they were made accessible online, first through the CommunitySites interface and then through the proprietary software CALM, with the online version CALMview.²³⁵ Prior to the cataloguing of the collections, Bookey describes the situation with the collection. Bookey notes that:

basically what was happening was that if big institutions needed a Black community heritage partner, they would ask BCA and it would be Kelly [Foster] or Jemma [Desai] who would go along and be the Black community partner and help with the- I may be mistaken, but they didn't have premises that was really suitable for anybody to visit and certainly you wouldn't see anything if you did come. And they didn't know what was in the collections. Literally they shut the door on the collections. They shoved them in the kitchen and the door was closed on them. It was viewed as a problem that I was recruited to solve. So, with the people that I appointed, we eventually took over the entire office space with shelving so the collections could literally come out of the kitchen, out of their plastic boxes and onto the shelves.²³⁶

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ DTA Final report, 19

²³⁶ Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017.

Bookey's description is also reminiscent of my earlier discussion of the position of BCA prior to the AMBH project, in that partnership with the BCA appears to be in name rather than based on the collections. This also highlights the thinking behind the ABL suggestion that BCA could act in an interpretative and liaison role, rather than basing its work around the collections. However, this also raises the question again about how far BCA could accurately represent the community when it was struggling to articulate itself and its mission. It is clear that without an accurate idea of the kinds of stories and histories contained within the collection that the organisation would find it difficult to have a clear idea of what and who the organisation was 'for.' I will return to a more fulsome discussion of this point in the next chapter.

During the life of the project the DTA staff operated a reading room, initially opening for three days a week, then one day a week once two staff members left the project²³⁷ but during 2009 and 2010, 179 visits were made to the service, the vast majority coming for the purpose of academic research.²³⁸ Earlier reports place visitor figures to the Coldharbour Lane site at 9,000 in 1995/6²³⁹ and 5,000 in 1997/8²⁴⁰ although it is unclear how these higher figures were calculated and whether they include school groups, talks or off-site visits or people who were also visiting the bookshop. It is difficult to get an accurate picture of the numbers visiting the archive as other available annual reports are inconsistent in the reporting of visitor figures, with some only reporting telephone enquiries,²⁴¹ or making no mention of figures at all.²⁴² Although the figures for the DTA project are significantly lower than those previously reported by BCA, the project was successful in highlighting the uniqueness and value of the collections for academic research, particularly once new collections were taken in during the project. Within the two years of the project's existence DTA represented a huge step change in the position and structure of the organisation.

During the project planning stage, the continued support from Lambeth became a huge factor in the success of the bid. The support from Lambeth could be seen to overcome some of the issues set out in relation to the AMBH project and the position of external, mainstream organisations who could threaten the independence of the organisation. This support was given not only through the decision to give BCA a lease of Raleigh Hall for 99 years at a

²³⁷ Ibid, p. 21

²³⁸ Ibid

²³⁹ 'Application to Lambeth Grants 1995/1996' (1996), BCA/2/2, Black Cultural Archives..

²⁴⁰ Annual Report 1998, BCA/1/4/5, Black Cultural Archives.

²⁴¹ Annual Report 2003-2005, BCA/1/4/7, Black Cultural Archives.

²⁴² 'Report' (undated (c 1990), BCA/1/2/7, Black Cultural Archives. Undated report, c. 1990, BCA/1/2/7, Black Cultural Archives.

peppercorn rent, in addition to the use of Othello Close on the same basis²⁴³ but as noted above it also included direct financial support towards the bid, the secondment of Paul Reid to fill the Director's post, in addition to providing financial support of a Fundraising Manager post.²⁴⁴ Furthermore although the DTA project was successful in demonstrating that the organisation was more professional, the HLF grant was solely held and administered by Lambeth who took on the responsibility of the renovation of Raleigh Hall that included oversight of the construction, whilst BCA retained the oversight of securing funds (to be transferred to Lambeth) and delivering programme activities,²⁴⁵ suggesting there still remained an underlying lack of trust regarding BCA's capabilities. This support from Lambeth through the secondment of Reid was one of the key areas in which the organisation greatly benefited, not only in terms of his personal abilities but also as a conduit to access increasingly greater support from Lambeth. It is also worth noting that Reid had an indirect involvement with BCA prior to the Raleigh Hall project, through his role as Brixton Town Centre Manager.²⁴⁶ As noted earlier, in this role Reid was responsible for convening the Brixton Area Forum to advocate on behalf of the local community, particularly the local Black community.²⁴⁷ Reid also discussed his role in trying to transform Brixton from 'a place of conflict to possibly a place of destination, heritage, value, inspired by what was happening overseas'²⁴⁸ with a focus on Raleigh Hall and its place within the wider Brixton town centre regeneration project. As an Officer of Lambeth Council, Reid discussed the ways in which he was able to lever additional support whilst developing the HLF bid for the renovation of Raleigh Hall, and without which it is unlikely that BCA would have been successful. Reid notes:

Questions around business planning for example, requires a business plan. Who's going to finance the business plan? Questions around sustainability issues concerning a grade two listed building are difficult ones for community groups to answer but if you've got the conservation team within the Council on your side, the Council conservation officer could possibly look at the questions for you. So, these were the kind of things that I was fortunate to be able to draw upon some- by no way at all did I have all the answers, but my position in the Council was able to get what we needed,

²⁴³ 'Minutes of the Board of Trustees' (26 July 2005), BCA/1/2/5 (1/3), Black Cultural Archives..

²⁴⁴ 'Business Plan' (2010), uncatalogued, Black Cultural Archives, p. 13.

²⁴⁵ 'End of Year Report to the Charity Commission' (2012), <https://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/DocumentList.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1051087&SubsidiaryNumber=0&DocType=AccountList>, p. 4.

²⁴⁶ Interview with Paul Reid

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

both from within the council, within the community and possibly by leveraging partnerships or commissioning pieces of work to get the quality of answer that is required. To put that now in front of, the decision makers at the right time and if you do that well you win the argument and we move on to the next concern, and so it starts again.²⁴⁹

Although the DTA project represented a crucial change in terms of moving away from the way the organisation previously operated, the application to HLF highlighted how much work still needed to be carried out in order to meet the fairly strict criteria for receiving funding, especially large capital funding. Reid described the final application to HLF consisting of nine ring binders of work that included plans and policies.²⁵⁰ This raises the issue of how other smaller, community organisations can possibly find the additional resources necessary to fulfil the criteria that is expected from funding bodies, used to funding well-resourced, mainstream organisations, and the nature of the information they were expected to submit. As highlighted by Reid, there is no easy answer to this question,²⁵¹ but it is something that BCA has become keenly aware of having gone through the application process. Reid reflected that:

fundamentally, how does an organisation do that? If it hasn't, if it's not resourced to do it? [pause] I was a full time member of staff working for the London Borough of Lambeth and I had access to departments that could help, and I also had access to budgets, I had a budget and that meant I could commission work. BCA had one full time member of staff and I think its turnover was about 40, 45 thousand pounds per annum and it had been the same for a number of years, many years. How was it ever going to be able to produce these nine folders of work? And then once it did that, that was just going to be about a stage one pass within a Heritage Lottery Fund capital programme, grant programme. At stage one you then have to get the match funding, so they give you 60 percent or whatever the percentage is. You then have to get the match funding and you have a period of time in which to do that, you have to revise the plans, get the match funding and have it... delivered within a period, within a certain amount of time. If you fail to do that, the whole entire piece of work was a waste of time to some extent because it doesn't lead anywhere.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Ibid

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

The support offered by Lambeth Council could also be seen in terms of aligning with Council priorities in terms of regenerating Brixton. As Reid highlighted, the development of Raleigh Hall was an ‘easy win’ within the council keen to be seen to be working for the local community.²⁵³ Reid describes this as the position of ‘history and heritage [that] is very different to ideas around police harassment and brutality and deaths in custody and so on, so this becomes a soft, safe, option do something positive within the community.’²⁵⁴ The redevelopment of Raleigh Hall also continues the work of the Council in the general regeneration of Brixton and wider discussions of the value of diversity and ‘social inclusion’, whilst also meeting the 2009 ‘Future Brixton Masterplan’.²⁵⁵ This set forward a ten-year plan to ensure sustainability, but also to build on Brixton’s culture and heritage whilst focussing on regenerating key areas in Brixton including Brixton Central, the site of Raleigh Hall.²⁵⁶ Whilst the Raleigh Hall project marked a convergence of BCA’s desire to find a permanent building and Lambeth’s plans to redevelop and regenerate the area, questions have been raised about the suitability of Raleigh Hall for BCA’s requirements. Although key to BCA’s mission and vision was the establishment of a permanent space, a ‘monument’ to the Black experience, Raleigh Hall may not have been the best option, but given Lambeth’s support for the project, could be seen as being the most likely. Although one of the key benefits of Raleigh Hall was its position on Windrush Square, early in BCA’s discussions about taking on Raleigh Hall the issue of the size of the building was raised.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, as highlighted in a report on Raleigh Hall, if sold on the open market in 2002/3 the building could be expected to sell for £500,000-£700,000 (dropping to £150,000-£200,000 if restricted to community use)²⁵⁸ but was estimated at an additional £650,000 to £850,000 to renovate.²⁵⁹ In a 2003 report on Raleigh Hall, it was clear that the Council favoured the option of having the building renovated, but that the renovation was undertaken by an external group in order to build trust within the community whilst also removing a financial burden from the council.²⁶⁰ However, in interviews with Tamsin Bookey and Angela Lyon who sat on the Raleigh Hall Project Board the issues

²⁵³ Ibid

²⁵⁴ Ibid

²⁵⁵ ‘Urban Lab: Lambeth Council, Brixton Green and Ovalhouse theatre in south London A co-operative community-led development in inner London,’ University College London, available at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/urbanlab/docs/case-study-5-lambeth-council>, p. 6.

²⁵⁶ ‘Future Brixton,’ Lambeth Council, available at <https://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/documents/s57901/01%20Future%20Brixton%20Masterplan%201.pdf>.

²⁵⁷ Interview with Conrad Peters.

²⁵⁸ ‘Cabinet Meeting’ (London Borough of Lambeth, 29 October 2007), <https://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/ieListDocuments.aspx?CId=225&MID=5747#A13326>.

²⁵⁹ ‘Raleigh Hall Assessment Report’ (October 2003), <https://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/ieListDocuments.aspx?CId=225&MID=5747#A13326>, p.3.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

with building could potentially have lasting effects on the ability of the BCA to succeed in the future. Lyon noted that ‘so, this archive was the prime, the building wasn’t really a good building as far as I was concerned. It was really a lot of money to put in, which was great, we got something there, but seriously... a lot of money with not a lot of use.’²⁶¹ Lyon who is a Chartered Quantity and Buildings Surveyor also highlighted the issues with the building as ‘it was unfortunate that I wasn’t there throughout a lot more of the design phase, because the kitchen, there should be a proper kitchen in that place so that they can properly function, and this whole thing of the eco-friendly building, it’s just not clever.’²⁶² Lyon went on to discuss:

there was an element about ‘should we have vinyl on the floor in the toilets’ as opposed to ceramic, and I said “well no, this is a building that’s got to last” we don’t want to have- you have to build, the QS’s [Quantity Surveyors] should be saying “it’s not just the cost here it’s the maintenance at the other end. Do you really want to keep replacing this thing?” No, you’ve got to have continuous tiles full height, I was forever looking at the judgments that these consultants were giving them and saying, “well no, why aren’t we having more than two toilets?” Because I know, I’ve done commercial units you are always having problems with toilets, women’s toilets and the men’s toilets, we should be using the basement to do this.’²⁶³

Lyon also highlighted that whilst the building represented an important achievement for the organisation it also had to be offset against the cost of renovating the building and the value for money achieved in terms of useable space.²⁶⁴ Using the original footprint of the building, two Georgian houses, the plans for Raleigh Hall incorporated a café, a bookshop, learning rooms, offices, a meeting and a reading room. Although an extension was included that housed the exhibition space and archive storage, the building itself does not accommodate a large footprint for archival storage. However, whilst the space limitations were noted, it was felt that advances in technology meant that the work of the organisation could be achieved through digital methods and the digitisation of the archive²⁶⁵, partnership working and potentially establishing satellite offices.²⁶⁶ However, the space limitations may have a knock on effect on the ability of the organisation to achieve everything it set out to, and the potential impact it would have on the physical growth and development of the collections.

²⁶¹ Angela Lyon, Interview, mp3, 29 February 2016.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Conrad Peters, Interview, mp3, 2 March 2016.

²⁶⁶ Paul Reid, Interview, mp3, 12 March 2016.

The problems were also discussed by Bookey who noted that from a collections point of view there was limited understanding of, and provision for the archive and library functions of the building:

I was concerned that we had such a limited footprint for the strong room at Raleigh Hall and that we would run out of room, run out of space for the collections. And there was another consultant that worked on the development phase, David Mander and I worked with him on trying to get accurate projection of how much storage space would be taken up and how the reading room should be set up such so that you could invigilate and have a space to work, it was stuff like that, professional concerns around invigilation that no one had thought of. They thought you could have a library and people could wander in and out. Things like lockers, things like a secure production route and the archive. These were not being considered at all by the design team, so I had to argue for the place around the table at the design team meetings and I don't know- I left before seeing what the final design was.²⁶⁷

These issues were likely to be due to a mixture of reasons. Firstly, as highlighted by the ABL and Brakeley's reports there was a sense that those on the Board did not have the correct skillsets to run and operate large scale building projects, particularly one that was prefaced on a particular knowledge base. It is also likely to be a result of the other issues raised by the AMBH project and by Bookey about the lack of knowledge about the collections. As the DTA project was being run alongside the stage one application process, the organisation did not know what collections it held and was unused to thinking about the collections in terms of its day to day activities.

This lack of attention to the broader needs of the organisation was also highlighted by some of the interviewees as an issue with the broader funding approach of the HLF. Both Bookey and Newman described the situation as that in essence the BCA was viewed as being something that should be funded, a 'tick box' exercise,²⁶⁸ with less emphasis on what specifically should be funded; 'ultimately everybody was aware that the idea of a Black British heritage centre was worth more than necessarily the collections in isolation. It was necessary for there to be a Black led heritage centre in Brixton and that's the sort of thing HLF should be funding and Lambeth council should be funding.'²⁶⁹ These issues for the BCA could be viewed as resulting from a position where funding it became almost inevitable, particularly in terms of

²⁶⁷ Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017.

²⁶⁸ Jon Newman, Interview, mp3, 2 May 2016.

²⁶⁹ Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017

what was discussed earlier in the chapter surrounding the changes in policy and practice in the sector. Whilst these decisions were a result of sympathy for and understanding of BCA's position it is hard to see how BCA could have made such strident changes to the structure following the Brakeley's audit. It is clear that changes in personnel and the hiring of professional heritage staff did make a big difference, but the lack of experience across the organisation may set the organisation up for further issues. Furthermore, many interviewees pointed to the structure of HLF funding as putting the organisation in an unsustainable footing, as noted by Newman:

I think more generally, BCA does and lots of heritage organisations are actually suffering as a result of being set up by, on the HLF model, which I think only works for a very specific sort of heritage organization that is capable of generating significant income. So, it could well work for an art gallery. I don't think it's ever going to work for an archive, I think you could argue that HLF were wrong to [pause] set BCA up in that way because where are they going to go for money? I got the sense that in the various iterations of the capital project, more and more got clawed away from the non-fundraising archive, storage area and things like that and more and more got invested in rentable office space, cafes and things like that.²⁷⁰

Underpinning the question of funding and fundraising, Reid argued that:

so, I think the thing that we need to do is to put pressure on the funders and the decision makers to really get them to appreciate what it is that's being asked for and then, the other thing that we have to do is, we have to also seek out our own money. One of the- one of my biggest regrets around Black Cultural Archives is that this has very largely been funded from- by groups, by funders that are not members of the community. This is not Black community money and that is one of my biggest, biggest concerns. Because sustainability is all about being able to finance something and the voice of the organisation is always affected by where it gets its money from. A strong advocate requires its own money, and if it doesn't have that and it continuously goes and requests money from funders that we have difficulties with for example, then the tone of voice is always affected by that relationship.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ Jon Newman, Interview, mp3, 2 May 2016.

²⁷¹ Paul Reid, Interview, mp3, 12 March 2016.

Reid's discussion of the need for 'community' funding highlights the issue that John La Rose and New Beacon Books, and the Huntleys highlighted during their early histories. The reliance on external funding puts pressures not only on an organisation's ability to effectively plan if there is a worry about whether there will be sufficient funds in the following year but may also limit an organisation's 'voice' in pushing for change. For BCA this is not only in terms of pushing or attempting to change practice within the heritage sector, but also within Brixton and the broader politics of place. However, as noted by Newman this is not unique to BCA. Sarah Garrod, the archivist at GPI also noted that sustainability is also an issue for them as:

You go from step to step and as John said that's how you should build yourself anyway, but it does come- it's scary because you might get to the step and find there's no more steps afterwards. But, yeah, it's- long-term sustainability is always going to be an issue whatever we do but I guess it is with anyone really. At least we don't have that many overheads in the sense that we do own the building, I think it's just a question really of, you know, you just have to [pause] keep going really.²⁷²

Despite ongoing issues with the design process, the heritage centre was initially due to open in November 2011,²⁷³ but this was pushed back to early 2013 after early enabling works discovered more issues with the building than were initially expected.²⁷⁴ The main construction of the building began in January 2012 but a little over four months later the building contractors, Kilby and Gayford went into administration, halting the building work altogether.²⁷⁵ The loss of the contractors required BCA to retender for the work, which began again in February 2013 undertaken by Roof.²⁷⁶ These delays saw greater press attention on BCA that highlighted the continuing delays²⁷⁷ but saw greater financial implications, firstly in re-tendering for the work but also in lost income from opening the building late²⁷⁸ that resulted in an additional £1m required to restart the project.²⁷⁹ In 2014, Lambeth Council agreed to a

²⁷² Sarah Garrod, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

²⁷³ 'Draft Business Plan' 2004, BCA/1/7/7, Black Cultural Archives.

²⁷⁴ Mayor of London, Investment & Performance Board (IPB) meeting, March, 7/3/2013, available at <https://www.london.gov.uk/moderngov/documents/s22721/09%20Black%20Cultural%20Archives%20cover%20report.rtf?CT=2>.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ For example, 'More Delays for Black Cultural Archives,' The Voice, 10/11/2012 available <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/article/more-delays-black-cultural-archives>.

²⁷⁸ 'Officer Delegated Decision' (London Borough of Lambeth, 14 January 2013), <https://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/ieListDocuments.aspx?CId=225&MID=5747#A13326>. London Borough of Lambeth, 'Officer Delegated Decision' 14/01/2013

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

provisional grant for BCA of an additional £214,000²⁸⁰ to cover the predicted shortfall from the delays and also agreed to support BCA until the end of March 2017.²⁸¹ However, although the Raleigh Hall project suffered setbacks and shortfalls, the building opened on the 24th July 2014 to an extremely large crowd gathered on Windrush Square²⁸² who were there to support the end of the organisation's journey to create a monument and to secure a permanent building.

This chapter has highlighted the culmination of decades of activity and labour that resulted in the establishment of Black Cultural Archives, the George Padmore Institute and the Huntley Collection. Although much of the history that led to the 'constitution' of these archives has been their continual commitment to the principles of Pan-Africanism and changing education narratives, it is also clear that this has naturally been tempered and affected by external circumstances and contexts. I have highlighted the impact of funding and policy changes at the State level and how the 'drift' towards a greater appreciation of multiculturalism opened-up greater opportunities for the founders of the archives to formally constitute the archives. As outlined, it is their political activism that helped to change the political landscape, but the increased funding helped to make the material that has highlighted their important contributions more accessible and has allowed me to write this thesis. In the following chapter I shall discuss the material held within the collections and how the building up of these archives contributes to the founders' vision of creating new narratives of Black history.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ 'End of Year Report to the Charity Commission' (2014), <https://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/DocumentList.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1051087&SubsidiaryNumber=0&DocType=AccountList>. Charity Commission, Year End Report, 2014.

²⁸² Black Cultural Archives 'Windrush Square Opening Celebration', Black Cultural Archives, available at <http://bcaheritage.org.uk/windrush-square-opening-celebration/>.

7. Monuments and Beacons

As outlined throughout this thesis, underpinning the work of the founders of the archives has been the desire to challenge and change the historical narratives of Black experiences in Britain. As argued throughout this thesis, the aim of collecting or creating these archives has been to provide a space to capture the history of the Black British communities, particularly with an eye on the future and with a broadly educational outlook. I now turn to focus on the collections that the organisations hold to assess the extent to which the physical collections reflect the rationale for their development. By focusing on the collections held at the organisations, this chapter will engage with the imagery that the organisations have put forward in order to further articulate how they thought about their work, in line with their Pan-African politics, and how this has impacted on what they collected. This chapter will primarily consider the linguistic and conceptual differences between how the Black Cultural Archives (BCA) and the George Padmore Institute (GPI) have positioned themselves as ‘monuments’ and ‘beacons.’ In contrast to both BCA and GPI who operate independently, the Huntley Collection now exists within a larger, mainstream institution so this chapter also considers how this affects how the collection is consulted and considered. The final part of this chapter will consider the role of ‘whiteness’ within the organisations.

Monuments are often defined as: ‘a means of fixing history. They provide stability and a degree of permanence through the collective remembering of an event, person or sacrifice around which public rites can be organized.’¹ In writing about the development of the GPI, Chris Moffat argues that John La Rose and the founders of the GPI feared becoming another ‘dead monument’² and argued instead for seeing the archive in the light of ‘possibility’ with the ‘the archive as beacon—as something that is stable and reliable, that may prompt a sense of hope but is successful only if it is passed by, left behind.’³ Sitting within the language of monuments and beacons also suggests the importance of memorialisation, but also raises key questions about who and what is being memorialised (or excluded) and how?

As highlighted in chapter four, the question of memorialisation is captured in the relationship between GPI and New Beacon Books, named after the Beacon journal of Trinidad. Moffat’s discussion of ‘possibility’ highlights a potential and important tension in

¹Michael Rowlands and Christopher Tilley, ‘Monuments and Memorials’, in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley et al. (Sage Publications, 2006), p. 500.

² La Rose, quoted in Moffat, *Against Cultures of Hiatus*, p. 40

³ Ibid, p. 41.

thinking about the role of the archives as 'beacons' or 'monuments' and adds another lens in which to think about the role of ephemerality as outlined in the literature review. Implied in the language of monuments and beacons suggests different levels of fixity; monuments are designed as permanent symbols whereas beacons could be seen as more ephemeral, as a guide rather than a fixed point. These frameworks of fixity and possibility also returns us to the discussions of the nature of experience outlined in the literature review and throughout the thesis. In focussing on the permanence that is implied in the language of monuments, there is a danger that in fixing experiences within, and as monuments, we present very narrow and rigid entry points into experiences that remain cemented in the past. The collections of the organisations attempt to contest the nature of the Black experience, and what it 'meant' to be Black in England during the 1950s and 1980s, through to the 1990s and now. It is clear by focussing on experience that it is hoped that the archival collections are able to continually speak for the changing nature of Black experience in Britain. Returning to Barnor Hesse's consideration of transruptions, monuments may also provide ways of unsettling the status quo by appearing where they are least expected.⁴ Beacons, provide a way of thinking about experiences as constantly shifting and evolving, with collections serving as one possible avenue, rather than as the only way to present experiences. This chapter will particularly pick up the arguments outlined by Spivak, Cvetkovich and Hall highlighted in the literature review that discuss how a focus on experiences can help to disrupt racism that attempts to fix people into certain unchanging and immutable categories.

Moffat's discussion of the GPI and the 'beacon' also has echoes of Hall's and Prescod's discussions of living archives and highlights the importance of the ways in which archives can represent new processes and ways of thinking.⁵ Rooted in Stuart Hall and Manning Marable's discussions of 'living archives' and 'living histories,' within these frameworks of monuments and beacons helps to orient us towards the importance of possibilities and change. Furthermore, the possibility of archives to become 'living archives, which operate as spaces of experimentation and collaboration in which emerge alternative archival practices. These in turn create, organize and support different, and often collectivized, knowledge claims.'⁶ This conception of the importance of 'living archives' highlights the importance of a space in which groups can come together to create new practices and knowledges, a discussion which touches on the issues of professionalisation touched on in

⁴ Hesse, *Un/settled Multiculturalisms*, p.17.

⁵ Hall, 'Constituting an Archive', p. 89.

⁶ Susan Pell, *Radicalizing the Politics of the Archive: An Ethnographic Reading of an Activist Archive*, in *Archivaria*, 80, (Fall, 2015), p. 38.

the previous chapter and which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. The idea of 'living archives' has also been discussed by archival theorist Eric Ketelaar who describes 'living archives' as a physical archival space and place where those who have sustained a trauma can transform their experiences into meaning.⁷ For Ketelaar, the concept of 'living archives' is one where the nature of archives are continually challenged, contested and expanded⁸ and which forms an important discussion on the role of Black-led archives within the broader archives sector. For the archives, a focus on experiences can help to transform their archives into 'living archives' as they work to find a way to ensure that race can be historically understood and contested.

Through an investigation of the collections held at the organisations, I will discuss how the organisations have sought to construct historical narratives and attempt to provide an understanding of the experiences of being Black in Britain. At the heart of the development of the archives within this study has not only been a desire to 'give voice' to the experiences of Black communities in the UK, but also to ensure that these experiences are valued. The need to protect and elevate the experiences of Black communities is centred on the way that power structures exist within the creation of archives and the subsequent development of historical narratives. In thinking about the earlier discussions about experience outlined in the introduction it further suggests a potential framework for understanding how Black British experiences could be understood not as fixed and unchanging but as acting as a guide for future generations to navigate the shifting contours of racism outlined throughout this thesis.

However, for BCA and its relationship to Afrocentrism (outlined in chapter five) it is possible that the focus on monuments and monumentalising, represents a very narrow and restricting conception of Blackness, and subsequent collection of archives by the organisations of what they consider to be an accurate portrayal of the 'Black experience.' This is particularly the case when thinking about the role of 'political Blackness' that was key to political organising in the 1970s and 1980s in addition to the diversity found within the Caribbean. As outlined, the BCA has always emphasised a definition of 'Black' that focusses on those of African descent which can be restrictive particularly in relation to the diversity of the Caribbean and can form a restrictive and essentialising understanding of Blackness, race and racism. BCA is the only avowedly collecting institution of my sites of study and throughout its history has aimed at collecting material that covers the entire history of Black settlement,

⁷ Eric Ketelaar, 'A Living Archive: Shared by Communities of Records,' in Ben Alexander and Jeanette Bastian *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (Facet, 2009), p. 120

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 121.

nationally, but which has had a focus on collecting locally to develop a narrative of permanent settlement to disrupt the narratives that place Black people as eternally, new migrant communities. Additionally, the archival collection mostly represents the direct locale of Brixton and Lambeth and so has a London focus. Given BCA's self-definition as a national institution, it is unclear how far they have met this goal as many of the collections (prior to 2016) still reflect a London focus with ongoing archival collection limited by space and budget. The GPI, although an independent institution, maintains the collections drawn from the activities of John La Rose and connected to New Beacon Books (although neither the records of New Beacon Books, nor of the GPI are currently held at the organisation as they are still held with Sarah White, co-founder). As described by Michael La Rose, 'when we formed the George Padmore Institute the idea was to have an archive of all that struggle that I've discussed before and all that activity, the political, the cultural, the artistic activity, it's important that we archive it, again the idea for future generations.'⁹ Smaller still, as outlined, the Huntley Collection is a collection held at the London Metropolitan Archives although it covers much of the same material as the GPI. Its placement within the LMA also offers another way of viewing the history of Black settlement as its papers touch on the importance of Empire and diaspora in the same way as GPI and BCA, but also speaks to a similar local story of the development of London. The significant but subtle difference between BCA, GPI and the Huntley Collections has been that whilst they all have a focus on contemporary political history, BCA takes an all-encompassing but local history approach, inspired by Garrison's research and education in Local History whereas the GPI and the Huntley Collection focus strictly on the activities of their founders.

The founders of BCA spent time amassing oral histories and documentation from their local vicinity as well as working to recover the history of Black communities in Britain prior to 1948. However, BCA also accept that due to migration patterns and when it began collecting, the majority of the material they collect will be post-1948 and focussed on contemporary collecting. Writing in 2003, BCA wrote that it 'recognises its roots are within Lambeth and that its activities will continue to have a local focus, with a regional, national and international reach.'¹⁰ I read this to mean that the organisation was attempting to use the local histories and stories to engage with national and international, diasporic narratives whilst not specifically focussing on them. It appears that over time this focus on the local has gradually drifted towards a national vision, but which may cause longer term difficulties for the organisation due to its size and capacity. This is contrasted to GPI and the Huntley Collection who have a wider

⁹ Michael La Rose, Interview, mp3, 27 June 2015.

¹⁰ Minutes of Development Meeting, 26.3.2003, BCA/1/2/5 (1/3)

diasporic outlook that seeks to connect the contemporary presence of Black communities in the UK with the Empire and have a post-1948 focus. As will be outlined shortly, this means that the collections held within BCA have a specific focus on the presence of African-descended people in Britain whereas the material held at GPI and Huntley are broader in scope, both in terms of geography and ethnicity, although they too are predominantly post-1948.

Before moving on to discussing the imagery of monuments and beacons it is worth noting that although the Huntley Collection does not operate as an independent organisation it shares many of the monumentalising impulses as BCA and GPI. It is also important to note the importance of naming to the Huntleys in their decisions to name their publishing house Bogle L'Ouverture and their bookshop after Walter Rodney following his assassination, along with naming two of their three children after historic figures, Karl and Accabre.¹¹ The following section will focus on BCA and GPI before returning to the Huntley Collection for a broader discussion of the importance of 'space'.

Origins and Metaphors

As outlined in the previous chapters, the BCA's immediate development was in response to the visit by Queen Mother Moore who visited the UK in 1982 and who argued for the creation of a monument to Black history. The desire to form BCA was discussed in terms of not only creating a physical monument to Black history within Britain but also to provide educational resources for the community.¹² It was this call to create a monument not only to Black history but also building on some of the principles of Garveyism such as the importance of pride that is consistently highlighted as one of the main catalysts for the development of the organisation and is found in the official charity title of the organisation, the African People's Historical Monument Foundation (APHMF). Whilst Queen Mother Moore was key to these intellectual underpinnings and acted as a direct catalyst to the development of the organisation, BCA also looked to the Schomburg Center for further inspiration, (the only organisation to directly cite Schomburg as an inspiration).¹³ However, it is clear that as outlined throughout the thesis, Pan-African principles have also permeated the development of the GPI and the Huntley Collection. As outlined throughout the previous chapters, much of BCA's history has been occupied with seeing Garrison's and Moore's vision of a monument into

¹¹ Busby, 'Jessica Huntley,' ODNB.

¹² 'Directors Report' 1993, BCA/1/1/1, Black Cultural Archives.

¹³ 'Note on "Foundations"' (Undated), BCA/1/7/10, Black Cultural Archives.

fruition. However, as this chapter will discuss, whilst the general vision of a permanent physical monument was paramount there has been less sustained engagement within the organisation about what kind of collections would be contained within such a monument. Furthermore, although the importance of a monument is captured within Garrison's poem and the title of the organisation, few visitors to the organisation are likely aware of this relationship due to the organisation operating under the title Black Cultural Archives, rather than the APHMF. This has also been compounded by the death of Garrison in 2003, and the bulk of active collecting being undertaken during the period of the Documenting the Archives (DTA) project as outlined in chapter six. However, whilst the link between BCA, the APHMF and the building may not be explicit the physical presence of BCA on Windrush Square still has some symbolic value as highlighted during the opening of the building when thousands of people came to view the opening.¹⁴

Whilst the connection between the BCA and monuments is clear, for the GPI the path it has taken is more complicated. As outlined in chapter four, for the GPI the 'beacon' metaphor comes from the decision to name the organisation after the *Beacon* journal that emerged in the 1930s in Trinidad. However, whilst the beacon metaphor is clear, the decision to name the GPI after Padmore is less certain. As early 1969, running alongside the publication and the educational campaigns, during 1969 John La Rose first mentioned his idea of forming an archive, and the initial idea for the archival organisation was to name it the John Jacob Thomas Institute (JJTI). In 1969 in a letter to Kamau Brathwaite, La Rose writes of his desire to establish the John Jacob Thomas Institute of Afro American Studies that 'will function around a complete collection of Caribbeana as well as Afro Americana which we will be collecting.'¹⁵ In La Rose's description of the Institute, he saw it as the embodiment of:

my ideas concerning the demystification of the word in publishing, the pursuit of the creative principle within mass conceptions which are so dominant, and demand uniformity all the time, and also the idea of not accepting inhibiting traditions, but being constantly inventive and novel; because one of the problems I can see facing West Indians in Britain in the future, is the inhibiting tradition of the educational system. This not only affects West Indians, as you all already realise but ordinary Britons, but it is

¹⁴ Hannah Ellis-Peterson, 'Black Cultural Archives Unveils New Centre in Brixton', *The Guardian*, 29 July 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2014/jul/29/black-cultural-archives-new-centre-brixton>.

¹⁵ John La Rose, 'Letter to Edward Brathwaite' February 24, 1969, LRA/143/4, George Padmore Institute.

the rupture of the traditions which underline this tradition which will be important, and in this respect the Institute that I have in mind will show a new kind of road.¹⁶

It is clear that the desire to be a 'beacon' remains and continues to speak to the rupture of tradition and a lack of fixity and for the organisation to offer new ways of engaging with history and heritage. However, how the 'beacon' is best conceptualised has shifted. There are few references to the JJTI in the archives of La Rose, in an entry in La Rose's diary for the 3rd May 1970 there is a note that he convened a meeting to constitute the John Jacob Thomas Centre for Pan African Studies. The meeting was attended by Ewart Thomas, Andrew Salkey, Rolson Nelson, Stuart Hall, Waveney Bushell and Kamau Brathwaite,¹⁷ but there are no more references to the organisation in later records.

John Jacob Thomas, also from Trinidad published *Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar* in 1869 and *Froudacity* in 1889. Thomas used his texts to promote the importance and uniqueness of Caribbean culture and to counteract claims of cultural and historical inferiority. In *Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar* Thomas argued for the recognition of Creole as a culturally important language in its own right.¹⁸ As a political intervention, *Froudacity* was written as a line by line response to the work by a Regius Professor of History at Oxford University, James Anthony Froude. Froude visited the Caribbean and in his subsequent book about his travels *The English in the West Indies or the Bow of Ulysses*, claimed that Black people in the Caribbean were naturally inferior and incapable of progress without European intervention.¹⁹ Thomas on the other hand, presumably using the title *Froudacity* as a pun on the audacity of Froude, accused Froude of racial bias and inaccuracy and argued that the book represented the views of those who maintained the whole system of colonial rule.²⁰ It is clear that whilst Thomas isn't a member of the formal Pan-African movement that emerged in 1900, his ideas certainly resonate with ideology underpinning Pan-Africanism and no doubt influenced later generations.

Although the JJTI never took off, La Rose ensured that the legacy of Thomas would live on. In 1969 New Beacon Books (NBB) republished both *Froudacity* and *Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar*. The NBB publication of *Froudacity* contained an introductory essay by CLR James in which he traces the intellectual lineage of Thomas to the work of

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ 'Journal of John La Rose' (1970), LRA/02, George Padmore Institute.

¹⁸ Ruth Bush, 'Theory,' at <http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/the-pioneering-years/gallery-of-publications/theory-and-practice-creole-grammar-1969-1869>.

¹⁹ Dennis Benn, *The Caribbean An Intellectual History 1774-2003* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2004), p. 68.

²⁰ Ibid, p.69.

Toussaint L'Ouverture and writing that Thomas 'would be quite at home with Black Power.'²¹ The republication, and recovery, of Thomas' work, coming as it did in the period of Black Power was a way for La Rose and NBB to provide historical grounding and continuation in the refutation of Black inferiority, and to link the past and current struggles that the Black community was facing. John Jacob Thomas was one of the forerunners of the Pan-African approach to the recovery of African, Caribbean history and La Rose was initially drawn to Thomas' work due to his concentration on the cultural aspects of Caribbean history and La Rose wanted to ensure that work by Caribbean authors such as Thomas could be accessed easily.²² NBB continued re-publishing texts to ensure greater accessibility and circulation, including *Labour in the West Indies*, which charted the development of the Labour Movement and CLR James' novel *Minty Alley* both of which first appeared in the 1930s.²³ At this point, the naming of both the George Padmore Supplementary School (GPSS) and later, GPI, raises interesting questions about the change in emphasis from John Jacob Thomas to Padmore and the extent to which the GPI was partly an outgrowth of the GPSS, and helps to further contextualise the foundations of the GPI. There is also a question about why La Rose chose not to continue to reference the work of CLR James, who La Rose first met during his time in exile in Venezuela although the two were on opposite sides of the political spectrum at the time due to James' support of Eric Williams.²⁴ However, the two soon became close friends with La Rose accompanying James to the Cultural Congress of Havana in 1968,²⁵ and helping to organise James' funeral in 1989.²⁶

The clearest relationship between Thomas, Padmore and James, is that they are all Trinidadians. As outlined, La Rose was born a few miles away from the home of Padmore in Arima, with La Rose later describing Padmore and James as 'legendary figures'²⁷ when he was growing up. Although La Rose was interested in Thomas' focus on the cultural elements of his work, it is the political activity of Padmore that forms the blueprint for La Rose's later work. La Rose had never met Padmore but was aware of his activism during his childhood

²¹ Ruth Bush, 'Froudacity,' available at <https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/the-pioneering-years/gallery-of-publications/froudacity-1969-1889>.

²² John La Rose, Ron Ramdin Collection, 28 April 1992, C1172/14-15 C1, British Library.

²³ Ruth Bush, NBB Gallery, available at <http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/the-pioneering-years/gallery-of-publications>.

²⁴ Ron Ramdin interview with John La Rose.

²⁵ 'Papers of the Cultural Congress of Havana,' George Padmore Institute available at <http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/archive/collection/papers-cultural-congress-havana>.

²⁶ Ron Ramdin interview with John La Rose.

²⁷ John La Rose, 'Honouring George Padmore', in *Unending Journey: Selected Writings* (London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 2014), p.71.

and young adulthood, through the circles networks in which they operated.²⁸ This was confirmed by Sarah White who noted that:

Now the name George Padmore, again was name that John had, used before for the supplementary school that he set up, the George Padmore supplementary school so it was again it was another famous Trinidadian that he had a great respect for and whose life had followed the sort of principles of independent, radical, activity that he himself espoused. So, in the end, George Padmore won out over John Jacob Thomas.²⁹

Furthermore, La Rose articulated his political outlook as being one of independent Marxism and one that operated outside of a formal Party³⁰ although La Rose had briefly represented the Communist Party when he arrived in Britain.³¹ La Rose was also interested in Padmore's direct activism and ability to build movements and organisations outside of the other formal Parties, unlike James and Thomas who were more theoretically inclined.³² Additionally, although James and Padmore fell out whilst Padmore was still alive, James later had plans to write a biography of Padmore.³³ James also convened several study groups throughout his life with young scholars to inform them on intellectual and political history and often introduced the groups to Padmore's work, including introducing Walter Rodney to the work of Padmore.³⁴ Although La Rose never formally joined one of James' study groups he was able to ask James about Padmore and described the discussions with James on Padmore as more of a confirmation of what he thought, rather than as 'revelationary'.³⁵ Finally, La Rose was more attracted to Padmore's articulation of Pan-Africanism one that veered towards cultural nationalism as La Rose was also heavily influenced by Aimé Césaire and the Négritude movement.³⁶

The founding idea of Négritude, a term coined by Martinician Aimé Césaire, focussed on the idea of a 'negro essence' as a historical phenomenon and was found in the historical

²⁸ Ron Ramdin interview with John La Rose.

²⁹ Sarah White, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Jessica Huntley and Eric Huntley, Harry Goulbourne interview, interview by Harry Goulbourne, 27 May 1992, LMA/4463/F/07/01/001/C Side A, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

³² Ron Ramdin interview with John La Rose.

³³ Bogue, CLR and George Padmore, p. 198.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ron Ramdin interview with John La Rose,

³⁶ Anecdotally, La Rose often carried around a copy of Césaire's *Cahier d'un retour au pays Natal*, from which he also read passages at CLR James' funeral. Personal correspondence with Sarah Garrod.

experience of the traumatic contact between Africa and Europe, and in the resistance of Black people to Enslavement and colonialism.³⁷ As with other Pan-African movements, Négritude argued that the cultural and political ascendancy of Europe, combined with racism and denigration had the effect of destroying Black people's self-esteem, causing serious psychological consequences including shame and self-hatred.³⁸ The ultimate aim of Négritude was to restore the idea of Africa as a way of rehabilitating the idea of Blackness, as a process of self-recognition, through the glorification of an African past and nostalgia for the imaginary beauty and harmony of traditional African society.³⁹ As exemplified in his long poem, *Cahier d'un Retour au Pays Natal (Notebook of a Return to the Native Land)*, Césaire was seeking to 'return' to his Caribbean and African roots to consciously create an authentic African or Black identity.⁴⁰ In order to achieve full liberation and decolonisation, a radical rediscovery of Black history and personhood must be achieved.⁴¹ Furthermore, Césairean Négritude also includes a 'sense of responsibility towards the past'⁴² and an attempt to rediscover African historicity and to create a useable past to present a promising future.⁴³ Négritude represents a cultural manifestation of Pan-Africanism, as an ideology with remote political purpose although it clear overlaps and retains a close relationship with the more overtly political forms of Pan-Africanism. Furthermore, La Rose considered James to be far more Eurocentric and rooted to European intellectual traditions,⁴⁴ as often James would discuss the Greeks as being the high point of civilisation along with James' interest in William Thackeray and *Vanity Fair*.⁴⁵ La Rose considered Négritude a more authentic portrayal of an African heritage and as a blueprint for understanding historical recovery,⁴⁶ and it is through Négritude that the philosophical underpinning of the development of La Rose's work through New Beacon Books and the GPI and the attempt to use publishing and archives to imagine new political futures becomes clear.

For BCA and GPI, who draw some of their early inspirations from the growth of Afrocentrism and Nègritude, it is important to understand how these ideas may play a role in the types of material collected, and the kinds of experiences that they choose to foreground.

³⁷ Ibid, pp. 3-5.

³⁸ Ibid, pp. 42-43.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 49.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 11.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 16.

⁴² Eshelman and Smith quoted in Gordon, *Africana Philosophy of Existence*, p. 19.

⁴³ Ibiolo, *The Negritude Moment*, p. 20.

⁴⁴ Ron Ramdin interview with John La Rose.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

The discussions about experience outlined in the literature review, help to draw out questions about the extent to which the collection of archival material can provide a false idea of a homogenous Black history and/or experience, an approach that claims that there is something 'essential' that binds all Black people together. The imagery of the monument as a fixed idea of identity also raises the issues of the creation of boundaries excluding some (often women and members of the LGBTQ communities) and policing the boundaries of in/exclusion.⁴⁷ Many critics, particularly of Afrocentrism, argue that it tries to create a fixed identity, based on a mythologised version of an African past.⁴⁸ Further, it also doesn't take account of the ways in which identity can be fluid and those who identify with a certain identity may not all share the same characteristics or experiences.⁴⁹ In *Constituting an Archive*, Hall offers a warning about the nature of tradition and also points to the difference between a living archive 'present, ongoing, continuing, unfinished, open-ended'⁵⁰ and a tradition 'which is seen to function like the prison-house of the past.'⁵¹ Whilst it is tempting to assign BCA's vision as a monument to Hall's critique of tradition and a beacon within the idea of a 'living archive,' for BCA and GPI, the division between monuments and beacons is not as clear cut.

Whilst monuments can be criticised for being rigid and unbending, Rowlands and Tilley in their discussion of memorials and monuments point to an important genre of monuments that deal with the trauma of war and mass suffering.⁵² This brings us back to the arguments outlined in the literature review and particularly the work of Cvetkovich who writes of the desire to create monuments as a response to trauma, and for Cvetkovich that is often accompanied by forgetting and disassociation and therefore puts pressure on conventional forms of memorialisation and commemoration. Cvetkovich argues that trauma 'gives rise to new genres of expression such as testimony, and new forms of monuments, rituals and performances that can call into being collective witnesses and publics.'⁵³ The framework of Pan-Africanism, as discussed throughout this thesis, offers a lens in which to think about the push towards the creation of monuments as a reparatory act and the recovery of history as a prime motivator. As discussed, part of the desire to create these organisations was to counteract the legacies of the Transatlantic Slave Trade that continues to seek to dehumanise

⁴⁷ Nikil Singh, quoted in Nijah Cunningham, 'A Queer Pier: Roundtable on the Idea of a Black Radical Tradition', *Small Axe* 40 (March 2013), p. 89.

⁴⁸ Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, p. 191.

⁴⁹ Woodward, 'Introduction' in Kathryn Woodward *Identity and Difference*. 11.

⁵⁰ Hall, *Constituting an Archive*, p. 89

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Rowlands and Tilley, *Monuments and Memorials*, pp. 503-504

⁵³ Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings*, p. 6.

people of African descent. In their desire to create a monument, the founders of the BCA were attempting to create a permanent marker that speaks of the presence of Black communities in England and as a memorial to those lost (physically and metaphorically). It is important to situate the desire to create monuments within this desire to disrupt narratives, but also be wary of the push towards monolithic ideas of monuments. Furthermore, as argued by Nigerian playwright and political commentator Wole Soyinka who wrote on the landmarks to the Transatlantic Slave Trade on the cost of West Africa:

every landmark is a testament of history [...] They are indices of truth, an essence and a reality that offer any people, however impoverished, a value in itself, a value that, especially when rooted in anguish and sacrifice, may dictate a resolve for redemption and strategies for social regeneration.⁵⁴

Soyinka reminds us that whilst it is vital to guard against the essentialising tendencies of monuments, sometimes the very presence of a monument can be an important reparative marker and part of the framework of value. Given the relationship between the origins of the African People's Historical Monument Foundation as a site to engage with the legacies of enslavement, it is clear the BCA, as a monument may offer an important marker to engage with, and disrupt the narratives of enslavement and Black presence in the UK and change how value in archives is understood.

Life Experience in Britain

Although BCA set out to capture 'the Black experience' one of the main criticisms of the organisation has been its focus on capturing a particularly African Caribbean experience. This partly stems from the makeup of the original Board who were primarily of Caribbean origin, and the focus on Brixton and the 'Windrush' that also has a focus on the experiences and history of those from the Caribbean. It is also important to think about the issues of attempting to capture 'the experience', rather than the more expansive 'Black experiences.' Equally, the first series of events that the George Padmore Institute, as a formal organisation, embarked on was 'Life Experiences with Britain', a series of discussions with individuals that were active in Britain since 1945. These talks took place between 1997-2002 and were captured in the publications 'Changing Britannia' and 'Building Britannia' both suffixed with the title 'Life Experience with Britain'. This series of talks also offers a key insight into how La Rose viewed the purpose of the GPI, particularly in terms of race and culture and are a series

⁵⁴ Wole Soyinka, 'Memory, Truth and Healing', in *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2000), p. 32.

of life histories with those who have been influential in aspects of British life. Although many of the interviewees within the 'Life Experience' series suggested that the 'experiences' captured within the collection are reflective of a wider community, it is also very clear that the imagined community is still narrow and only really representative of those directly involved with the organisation and its wider network.⁵⁵ In terms of culture, nearly all of those who are featured in the interviews came from a Caribbean background, and specifically of African origin, rather than representing the wider Caribbean. Whether consciously or subconsciously, the 'Life Experience' series places an emphasis on the experiences of those who represent an African Caribbean perspective. Furthermore, as discussed by GPI Trustee Roxy Harris, these narratives are dominated by male voices, 'I remember in particular it was very hard to get women to take part [in interviews], for some reason they were, they sort of didn't want to. So we've done the talks and you can find the recordings of the third series that we didn't publish.'⁵⁶ When asked about why that might be, Harris went on to say 'I think some of the women saw it as being- asked to give a talk, this place and it's going to be some big thing that's expected when it wasn't really.'⁵⁷ It is unclear whether this reluctance is based on the women who were asked to participate and a limited pool of interviewees, but this difficulty presents another bias within the experiences captured within this series and could add to the overall historic narratives that focus on an overly masculine portrayal not only of the Black community but a narrative that focusses on campaigning, activism and change as being the domain of men.

There are two ways of thinking about these narratives within the frameworks of monuments and beacons. The first relates to the narratives that focus on the experiences of the 'Windrush Generation' that speaks to the issues outlined by Matthew Mead and Tony Kushner in their work on Windrush and the issues of creating an 'imaginary moment' that were outlined in chapters three and five.⁵⁸ When looking at this focus on the narratives of Windrush it is easy to imagine that they only reflect one view of the period. However, for the BCA they were collecting these 'Windrush' narratives during the 1980s and 1990s, before the 'Windrush' narrative entered national consciousness in 1998. Additionally, they were collecting these narratives from men and women, and from people across the Anglophone Caribbean.⁵⁹ The

⁵⁵ Roxy Harris, Interview, mp3, 8 July 2015.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Mead, *Empire Windrush*, p. 112

⁵⁹ See BCA ORAL/7, Myth of the Motherland, available at <http://www.calmview.eu/BCA/CalmView/Overview.aspx?src=DServe.Catalog>.

first series of 'Life Experiences' at GPI occurred in 1997 and focussed on stories of 'engagement with Britain as coloniser and colonised; as migrants with a history of struggle for freedom for political and cultural domination,'⁶⁰ sitting within La Rose's vision for positioning the history of Windrush and the long entanglement of Empire. Whilst these interventions now sit within the 'Windrush' narrative, the focus on the Caribbean was an attempt to continue to salvage histories that were at risk of being lost and which now form a point from which we can begin to further interrogate and learn from them, as argued by Harris:

And we wanted particularly to transmit that to the next generation because, for younger people to know 'yeah maybe some things aren't too good for you, but they haven't been good for other people before and this is what they did, about it.' So, this idea of experiences was important, not people writing a narrative about you, but you are writing your own narrative.⁶¹

Whilst the narratives that were being preserved were skewed in terms of a gender balance it is clear that the GPI and New Beacon 'circle' focussed on collecting these stories to ensure that they were preserving alternative narratives to continue to engage with constructions of Black history that focussed on how the Black community fought against their circumstances. It is only now that we often frame them within this 'Windrush' wrapper. This also sits within Harris' earlier discussions about the ways in which the GPI and the Huntley Collection were concerned with the construction of historical narratives that began to write them out of the histories of activism that were being created during the late 1990s and early 2000s and an active attempt to control the histories that relates specifically to them. It is clear that there is much work to unpick the different narratives away from the well-known 'Windrush' story that has come to dominate, but it is due to the work of these organisations that we have material to work from.

Black Cultural Archives' Collections

As a collecting organisation spanning over thirty years BCA has a wide range of eclectic material. From the outset BCA collected material on a number of different formats, from objects to library books and audio and video formats. The early part of BCA's collecting practices were defined by Garrison as undertaking historical recoveries of Black British history, reflecting Garrison's interest in local history and helps to simultaneously understand and

⁶⁰ See back cover of Life Experiences in Britain.

⁶¹ Roxy Harris, Interview, mp3, 8 July 2015.

complicate the idea of a historical monument. Whilst it would be easy to dismiss much of BCA's early collecting within the framework of Afrocentrism and the issue of monumentalising and fixing Blackness within a narrow framework, BCA's approach to the creation of a monument can disrupt these narratives. This can be clearly seen in Garrison's approach to documenting the presence of Black people in Britain at local levels, before 1948 and from across the diaspora. Whilst broadly Afrocentric, it is also important to bear in mind Garrison's focus on multicultural and anti-racist education through ACER, attempting to broaden out who is included in the remit of BCA's work whilst retaining control of the material. In thinking about the placement of BCA as a monument in the heart of post-Windrush Brixton, and currently on Windrush Square, the collections held at BCA, and the presence of BCA itself create key tensions in narratives around monuments and memorials in the UK.

The early collecting strategy of the organisation was grouped into four categories, firstly focussing on material that reflected 'Black contemporary life history (1960-present)'; followed by the 'history of Black people in Britain (1900s-1950s)'; then 'The Atlantic Slave Trade'; and finally 'Ancient historic past of Black people in Europe (208 AD-1890s).'⁶² Under the topic of Black contemporary life history the organisation listed 'sculptures, paintings, photographs, letters, newspapers, journals, records, videotapes, motion pictures, films, diaries, minute books, telegrams, costumes, banners, passbooks, passports and dissertations.'⁶³ The breadth of the collections policies can be understood as an organisation attempting to assert itself within a heritage sector, but also one that did not differentiate between types of material held by different heritage organisations (archives, libraries or museums). It also seems overly ambitious given the lack of space or staff expertise to manage the materials. The early collections were sourced from antique dealers and second-hand shops in markets and on Portobello Road⁶⁴ and formed the backbone of the collection. This material, that was accentuated by a later collection of material from the author Jeffrey Green has formed one of the largest existing collections of the music of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, an important, although neglected Edwardian composer.⁶⁵ These early purchases and donations form the basis of BCA's holdings, and with the ephemera collection remains one of the largest

⁶² 'Acquisitions and Disposal Policy' (2001), BCA/5/2/1, Black Cultural Archives.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Zhana, 'Interview with Len Garrison', in *Black Success Stories: Celebrating People of African Heritage* (Zhana Productions, 2006).

⁶⁵ See, Samuel Coleridge Taylor, Jeffrey Green, Green, Jeffrey. 'Taylor, Samuel Coleridge- (1875–1912), composer.' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. September 23, 2010. Oxford University Press. Date of access 9 Feb. 2019, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32492>>

and key collections within the archive, offering snapshots of cultural and political activity at community level. In an interview, Garrison argued 'if we had not collected them, there would have been nothing. I would not call any names at this stage, but there have been people who never asked us why we collected it, they would assume that we didn't seem to know what we were doing.'⁶⁶ This statement from Garrison underlines the main themes running throughout this thesis: the relationship of the histories of Black communities to the mainstream and to disrupt pre-1948 narratives of presence, absence and Britishness. The collecting of material such as the Coleridge-Taylor material highlights BCA's role in attempting to shift the narratives of presence and belonging away from the Windrush generation and complicates the ideas of Britishness. This work by BCA sits within other projects that have also worked to decentre whiteness from an understanding of Britishness and its ties to whiteness. As discussed in the literature review, Caroline Bressey's article '*Invisible Presence: The Whitening of the Black Community in the Historical Imagination of British Archives*' highlights the ways in which haphazard recording of ethnicity within archival records has led to a presumption of whiteness within the collections.⁶⁷ Bressey was able to reconstruct the lives of Black Victorians through the use of photographic collections held by institutions such as prisons and hospitals and compared these with written sources, although as Bressey notes this is a less than ideal methodology due to issues around the visual assessment of race made more difficult by the quality of the photographs.⁶⁸ On a smaller scale, from 2004-2006 Lambeth Archives undertook a project called Lambeth Black History that researched the Black presence in the collections and resulted in two publications, *Lambeth Forebears*⁶⁹ and *Africans in Lambeth*.⁷⁰ Whilst BCA is not responsible for this additional work, BCA is working within a framework that seeks to explore how narratives of belonging are constructed and who is excluded.

One of the first collections the organisation acquired in 1985 was a collection known as the 'Jamaican Slave Papers,' now catalogued as the Gale papers, which covers the sale of plantations owned by the Gale family and includes the names of enslaved Africans who

⁶⁶ Zhana, Interview with Len Garrison.

⁶⁷ Caroline Bressey, 'Invisible Presence: The Whitening of the Black Community in the Historical Imagination of British Archives', *Archivaria, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists* 61 (Spring 2001), p.61.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 52.

⁶⁹ S.I Martin, 'Inheriting Diversity: Archiving the Past', in *The Politics of Heritage, The Legacies of Race*, ed. Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 178.

⁷⁰ A copy is available at

https://www.lambeth.gov.uk/rsu/sites/www.lambeth.gov.uk/rsu/files/The%20Africans%20in%20Lambeth%202006_0.pdf <accessed 02/1/2018>

were included in the sale of the plantation.⁷¹ The collection was bought for £2000 following a fundraising campaign and was viewed as forming the bedrock of BCA's collection.⁷² The Gale papers also highlight the complicated relationship between values and use and the changing nature of values. The Gale papers represent one of BCA's prized collections, partly due to their age but more importantly due to the fact that it speaks to the history of enslavement and colonisation and its impact on the history of Britain. As the only purchased collection, it also takes on additional significance due to the value placed on it externally, both in terms of price but also that it was deemed worthy enough to sell. However, during my time at the organisation, the papers themselves were never requested or used by researchers so it is unclear how much research value the collection holds, although it retains symbolic value to the organisation. Furthermore, the Gale Papers also contests ideas of place and memorialisation as the presence of these papers from Jamaica within a Black British organisation highlights the presence of enslavement within the heartland of Empire. It is important to bear in mind that when BCA collected these papers, the narratives of enslavement and presence of Black people within Britain was barely acknowledged. It was not until 2007 and the mass commemorations of the ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade that these difficult histories entered mainstream heritage discussions. However, due to BCA's limited financial and personnel capacity they were unable to purchase any more material and have subsequently relied on donations, but the Gale Papers remained key as part of BCA's ongoing aspiration to be a reference point for all Black history.

One avenue for donations, particularly to the library, was through contact with local libraries who would donate material they were removing from circulation because they were no longer up to date or considered useful.⁷³ On the other hand, BCA's library collection has become one of its key areas of research value, as highlighted in the AMBH report.⁷⁴ As the library was built up through material that was removed from local libraries as they were seen as less valuable, over time the books in the library have become increasingly rare, particularly in the case of out of print books, and taken together forms one of the most comprehensive, dedicated libraries on Black history and culture. This has been added to over time through the donation of the Runnymede library (detailed below) and the continued collecting of library material to accompany archival donations. The library material also helps to further

⁷¹ See BCA, GALE papers,

<http://www.calmview.eu/BCA/CalmView/TreeBrowse.aspx?db=Catalog&field=RefNo&key=GALE>

⁷² 'Archival Donations 1990-1997' (n.d.), BCA/5/2/3, Black Cultural Archives.

⁷³ 'Letter from Lambeth Archives' (n.d.), BCA/5/2/3, Black Cultural Archives.

⁷⁴ AMBH report, p. 61

contextualise the archival holdings and provides the opportunity to cover many more subjects than could be collected as archives.

The usability and accessibility of BCA's collections had been difficult until 2010 when BCA was able to fully catalogue its collections under the Documenting the Archives (DTA) project. As outlined in the previous chapter the DTA project was the first to fully catalogue the material and three distinct areas were created, the BCA archive, the BCA library and the BCA object collections. Given the lack of provenance information attached to the material, the material was organised as closely as possible according to type and format creating ephemera, periodical, oral history, audio-visual and press collections. From my experience of working with the collection, where possible, personal and organisational collections were kept together creating a Len Garrison Collection, Black Cultural Archives Collection and a number of smaller collections. During my time working at BCA, and throughout this research it has also become clear that there are a number of crossovers and duplication between the BCA and the Garrison, as well as the ephemera collection that speaks to the difficulty in disentangling Garrison's personal life work from his work and involvement with BCA. Since 2005 there had been attempts to get to grips with and rationalise the material that BCA holds, slowly moving the organisation away from object collection towards a clearly defined archival outlook and a focus on manuscript material.

This has complicated the understanding of, and rationalisation of the collections as well as potentially diluting the focus of BCA as a monument as intended by Garrison. It is clear that the initial development of BCA was closely aligned to Garrison's vision for the organisation and led to some of the disputes that the organisation found itself in. One of the only physical monuments within the building is a bust of Garrison, continuing to reflect the position of Garrison within the organisational memory and risks of the organisation becoming a monument to him overlooking the others who played a role. As discussed by previous director, Sam Walker:

I don't think that most of the founder members- I don't that BCA people knows about them, or if they knew about them, they don't want to talk about them. They want to talk about Len and which I think is unfair because it wasn't really Len's idea, like that. There were many other people who were around and this woman, Amelda Inyang you know, she was a Councillor in Lambeth Council and so when they started, Sidney Toppin

knew Amelda Inyang and was part of that conversation because Sidney was working for Lambeth Council as Amelda was a Councillor, a Lambeth Councillor.⁷⁵

Walker went on to point to the split in the late 1980s as a possible reason why staff who currently work in the organisation might not be aware of the others who were involved in the beginning of the organisation. As also noted during the previous chapter and will be discussed shortly, this is also compounded by the lack of structure and control of the archival collections prior to 2010 and the DTA project.

These collecting phases also marks divisions between the organisation as a 'community' organisation towards a more defined professional archive. As already outlined, it is difficult to disentangle the Garrison papers from the BCA collection, and therefore from BCA itself. Additionally, the creation of discrete format-based collections in many ways disassociates the context of the material from the organisation as the 'creator' of the collections. The approach taken by DTA was a narrow focus on provenance and creation at item level, and the creation of the Ephemera, Periodical, Press collections etc. works to distance the organisation from the labour of creating these collections. The creation of these collections within the professional framework of formats may suggest to researchers and the general public that these collections exist outside of BCA, rather than created as part of the collecting history of BCA. This is complicated by the archival focus on provenance as external to the organisation, whereas it is likely that large parts of these collections were likely donated by Garrison. Fundamentally, this works to continue to think about contemporary archival collecting practices as passive, with archives as holders of material rather than as active shapers of the collections. However, it is understandable why this approach was taken, given the short-term nature of project work and lack of documentation on the provenance and acquisition of the material. Tamsin Bookey, previous Documentation Manager describes the situation as:

There were some real tricky things, like when a collection had been accumulated by non-specialists it would be really hard to figure out whether to separate by format quite often. So, the Jeffrey Green collection was a lot of research papers about the composer Coleridge-Taylor and lots of books that he had written, so we didn't know whether to incorporate those into the archive or to separate them out into the library. So, they would kind of- we would discuss, I think maybe we would have a regular meeting or something like that. Yeah, we'd have a regular collections meeting. There was also a

⁷⁵ Sam Walker, Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

steering committee which was advising me as I was on my own as the first professional archivist there, which was Jon Newman, Maureen Roberts, Andrew Flinn and we would meet, and Maxine [Miller] from Iniva and they would meet every three months or so, there was kind of a forum for support and bouncing ideas around.⁷⁶

The shifts within collecting also opens up the organisation to becoming less of a static monument as different collecting phases and stages throughout the organisation's history has left its mark on the collections held at BCA, and in a way tells its own history about the interests of the organisation and the staff. The continued collection of material allows for wider collection of material that brings the organisation closer to a 'living archive' as outlined by Stuart Hall.

During the DTA project BCA was also able to demonstrate that it was capable of designing and delivering its own projects, particularly through the hiring of three professional archivists. It was clear throughout the interviews with Bookey and Newman that there was a question mark over the value of the archival collections held by BCA. Newman reflected that:

I got the sense that, I'm not sure whether this was perhaps something that was only really confirmed after the cataloguing project that started in the 21st century but that seemed to confirm- possibly I should've said that once I did see what was being catalogued that seemed to confirm what I perhaps suspected at the time, that there was an awful lot of individual's collections of ephemera relating to all kinds of aspects of Black history in a very kind of, you know, random and almost kind of emotional sort of way. Which, in a funny way sort of, perhaps seemed appropriate if you say this is - if you take BCA's line which is "we are a ghetto archive, people have been ignoring our history" so in a funny sort of way, those sort of odd collections of miscellaneous bits and pieces which people have gathered together, were, in a funny sort of way, the only version of history that certain people in Brixton who were concerned about this were able to lay their hands on. I'm not [pause] belittling what was collected, I think it's actually quite interesting for that.⁷⁷

Newman's use of the word 'emotional' to discuss the collecting of BCA is particularly interesting, particularly relating to recent discussions within the sector about the role of emotions and affect within the development of collections, as outlined in the literature review. It appears as though whilst the value of the collections was viewed in some ways due to the

⁷⁶ Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017.

⁷⁷ Jon Newman, Interview, mp3, 2 May 2016.

emotional value that the collections hold, this was not enough to qualify the material as being truly archival, or holding value as professionally understood.

This was confirmed by Bookey who stated:

One of the things HLF said was “your collections are quite weak, what are you going to do about it?” So now you’ve reminded me that happened. So yeah, we had to think about, ok yeah, there’s obviously a lot of Black archives out there that need a home. They could deposit at LMA or do they even know that this is even an option? Can we seduce them with the idea of BCA as a potential place to deposit? So, I believe that was a piece of consultancy that we said would be done in stage one so that we could try and project the future likely collections at Raleigh Hall.⁷⁸

This mapping exercise was undertaken by Newman and historian S. I. Martin to identify other collections that existed and would be donated to BCA to attempt to strengthen the collections, but particularly to strengthen the collections in line with what were deemed to be ‘archivally valuable’. Newman described this process and highlighted that it was not only the HLF that had concerns about the value of BCA’s collections, but also the National Archives (TNA):

As the bid was going through, there were a lot of questions raised by TNA about, sort of what, what is it that BCA is doing? As is there a conflict in terms of collecting and things like that. So I think, my ability to say I didn’t see that there was actually a conflict and it was something that we were able to define through things like joint collecting policies and a recognition of the different beasts that we were as archives was probably helpful and reassuring in terms of assuaging TNA’s concerns. The other big concern that TNA had was that, was there anything really out there? and was it worth collecting? And, how do we know what was out there? And could we get it appraised? And so I think that was the first bit of consultancy that I did for BCA when I - working with Steve Martin we undertook the appraisal of probably 20 or 30 collections that had been promised to BCA as part of, - they were building up- as part of the HLF submission and building up their case they were saying “there’s all this stuff out there” and that was probably 2008 and 2009, no actually it would have been after the first stage of the bid had been submitted so 2009. Steve [Martin] and I were going around assessing these various collections you know, in lock-up garages or people’s lofts or whatever.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017.

⁷⁹ Jon Newman, Interview, mp3, 2 May 2016.

As can be seen from this quote there were several additional issues that TNA were concerned about. They were concerned about a potential collecting conflict with other organisations, presumably, Lambeth Archives and London Metropolitan Archives in addition to a concern that there weren't many archives 'out there'. This concern raised by TNA suggests that they held the view that there was little in terms of value relating to Black community collections, but equally, what was there should be held by a mainstream organisation. This brings us back to some of the discussions in the previous chapters about the views about the professionalism and capability of BCA as a collecting organisation and its ability to manage collections and how these questions are mediated and shaped by funding. These issues of 'value' raised by the HLF and TNA also had a knock-on effect on the broader collecting that the organisation began to become involved in. Newman went on to say:

because [the new staff] were all archivists there was some, they were a bit sniffy about some of the things that had lovingly been treasured up as archives and then when they opened up the boxes, they found half a dozen press cuttings and a couple printed books. So, there was- archivists are terribly prone to that "you know, it's not really an archive it's an artificial collection" so there was some of that [laughs]. You always get that. I think there was other stuff that they were genuinely enthused by, but there was an awful lot of what was masquerading under that term 'archive' was an awful lot of assembled material, quite miscellaneous. And of course, there was the whole dilemma of what to do with the objects and whether- did an archive include sculpture and what have you? And if it did, were we going to continue collecting it or not? One of the other specific pieces of work that I was involved in, was writing- one of the versions of the collecting policy.⁸⁰

Finally, Newman goes on to describe the approach taken to rearticulate and narrow the collecting policy to focus more on what was considered to be 'archival' but also to narrow the focus:

Certainly I and Tamsin were trying to say, "well no actually, if it's an archive then it's an archive and this is what an archive does" and "no you shouldn't be saying we're going to collect for the whole of UK because you haven't even got the capacity to collect South London never mind so no we can't collect for the whole- for all aspects of Black history, and African history and South Asian history, we need to actually be a little bit more, defined and coherent about what it is." So the collections that I kind of

⁸⁰ Ibid.

put together and which, who knows what iteration it's at now, but the one that was the basis for the main HLF submission, so it's the one that was taken into consideration when they were doing the capital money was about narrowing things down to primarily the Black British community, mainly in London, mainly after world war two and recognising that was about essentially post world war two records of experiences of the community that had migrated to London, rather than all those other things that it could perhaps have been.⁸¹

It is clear that the hiring of archivists who brought a distinct viewpoint about what is 'archival' and what is valued as such has had a clear impact on the direction that the BCA took in relation to the type of material that it collected. Alongside this, the move towards funding from the HLF had also provided external viewpoints on what is or is not 'valuable' in terms of archival material. In some ways, this narrowing down of the collection fits with the broader narrative about Black historical presences to fit within the 'Windrush' framework that the BCA had been attempting to both contest and conform to and had been developing around it. Although Newman suggested that the archivists at BCA were also unsure about the value of the collections, Bookey discussed in her interview that:

[the HLF] don't understand archives as well as they like to- as well as they relate to other types of heritage. Their understanding of heritage significance is based on an innate value of an object. Not on an accumulation, not what it means in the community. Yeah. It was quiet, it was very frustrating having to, sort of, tell them what was and wasn't valuable. You'd kind of hope that the people who work there would have the skills to be able to evaluate that themselves.⁸²

This also raises important questions about the types of experiences that are captured in more formal archival types versus the more expansive approach to collecting that the organisation had previously been engaged in and further monumentalises both the 'Windrush' as a frame and the stories that are told. Throughout these interviews the nature of and value of 'heritage' was at the forefront of the discussions. It appears as though most of the interviewees from the Huntley and those connected to BCA felt that the collections that they held represented an idea of value that came into conflict with an idea of heritage value that mainstream

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017.

organisations work with. However, the question of funding from the HLF and professionalism was raised by other interviewees from across the research. Colin Prescod argued that:

Well, it seems to me that HLF without saying it, and we are not the only persons who have done this, started off with the notion of heritage and heritage as old stuff, dead stuff. Ok? Old buildings, dead people. Dead activities in a way and what the Huntley archive represents, what all this new Black archive is doing, the thing is pushing [the notion of heritage].⁸³

Prescod's description of the HLF resonates with my discussion of 'living archives' throughout this chapter, and throughout this work. I have argued that for all of the organisations they are working within the idea of a living archive, or living monument and beacon that represents community value at any given moment, rather than a fixed definition of what is valuable and what is heritage. As outlined in the literature review, some of these values are associated with the affective nature of the collections and the process of collecting that resonates with the rationale for the development of the archives and offers alternative viewpoints. Returning to Newman's discussion of 'assembly' this is the key to BCA's remit and importance, but which is often undervalued by professional practice.

As a response to these issues, another outcome of the DTA project was the of an oral history project devoted to capturing the history of the Black Women's Movement of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The history project continued BCA's focus on capturing oral histories, particularly those of underrepresented stories but also further helped to define BCA's collecting and oral history methodology of telling history from a Black perspective, but also in this case from a female perspective.⁸⁴ This project deliberately focussed on women, particularly women involved in feminist organising and in many ways to overcome the issues outlined by Roxy Harris, although BCA's collections had always attempted to collect balanced stories in terms of gender. There were 36 women interviewed as part of the project, by other Black women to provide a sense of sharing stories and confidence.⁸⁵ The project was based on the methodology, and borrowed its title from the important book, *Heart of the Race* by Beverley Bryan, Stella Dadzie and Suzanne Scafe, published in 1985 on the development of Black feminism in the UK and the work of the Organisation of Women of African and Asian

⁸³ Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2016.

⁸⁴ DTA report, p. 29.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

Descent (OWAAD).⁸⁶ The oral history project led to further deposits from women involved in the project, including the authors, along with women involved in OWAAD. Furthermore, the use of, and management of, volunteers within the project led to a commendation at the 2010 Archives and Records Association Volunteering awards⁸⁷ further highlighting BCA's growing capacity to manage projects and volunteers. During this period BCA also took other substantial collections including the Ansel Wong Collection which compliments the material from the Black Women's Movement. In 2011 Middlesex closed one of its campuses which held archive material and the BCA received the papers of the Runnymede Trust, a 'race relations' think tank established in 1968 and which is one of BCA's largest collections.⁸⁸

As outlined, the AMBH and DTA projects were two key moments in rationalising and providing access to the collections and marked a general shift towards professionalism. These projects also complicate our understanding of BCA as a 'monument'. Whilst it is clear that at times BCA has drifted towards an Afrocentric approach and narrow understanding of Blackness, the AMBH and DTA projects have also highlighted different ways in which the organisation has attempted to broaden its collecting and collections but narrow its collecting practices. However, the DTA project and move to Raleigh Hall has also highlighted gaps within the collection, particularly given BCA's claim to national status. The position of BCA in Brixton and the make-up of the Board, as outlined, has led to a heavy emphasis on the collection of material documenting the African Caribbean experience in Britain, particularly in London. Additionally, due to the collecting time frame of the organisation, the majority of the material is contemporary to the 1980s with little material before the 1970s. Finally, whilst the organisation has attempted to focus on collecting the stories of women throughout its development, as highlighted in *Love and Lubrication*, BCA has very limited representation of LGBTQ+ experiences.⁸⁹ Bookey described her attempts to bring the rukus! archive to BCA:

And in the end rukus! chose LMA not BCA because they felt that LMA were more, were the better choice for them. Which I think, from BCA's perspective I would be very sorry about that, but Ajamu said "BCA's not ready to take them in". It's not, as an organisation it's not diverse enough, it's not pro- it's too, kind of monolithic in its Blackness to be able, to be the right place for an LGBT collection to be housed.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ 'The Heart of the Race' available at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/the-heart-of-the-race.pdf>

⁸⁷ DTA report, p. 38

⁸⁸ An up-to-date overview can be found on BCA's website, 'Collections Overview' available at <https://blackculturalarchives.org/collections/overview>.

⁸⁹ Ajamu X, Campbell and Stevens, *Love and Lubrication*, p.291.

⁹⁰ Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017.

Richard Wiltshire from the LMA also described how the rukus! Collection ended up at LMA, noting:

often, we do get that, that people like LMA because it covers a, a broader topic, I mean it's London, but it means that you are not syphoning yourself just to be that. For example, rukus! Federation Limited based in Brixton, Ajamu and Topher Campbell they deposited their Black, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender archive here because they are gay and Black. So, you kind of don't quite fit BCA, it doesn't quite fit the London School of Economics and also, they'd done quite a bit of work here, events stuff here at times. So, you do get those reasons why.⁹¹

As discussed by Bookey and Wiltshire, although BCA was working towards capturing more holistic experiences of Black communities, there were, and are still some communities who don't feel like BCA is the place to deposit. For rukus! they describe not only BCA's failure to collect or promote LGBTQ+ histories but also, as noted by Wiltshire that they did not want to be constrained only within categories such as race or gender or sexuality, and being at LMA provides a different viewpoint for engaging with the collections.⁹²

Thinking about how BCA's collections reflect its position as a 'monument', one of the main issues that BCA faces is identifying how the collection should develop and navigating the tensions of continuing to collect, particularly in view of Bookey's description of BCA as being 'monolithic in its Blackness'. This could be along the lines previously established through Garrison's interests, specifically education and activism or broadening out to fully realise capturing the whole Black 'experience'. During my time at BCA the questions about the 'specialism' of BCA became key particularly when large collections were donated. For example, when the Runnymede collection was deposited the specialism of BCA became intertwined with the focus of the Runnymede as a think tank specialising in questions of race equality. When the Black Dancers' Archive collection was deposited the specialism shifted again towards arts and dance, but without a clear strategy for future collection. As noted by Bookey, even where the organisation may shift in terms of its interests, there remains the issue that the organisation could be viewed as becoming a dead monument to an idea of Blackness that existed in the 1970s and 1980s, but one that is extremely narrow and

⁹¹ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

⁹² Ajamu, Campbell and Stevens, *Love and Lubrication*, p. 277

unrepresentative of the broad range of experiences within Black British communities. Nevertheless, as outlined by Walker it is vital that the organisation continues:

to collect, and to collect, and to collect and to let people know exactly what you are doing. And I think one of things that could be lacking is that, for example when I go out talking for example, I talk about my African-ness, I own my African-ness and then I exude confidence out of that African-ness and I think that is necessary in the society that we have so that whatever BCA is doing at the moment, it is not seen as a tokenistic thing, that the people who are running it and doing it believe in the materials and what they are doing. And I think that is, very essential, very important I would think.⁹³

As Walker suggests, not only is it vital that the organisation continues to collect material that helps to shift away from a monumentalising process, but it is vital that the organisation also continues to 'own its African-ness' and use that as a position from which to interrogate and engage with British history.

For BCA there is also a lack of clarity about the future development of the organisation and its collections, particularly in addressing the silences that exist within its own collections and hampered by the space issues discussed previously. As outlined, much of BCA's energies were devoted to fundraising and campaigning for a permanent building and demonstrating the value of the collections to achieve this goal, which was achieved in 2014 when the heritage centre opened and essentially the 'BCA project' ended. This has also been hampered by the change in Trustees over the past 30 years and although business plans were put in place it was never clear how the organisation wanted to proceed once Garrison's main vision of a permanent monument was realised. It is also possible that the collections provided a means by which to secure a building, rather than being the focus of building. Future planning was also hampered by high staff turnover and a tendency to go where the funding and projects were, rather than to actively seek funding and projects for specific goals.

Whilst monuments can often reflect static understandings of the past, the presence of BCA on Windrush square offers alternative perspectives on space and belonging. As noted, BCA's presence on the Square complicates narratives of Windrush through its collections that speak to an earlier Black presence but also as a marker of the Windrush generation. The presence of BCA in an area of central Brixton that shares space with a memorial to Henry Tate also speaks to complicated histories, as well as changing demographics. As outlined in

⁹³ Sam Walker, Interview, mp3, 9 March 2016.

chapter six the redevelopment of Windrush Square and Raleigh Hall were part of a process of regeneration of Brixton that is also the result of gentrification. Without this regeneration, BCA would not be in Raleigh Hall; but it now also stands as a memorial to a Black Caribbean community that is disappearing. It is worth remembering that although BCA now occupies a space on Windrush Square, along with other key sites of culture and heritage including the Tate Library, the initial placement of BCA was to be a site further in the heartland of Brixton, on the corners of Somerleyton and Railton Roads and was to be a marker of settlement in the area. Renovating and moving into a Georgian building speaks to the interweaving of the histories of enslavement into the broader narratives of Britain with the BCA now occupying a space in Brixton that connects both the Henry Tate statue (whose main work was in the sugar industry)⁹⁴ and the symbolism of Windrush. The BCA has also become the site of other memorials, including a memorial to African and African Caribbean soldiers who served in the First and Second World Wars⁹⁵ as well as hosting a plaque commemorating the 1865 Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica created for a BBC series 'Black and British: A Forgotten History'.⁹⁶ In discussing the future of the organisation, Paul Reid reflected on the importance of memorialisation, but focussed on the need to look positively to the future:

It shouldn't be a space where we- all we do is look at the pains of our experience because I suppose in some ways that becomes self-fulfilling, we just kind of add layers and layers, more detail of our downward spiral. So, what it's got to do, it's got to inspire, it's got to engage, it's got to actually uplift, there's got to be a sense of pride and respect in all of this and it should propel us forward not hold us back. I think the general sense of Black history, the ideas of Black history, there is a tendency at times for it to hold us back as opposed to take us forward [...] And so it's a really big piece and I think BCA has the potential to really, to do something there about valuing our experiences and then I think there is another piece, as well as sustainability, but there is another piece which is about, so how do you advocate for that? How do you advocate for the experiences of people as when the issues arise? So all sorts of issues arise right now, what's BCA's position in relation to 'Black Lives Matter?' in terms of social change, when it has an archive that can tell you that what we are experiencing today is no different to what we've been experiencing for many years. So, BCA, therefore, [laughs]

⁹⁴ 'About us', Tate & Lyle, available at <https://www.tateandlyle.com/about-us/henry-tate>.

⁹⁵ 'African and Caribbean Memorial, available at <http://nubianjak.org/the-african-and-caribbean-memorial/>.

⁹⁶ Mark Monahan, 'Black and British: A Forgotten History Was a Sadly Topical Caution against Poisonous Notions of Racial Otherness – Review', *The Telegraph*, 23 November 2016, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/tv/2016/11/23/black-british-forgotten-history-revealed-fascinating-side-past/>.

therefore, well we just need an organisation that allows us to study this stuff. I'm definitely frustrated with an organisation that kind of, navel gazes into the past and studies the history for histories sake. The archive has got to be a source, not only of material to study and to learn about but it's got to be a reference point that tells us that there is something that needs to be done and how to do it possibly. It should inspire, it should inspire change and it should drive people into action, in my view.⁹⁷

Although BCA's presence offers an interesting window into questions of monuments and memorialisation, its continued presence is not guaranteed. As also discussed in chapter six the progress to Windrush Square is as a result of a large Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) grant that supported the organisation until 2017, the organisation is expected to stand on its own and secure income to continue running on a much larger scale and it is unclear how this is going to be achieved.

George Padmore Institute Collections

Unlike BCA which has always actively collected material, the collections held at GPI archive consciously reflects the work of the campaigns and activities of La Rose and New Beacon. Many of the key individuals involved with movements, and the campaigns at the time of writing are Trustees of the GPI, including John La Rose's sons, Michael, Keith and Wole; his partner Sarah White and his ex-wife Irma. John La Rose's grandson Renaldo La Rose is also a trustee. There are also long-time associates Aggrey Burke, Janice Durham, Roxy Harris and Pat Harris, Azim Hajee, Ali Hussein, Linton Kwesi Johnson, Ian Macdonald QC and Milverton Wallace. Most of the Trustees have been involved in campaigns associated with La Rose, particularly the educational campaigns and the Book Fair. Remi Harris, daughter of Roxy and Pat Harris, attended the George Padmore supplementary school established by La Rose, along with Michael and Keith. These individuals have been termed 'the New Beacon Circle' by Brian Alleyne,⁹⁸ who wrote about their work in *Radicals Against Race*. Alleyne uses this term to denote 'people who have been involved in some or all of these projects, and who have remained in close association with John La Rose and Sarah White.'⁹⁹ The members of the 'Circle' are part of a wider network and 'family' drawing in a wide range of activities in the history of the Black community. As discussed throughout this thesis, the material of the GPI also reflects a more international focus as the aim of the organisation has always been to

⁹⁷ Paul Reid. Interview, mp3, 12 March 2016.

⁹⁸ Alleyne, *Radicals Against Race*, p.1.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

connect the history of the Caribbean with the history of Britain to draw out the diasporic and colonial connections, in addition to reflecting on global anti-colonial and decolonial movements. Returning briefly to the discussion about the early decision to form the John Jacob Thomas Institute, White notes

And, so, New Beacon was in a position to collect all these- collect- obviously other people will have collected material as well but they collected the material that they had, they didn't throw it away for organizations such as the Caribbean Artists' Movement, the Black Education Movement, the Black Parents' Movement, the New Cross Massacre campaign, the Book Fairs- Radical Book Fairs and Black and Third World books and a number of other organizations. Now most of these the connection was through John La Rose who founded New Beacon Books and John had always had in his vision the idea of some sort of institute or archive that would conserve this material for the future and if you go back into the George Padmore archives we did discover a notebook from the early '70s with the name of an institute called the John Jacob Thomas Institute so this was John's idea. So, it was an idea for many years that he had, which is why he kept all of the material, and the house was bursting with material.¹⁰⁰

Additionally, to return to chapter five, many of the interviewees described the rationale to develop the organisation from the viewpoint of providing an educational outlet. Michael La Rose describes, 'when we formed the George Padmore Institute the idea was to have an archive of all that struggle that I've discussed before and all that activity, the political, the cultural, the artistic activity, it's important that we archive it, again the idea for future generations.'¹⁰¹ Michael La Rose went on to say:

And the third issue is the question of what is an archive? and what is its purpose? and from our activity it became quite clear the purpose of an archive that we would run would break the discontinuity from generation to generation so partly what we needed to do was to do outreach work with young people and what we've done is young people in schools, with young people who are activists, we've done it with questions of exhibitions in libraries, all kinds of things some projects, school projects run out this building and this place here which is what you see on the walls here and also writing

¹⁰⁰ Sarah White, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015

¹⁰¹ Michael La Rose, Interview, mp3, 27 June 2015.

about and having lectures about the activity of New Beacon and the George Padmore Institute.¹⁰²

The structure of the material has been organised by campaign or movement, and as with all cataloguing and categorisation, crafts the historical narratives and contexts in which the individual records should be understood. The main archive collections held at the GPI are:

John La Rose Collection (1952-1996)

Journals, UK and Caribbean (1961-1995)

The Caribbean Artists Movement (1965-1995)

The Black Education Movement (1965-1988)

The Black Parents Movement (1969-1993)

European Action for Racial Equality (c. 1980- c.1990)

New Cross Massacre Campaign (1981-1985)

The International Book Fairs (1970-2005)

As with some of the BCA collections, although the collections are catalogued and bounded according to campaign, the divisions are not particularly clear cut, as some campaigns ran side by side or contained the same personnel and so material relating to one campaign often turns up within other collections. The division of the archive into movements helps in some ways to elucidate how the Black experience operated in certain spheres, particularly within policing and education, which has also come to dominate the narratives of Black history since.

At the time of my initial research, another collection, the personal papers of John La Rose, the John La Rose Archive, was being catalogued, finalised and made available for research, a result of a five-year Heritage Lottery Funded project (starting in 2010). There is also the material relating to CAM, which as outlined in chapter four, was created as an artificial collection through the research of white author, Anne Walmsley. Although the archives make claims on being broadly representative of a form of politics, they do not make claims on the entirety of Black experience although as discussed, they present some from the community. For the GPI this is also borne out to some extent by La Rose's pragmatism when it came to the longevity of some of the movements he was involved with. For La Rose, political

¹⁰² Ibid.

campaigns served particular purposes and if the time came when the movement was no longer relevant, it was time for it to end. This was highlighted in the organisational statement marking the end of the Book Fair, when it became clear it was no longer fit for purpose and which led to the foundation of the GPI.¹⁰³ Collections such as CAM show the complexity of experience, particularly the divisions and the questions emerging during the 1960s on the very nature of experience and Caribbean identity, including the emergence of identity politics at the time and speaks to the idea of GPI as a beacon. CAM also helps to represent and elucidate some of the differences within the collections. For example, as an assembled collection, CAM in some ways represents an intellectual and theoretical approach that reflects the nature of the collection itself. Many of the other collections represent the practicality of activism and highlight the relationship between the Black community and the State, particularly the police and education but represent political approaches to overcoming issues affecting Black communities, but in line with 'political Blackness' represent how a cross section of Black, white and Asian people have worked together to achieve these goals. There are also smaller collections such as the National Antiracist Movement in Education (NAME), and Negro Theatre Workshop (NTW), organisations that were not directly related to La Rose or 'The Circle' but which have important overlap.¹⁰⁴ The material held at GPI has generated important research into Black history.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, the material within the collections of the GPI hint at an intellectual and creative energy behind many of the movements captured, which was overlooked by more traditional histories written about the Black experience that focussed on friction and resistance. As noted by Reid at the end of previous chapter, many of the archives aimed at moving the histories of Black communities beyond the idea of 'deficit' or conflict. In discussing the development of GPI, Harris argued that:

Well I suppose the material itself is about 'this is what people did about their situation' so, the official version might now say 'oh the Black population suffered a lot of racism' and, our thing is 'yeah, but also we did these things about it though.' And that second bit is not really what the mainstream wants to talk about, because they want us to be just these helpless people, these things were done to them and every now and again

¹⁰³ 'Statement: The International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third World Books' (February 1997), BFC 12/01/01/07, George Padmore Institute.

¹⁰⁴ For a list of collections see, <https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/archive/collections>.

¹⁰⁵ For example, Andrews, 'Back to Black: Black Radicalism and the Supplementary School Movement'.; Rob Waters, *Thinking Black: Britain, 1964-1985* (California: University of California, 2018); Paul Warmington, *Black British Intellectuals and Education: Multiculturalism's Hidden History* (Routledge, 2014).

they have a spasm of violence or- but actually it wasn't them it was their mothers, who- those guys were always very defeatist and mothers are going 'no' and so that sort of stuff is really important about keeping going. Something, but there is no thought or- I always talk about things like, when we had a lot of these police campaigns, how the strongest people were Black working-class women and that's never in the official record."¹⁰⁶

Harris' description of the role of the GPI further highlights the importance of focussing on experience is to not only engage with the official record but also to add an alternative viewpoint, one that attempts to move away from the overly masculine narrative that also focusses on conflict. Harris' description of the role of women makes the difficulties of recruiting women to speak at the organisation's 'Life Histories' talks all the more poignant, and further adds to the need to recover the histories of women from within the archives and points to why collections such as OWAAD at BCA are key. It is also clear that within the history of the GPI it is Sarah White and the archivist Sarah Garrod who have been key to the development and practical running of the organisation since the mid-2000s. However, despite the role of White and Garrod, throughout my interviews all the interviewees gave very similar accounts of the development of the organisation through the centrality of La Rose. As outlined in the introduction, the archival material of the GPI and NBB is not available so a more fulsome history of White's contribution to the development of NBB and GPI requires further research. I will return to the role of race in the following chapter.

Although the Trustees of the GPI are clear about the use of collections of the GPI, they are very clear that they are representing a particular kind of political activity, and within a very particular framework. Returning to the distinction between beacons and monuments, whilst the organisations has been committed to not becoming another 'dead monument' it is important to consider how the GPI continues to memorialise John La Rose, since his death in 2006. Aside from the archives being drawn almost exclusively from La Rose's campaigning and his collecting, in tribute to La Rose, the official charity title of the GPI was changed from the New Beacon Educational Trust to the John La Rose Trust in 2011. This change of title also continues to raise the question about the extent to which the GPI represents the experiences of a wider Black community, a specific community connected to John La Rose, or just La Rose himself.

¹⁰⁶ Roxy Harris, Interview, mp3, 8 July 2015.

Furthermore, although I had not approached the research to specifically think about the role of physical space as a researcher, but it became clear as I moved through the spaces that each organisation created different impressions on me. As noted earlier, the GPI operates a reading room within the building that shares space with NBB, that was once a domestic residence. The reading room is on the second floor that is now a large open plan space that also doubles as an events space. On beginning my research at GPI, I noted:

It was also an interesting experience at the Institute as Sarah [Garrod] wasn't able to invigilate (although they do have CCTV) so at the beginning I was sitting with a volunteer who was working on the photography collection and then alone. I also remember being quite struck by sitting facing not only a massive picture of La Rose, but also his bust. You do start to feel as though you know these people, or that they are a part of your life.¹⁰⁷

One of the themes running through my later notebooks is that although the reading room at the GPI was much less busy than the BCA and LMA, there was a greater sense of affinity with the material that I felt. It may have been because the space was structured less like a formal archival search room in that there was no obvious invigilation, the homeliness of the space was accentuated by the photographs of particularly La Rose and the rest of the Beacon circle that adorned the walls. However, in choosing to foreground the images of La Rose, it also speaks to the issues outlined about the narratives that the organisation is choosing to focus on.

The *Dream to Change the World* project (2010-2015) saw the cataloguing of John La Rose's personal archive material, the delivery of schools' sessions, the online publication of an essay on the early history of NBB, the publication of '*Unending Journey*' selected writings by La Rose and an exhibition on John La Rose's life held at Islington Museum during the summer of 2015. Additionally, throughout the interviews many of the interviewees pointed to this project, as one of their greatest achievements (whilst my research was being undertaken.)¹⁰⁸ This is partly because it is the most ambitious project but also engaged more people with the collections through outreach activities such as work with schools, the online publication of a brief history of La Rose, NBB and the exhibition. This most recent project has led to a greater focus on the biography of La Rose, through the cataloguing of his papers and as outlined moves the organisation towards a greater identification with La Rose. In

¹⁰⁷ Journal Entry, 28th October 2015

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Michael La Rose, and Sarah Garrod, George Padmore Institute.

memorialising La Rose in this way, it raises interesting questions about whether La Rose's life work becomes 'the beacon' to guide others or whether the GPI becomes another fixed monument presenting unchanging narratives about his life and work, or an understanding of a community through the narratives developed during the 1960s-1990s. Furthermore, to return to the discussion in chapter five about the emergence of narratives that the founders of GPI and the Huntley were uncomfortable with Harris further noted:

So, all of those sorts of things and more were what- and each of them were out of necessity to do stuff and then but then in doing it we then we wrote stuff, leaflets and documents and recordings of meetings and stuff which we just did as a matter of course and then when we looked back, suddenly we realized well we've got all of this stuff and the reason we had it was that we had it was the fact that we were the people at the centre of all of those campaigns, but the people who were writing about it, weren't part of anything.¹⁰⁹

It is clear that there was a deliberate desire on behalf of John La Rose and the Trustees of GPI to keep material with the aim of eventually creating an archival organisation, but to do so with a very particular outlook and as noted in the previous chapters, in response to the development of narratives that they were either being written out of, or that they had alternate evidence for. Consequently, permeating the interviews was the sense of the importance of finding people who shared the 'principles' of the GPI to take it forward. The Trustees have been involved in the various campaigns and networks captured in the collections, particularly the Black Education Movement and the Book Fair. Some of the Trustees have been associated with La Rose and NBB for over 40 years or are related in some way to La Rose or other Trustees. Although they have been politically active together and share many of the same principles, it also means that many of the Trustees are older and are looking for people to take over. The importance of relying on networks and committed volunteers has also been key to the success of the organisation. One of the main challenges that came up consistently in the interviews undertaken for this research, is the question of the future. Throughout the interviews the subject of the future was characterised by uncertainty, or a reaching a 'crossroads.'¹¹⁰ This was discussed by White who said:

We call ourselves at a crossroads right now, because this building is nearly full and it's not ideal, it's not ideal for an archive because as you know you are running up and

¹⁰⁹ Roxy Harris, Interview, mp3, 8 July 2015

¹¹⁰ Sarah White, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

down stairs, and having to carry things and it's not, there's no disabled access, so it's very good to start up and independence and you know that sort of thing but it's not necessarily how you can go forward into the future so we are looking right now at sort of possibilities of how we move forward.¹¹¹

In addition to funding, the issue of the physical space was highlighted as being one of the main issues facing the organisation. The GPI has received three separate grants from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), which has accounted for funding for over half of the life of the organisation. For the GPI the question of the future is only partly linked to the issue of funding, as many of the Trustees felt that this could be overcome but the sense from the interviewees was that they had arrived at a point where they weren't sure what the next step should be. The funding from the HLF has given the organisation greater scope with which to meet their aims and objectives, but it has also brought additional pressures through managing growing expectations on the organisation to continue to work within the same model, as an activist organisation, but without the input of La Rose, the main driver behind the organisation's development.

Although the storage space is by no means substandard, the building itself is less than ideal for expanding material and with it, visitor numbers. With NBB occupying the ground floor, the second floor of the GPI is reserved for researchers and also serves as a meeting space and function space for events. The space for researchers is limited, accommodating only three comfortably, but the time dedicated to allowing researchers has to be balanced against the other needs of the space. On-going accrual of material would inevitably mean a need for greater research provision, which may not be accommodated in the existing space. This also applies to the time of those within the GPI. Sarah Garrod works part-time so her time must be split between providing access for researchers, cataloguing the material, answering enquiries and undertaking any other demands of the role.¹¹² As noted already, Garrod's role has been subsidised by the HLF so it is unclear what would happen to the post if further funding was not secured. Additionally, increased work would add further strain on the resources unless these too were expanded, which may require additional posts. Solving the issue of increased space and collecting would require either a restructuring of the space already available or moving to a new premise, both of which would require substantial investment.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Sarah Garrod Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

One of the benefits of the current situation is that the building is owned by the organisation and so cuts some of the expense of running a service. It is the ownership of the building that has given the organisation greater flexibility and reduced the necessity for, and over-reliance on other sources of external funding. As highlighted in chapter six, many other bookshops failed during the 1980s due to the lack of ownership over buildings and the collapse of funding, and the effect of rising rents and costs in London. Ownership has been a key cornerstone of the philosophy of autonomy employed by La Rose. A move might require giving up the security of an owned building, unless a building could be secured at a lower cost than the current building. Additionally, renovating the building could be a viable option and would be in keeping with the course of action taken in the early part of the organisation's history when they secured funding to renovate and reinforce the building. However, this wouldn't solve the recurring problem of continuing funding especially if renovation would increase the amount of activity at the building, either through increased donations or increased visitors. A more radical solution could be to cease operations and to donate the archive en-masse to another organisation, one with the space and infrastructure to look after it, as was done with the Huntley Collection.

In the words of Sarah White, one of the greatest achievements of the GPI has been to 'exist',¹¹³ to exist for 25 years increasing activity and visibility, bringing new generations to the important history contained within its archives. The question of the future has the potential to push the organisation towards the monument they have been resisting. The GPI has not actively collected material and chosen to maintain a closed collection relating almost exclusively to John La Rose. However, this material is still filling the relatively small storage room that has been devoted to the collections. Even if the GPI continue to collect material related to the 'Circle' only La Rose's material has been consistently collected and catalogued. If the collecting was extended only to the Trustees, that would continue to constitute a sizeable collection.¹¹⁴ In discussing the collections and the idea of growing the collections, Garrod noted that:

I wouldn't want to see it so big that it would just lose itself. It needs to be kept reasonably small to sort of maintain that slightly organic, that organic, I don't like the word organic but yeah, organic sort of family, personal, grassroots feel to it. But we do need to finish off some of the loose ends that we haven't finished yet, for example the

¹¹³ Sarah White, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

New Beacon archive hasn't been done yet, although it's not probably huge, but it's still got to be done.¹¹⁵

It seems, for Garrod at least, that it is important that the collections retain their tight focus on what they already have. The use of the word 'organic' is also interesting as it sits with much of the ideas of a 'living' archive that was discussed at the outset of this chapter. However, if the GPI do decide to stop collecting and focus solely on what they have, that raises the question of whether the GPI is essentially the personal archive of La Rose, already tentatively acknowledged by the organisation in the changing of the name from the New Beacon Educational Trust to the John La Rose Trust. If the decision is taken to widen the collection of material, would this only include the material relating to the inner 'Circle' and those who are or have been Trustees? Or would this include other members of the network, more loosely associated to specific aspects of the activity of La Rose and NBB? How would this network be defined and bounded? There is a risk in that turning inwards it becomes the 'dead monument' to La Rose that was feared from the outset (and only exists to represent a very narrow set of experiences).

Huntley Collection

Part of the rationale for the development of Black-led archives and their collecting practices has also been the need to provide a place in which to house and make the material accessible. This has been explicit in the development of BCA and the GPI who have insisted on remaining independent organisations to not only to ensure intellectual and physical control of the material but also works on a subconscious and experiential level as well. This is captured by Margaret Andrews who describes the importance of the Huntley Collection as:

I think the whole, the role of the Huntley Collection for me, is about providing the history of Black people in kind of, post-colonial Caribbean and- in this country. It is about providing that history, that's yet to be written. There are vestiges of that history in lots of different places but it's not part of the mainstream. And what, I think what the Huntley archives does, is that it provides this sort of tapestry of what's been happening to a whole range of Black people. But at the same time, it also tells you about what's happening with working class white people in this country. It also tells you about what's happening with African Americans in the US so there's, there is an interesting history, or an interesting way of telling history that the archives actually provides that makes it

¹¹⁵ Sarah Garrod, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

palatable, that makes it worth learning about and engaging with you know. It makes history exciting.¹¹⁶

As with the GPI and the BCA that aims to tell this broader history of Black presences within the UK, the Huntley Collection (and the other Black collections at LMA) also offers a frame in which to think about how archive collections can help to understand the dynamics of space and belonging within white institutions. Following Fanon, Sara Ahmed draws attention to how it feels to inhabit the 'white world with a Black body' and often spaces take on the qualities of those that inhabit them.¹¹⁷ Many spaces are orientated 'around' whiteness rather than toward it, and for archives this also holds true. Despite recent initiatives over the past decade the archival sector, archives, both in terms of collections and staff remains overwhelmingly white.¹¹⁸ This has a negative impact on the symbolic space of archives. This raises a question about the position about the Huntley Collection, a Black collection within a predominantly white space, and as will be discussed shortly, the role of white archivists within the predominantly Black organisations of BCA and GPI.

As previously outlined, the deposit of the Huntley Collection at LMA was created through the ongoing work in the mainstream and community organisations to ensure greater diversity within the sector and the presence of the Huntley Collection within the LMA highlights some of the issues outlined by Hall. As outlined in chapter six, the changing policies and practices from the late 1990s created an environment in which the deposit of the Huntley Collection was made possible. The Huntley Collection also creates another frame in which to investigate an interplay between space and memorialisation. As the first major collection from the Black community, the LMA made it one of their key priorities and invested significant funds into creating a project that catalogued and made the material accessible. As outlined, the importance of the collection to the LMA was highlighted during interviews, through the way in which senior members of LMA decided to take the collection before any major appraisal of the material was undertaken.¹¹⁹ The decision was also taken to ensure that the cataloguing of the collection was undertaken immediately, and a post of 'researcher' was created to assist in the cataloguing of the material. The immediacy with which LMA accepted and catalogued the collection prior to serious appraisal highlights a similar symbolic value to LMA, as the Gale

¹¹⁶ Margaret Andrews, Interview, mp3, 13 July 2017.

¹¹⁷ Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, p. 133

¹¹⁸ 'A Study of the UK Information Workforce: Mapping the Library, Archives, Records, Information Management and Related Professions in the United Kingdom' (ARA and Cilip, 2015). ARA/Cilip mapping, p. 29

¹¹⁹ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

papers to BCA. However, although as outlined by Hall, there are inherent power issues between white organisations and Black collections, Colin Prescod was clear that for activists such as the Huntleys, they had the political acumen to undercut some of these issues:

Where there is racism, it undermines, it under-develops the ability of people who are subject to all that, who are brutalised, repressed, marginalised and whatever else it is. It under- their ability to be ready to take off isn't there. Underdeveloped, they are not even on a flat level, so you, you're trying to pursue big, urgent ambitions in a context that couldn't be more difficult for doing so. So, when you ask that question, that's when you say 'why join the establishment'? without thinking about it very carefully, without telling them, without baring your teeth as you join them and you get lost very quickly inside of that. So it's a good question, however if you are talking to people like the Huntleys and the people they are surrounded by who are coming out of activism who are not afraid to speak plainly, all the rest of it it's not a debilitating compromise to join that [caste?].¹²⁰

As outlined by Prescod, it is clear that the Huntleys and those around them were astute enough to recognise the limitations that working with a mainstream, white organisation might bring. Additionally, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Huntleys also brought their allies with them into the space, in the form of the Friends of Huntley Archives and were very clear about how their collection was to be catalogued and used.

The Huntley Collection at LMA, is designated as a business archive due to the bulk of the material representing the activity undertaken by Bogle L'Ouverture publications (BLP) and unsurprisingly, also features much of the same material as contained with the GPI collections. The Huntley Collection comprises two main areas, the papers of BLP which contains material relating to the operation of the publishing house and bookshop and the personal papers of Eric and Jessica Huntley. This includes a number of other campaigns and initiatives that they were involved with that sit outside of the main publishing and bookshop. LMA also holds Eric and Jessica Huntley's library but at the time of writing, the library was still being processed by the organisation.¹²¹ There is also another collection, catalogued with the papers of Bogle L'Ouverture, titled the 'papers of Lionel and Pansy Jeffrey.' The Jeffreys were born in Guyana and were close friends of the Huntleys and were also involved in many political campaigns and organisations based in North London. The material sits within the papers of Bogle

¹²⁰ Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2017.

¹²¹ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

L'Ouverture as Eric and Jessica had planned to write a biography of the Jeffreys but were unable to complete it.¹²² The annual Huntley Conference uses the material to engage with the broad themes and events that have taken place within the Black communities. Returning to the importance of biography to the Huntleys, as outlined in chapter five, Margaret Andrews discussed not only her approach to writing the Huntleys' biography but also the importance of the collection:

I chose to structure the book based on what I would like to read. I think, in lots of ways it was a blank canvass because Black people in Britain, and in, the population at large know so little about the history of Black people over the period that Jessica and Eric came to Britain, or over their lives. And also, the relationship between the Caribbean and Britain. Again, most Black and white people are unaware of those relationships that somehow, Black people just appeared in Britain and somehow we were in our own countries, forgetting that we weren't in our own countries, we were in British territories, that's where we were born. So, in lots of ways I was trying to write a biography that would provide a lot of information around the gaps that we have and the literature that exists. But at the same time telling the story that Jessica and Eric wanted because they were very clear about what they wanted. They wanted their story told in a particular way and they wanted certain people to be involved in the telling of their story, there were some people that they didn't want involved in telling their story as well.¹²³

This final sentence is key, the Huntleys were actively engaged in ensuring how their material is used and the narratives that have developed around them. In entering the LMA, the Huntleys not only 'bared their teeth' in setting up the terms and boundaries of their collection but also ensured that a biographical narrative was set up alongside and from the collections that was within their control.

During the period of the first Huntley conferences, LMA underwent major building renovation and the needs of Huntley conferences played a direct impact on shaping the renovation and therefore shaping the LMA itself. The reading room was re-designed and amended to accommodate the large numbers of conference attendees¹²⁴ and signage was

¹²² Custodial History, London Metropolitan Archives, available at <https://search.lma.gov.uk/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/201846278/2/3/7904?RECORD&UNION=Y&URLMARKER=STARTREQUEST>.

¹²³ Margaret Andrews, Interview, mp3, 13 July 2017.

¹²⁴ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017.

improved due to feedback from Huntley conference visitors, many of whom had never visited an archive before.¹²⁵ One of the meeting rooms was also renamed to the Huntley Room to recognise the importance of the collection, with a large bust of Jessica Huntley sculpted by George 'Fowokwan' Kelly decorating it. The renaming of the meeting room to the 'Huntley Room' highlights a theme that runs through the interviews, that of the importance of space and feeling welcome. The re-naming of the space is an important symbolic gesture on behalf of the LMA in terms of signifying the importance of the Huntleys and their collection and potentially the move towards greater inclusivity, Roberts notes that 'yeah, people kind of- it was interesting because you saw that change in confidence happen over the years. From people being very timid and you know, taking a backseat to people now swaggering in, like 'we own the place' [laughs], which is kind of nice, I think. But we do own the place, we're all taxpayers I suppose.'¹²⁶ Roberts describes the process as:

The other conferences that they had, was usually around 50 people or so but I think that conference, the Huntley conference helped in terms of change in the physical building of LMA. It fed into that process. It fed into the understanding of how the space could be utilised for events, like that, and it gave a public who wasn't used to coming into an archive it gave them access.¹²⁷

During her Society of American Archivists keynote speech in 2017 Walidah Imarisha spoke of the ways in which this feeling of 'not being allowed' is a historic construction to ensure the maintenance of power structures, particularly knowledge.¹²⁸ One of the important aspects of the work of FHALMA is the ways in which they work to encourage visits from the Black community through the Huntley conference and to establish the presence of the collection within the LMA. The role of access is key, for the Huntleys depositing the material with LMA provided greater access for researchers to use the collections, although the access is mediated through the processes and procedures of a mainstream organisation such as LMA. Roberts also went on to discuss another intangible benefit that being at the LMA offered the Huntleys and FHALMA:

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Walidah Imarisha, 'The Liberated Archive: A Forum for Envisioning and Implementing a Community-Based Approach to Archives', in *Archives 2017* (Society of American Archivists Annual Meeting, Portland, Oregon: Society of American Archivists, 2017), <https://www2.archivists.org/am2017/liberated-archive-keynote>.

I think people who have been introduced, not as audience but speakers, and the participants in that way of the conference. Quite a few have also then been invited to do other things, in other areas of the archive, archive life. The FHALMA group have been introduced to the City of London in terms of participating in some of the whole pageantry and all the stuff that goes on with the City, so it's dinners and yes, special dinners and things like that so you have, then that presence of community in those, in those spaces that you wouldn't necessarily have, had before so I think that's a really, that's a really good thing because it gives you access and can have conversations with- you can be sat next to anyone so it could be the Lord Mayor, it could be whoever but it's given that... access.¹²⁹

Roberts highlights two other, less tangible forms of access that have been provided to the Huntleys and their associates through their placement within the LMA. Firstly, through the Huntley conference other speakers and audience members have been invited to contribute to the LMA's programmes and have diversified LMA's general audience to an extent. Whilst the diversification of audiences would have been one of the key drivers for the LMA to take on the collection it also appears to have had a further reaching effect in terms of also diversifying LMA's approach to speakers. Furthermore, Roberts discussion surfaces a greater role of access in terms of access to decision making powers to provide greater opportunities to create change. Roberts goes on to note:

Well, I think part of the legacy of the Huntley Collection was to, help in that process of diversifying the user base of the LMA. I think that was a really important one because, yeah, people came, children, yeah children, youth, adults and that has been carried over in terms of other projects and programmes and in terms of the staff as well. There's- there was a time when staff was quite surprised to see children in the search room, wandering around but not so much now. I think also, the legacy that it's had is that it's the template for how the space is used. So, we have a, you know, it's like a full Huntley type conference, or a paired down, just the Huntley room, or you know, it's shaped how the space can be used. I think that, I think going forward there's a template for working with lots of different organisations.¹³⁰

Many of the interviewees described the role of working in partnership with the LMA and the result that this has had not only on the physical use of the space but also the way that LMA

¹²⁹ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

works not only with the Huntleys, but with other community archives. Margaret Andrews argues that:

I mean, I think, I think what the Huntley Collection provides on its own is probably no different to what other collections provide, but what the Huntley Collections have done, is because of the advisory group's engagement with the LMA in it's kind of documentation and cataloguing. I think what it's [pause] that process I think brings something new. Because it's challenged the, it's challenged the LMA in how it actually records and interprets the history of, you know, of Black people.¹³¹

And goes on to say:

And I think with the deposit of the Huntley archives, what to me, it's quite similar in this sense that by having that advisory group, that dialogue about how you interpret what was brought was able to take place. So, what the Huntley archives brought became different in helping the LMA and helping, you know, the group as well in understanding the importance of having that engagement with deposits.¹³²

Although this was confirmed by Richard Wiltshire, he also noted that it wouldn't be possible for all of the collections that are deposited at LMA:

I think, can you imagine if we had the same relationship for every single depositor? It would just be impossible. We get 200 odd collections a year, it just couldn't happen so- but where you can see, what they will then do is- you see what I learnt is that they could then bring in the community, they could bring in this whole swathe of individuals that had never heard of us, they'd never heard of us and I think that was quite- just how an acquisition can then change your audience, I mean, I learnt that.¹³³

Although it is clear that the LMA has been accommodating, both physically and metaphorically with the Huntley Collection, as discussed, part of the rationale for FHALMA to move from an advisory group to a 'friends' group was to support the financing and funding of the activities, particularly as there has been a gradual withdrawal of support from LMA. Margaret Andrews noted that:

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

One of the main things that we faced were resources. And having to make decisions as to what to do when resources that we thought we had, were no longer available. Because the LMA went through a period of reduction, funding reductions and we weren't aware of those until they happened to us and that was very difficult. Also, the Guildhall also had, or at least, not so much that they had funding reductions where we thought there were some resources there, it wasn't there. I mean, the bulk of what they both said they were going to provide were there, so don't misunderstand me but it was having to deal with those unexpected- because if anything, we saw those as solid resources that were unmoveable, we saw other resources being more kind of risky and therefore we were very much prepared for the worst in those instances, but it was just such a surprise with some of those resources that were no longer available.¹³⁴

Although difficult at the time, this gradual withdrawal of financial support from LMA has been discussed in interviews as a mutual move towards independence for FHALMA,¹³⁵ but also a pragmatic approach given the straightened financial situation that many government-funded institutions have found themselves in since the economic crash of 2008. The LMA had originally provided the costs for the annual Huntley conference but it is now up to FHALMA to run the conference and apply for funding to undertake future projects.¹³⁶ Summing up the relationship between LMA and the Huntley Collection, Prescod noted:

so, we've changed them much more than they ever had any chance of changing us, we've changed them. They discovered an excitement that could happen, that- which we showed them how the stuff they have in archives- they are doing shows all the time, they are doing what's usually done but they have had nothing which is an explosively exciting as FHALMA in their thing down the last 10 years.¹³⁷

Returning briefly to Wiltshire's statement about the difficulty of replicating the relationship between the Huntley Collection, FHALMA and the LMA there still remains a question about how far the deposit of the Huntley Collection has made an impact in the work of the LMA beyond the Huntley Collection. Following the deposit of the Huntley Collection and the success of the conferences a number of other important Black history collections have been deposited with the LMA including rukus! and the Cy Grant Collection and which have been outlined in a

¹³⁴ Margaret Andrews, Interview, mp3, 13 July 2017.

¹³⁵ Interviews with Maureen Roberts and Margaret Andrews

¹³⁶ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017.

¹³⁷ Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2017.

'Black African Caribbean Community Archives' research guide.¹³⁸ However many of the archives from the Black community remain uncatalogued. This issue has been discussed in chapter six, with an acceptance by LMA that had the Huntley Collection come in after 2010 that it would likely have not been catalogued. This continues to underline the question of whether the presence of collections from diverse communities actively create change as it isn't clear how the LMA approaches assigning cataloguing or funding priorities for new collections. Additionally, whilst Roberts noted that the LMA were engaged in diversifying its speakers pool from the Huntley conference delegates it isn't clear how far this practice has been built into the procedures and outlook of the whole organisation, or whether this approach sits with her as one of the senior engagement managers at LMA.

As with the GPI, the main issue that was raised during my interviews was the future of the collection and the organisation. Whilst the collection is secure, perhaps the securest of all three of the collections and organisations studied, there is still a question about what happens next. Both Prescod and Andrews discussed the importance of thinking about the future of the group:

I said this a few years ago, I said before Jessica died actually, I was saying to them both "listen folks, I want you both to realise that the people who founded this, you know, your mates, me I'm half a generation younger than they are, they are getting older, they are getting tired they won't say it, they are getting exhausted but unless you get some fresh blood this thing will flounder. It can, for all the excitement, for all the potential, for all the stuff that you know, any academic would sort of say, this is really vital stuff you should really- for all that, it can still flounder if we don't find a way to attach new blood to it."¹³⁹

This was echoed by Andrews who noted 'I mean, I'm a pensioner and I'm young [laughs] as a member of the group so we have quite an ageing group.'¹⁴⁰ However, both Andrews and Prescod described the active steps that the group are taking to bring in new members to ensure the longevity of FHALMA:

And the idea of using young people on our Board is about upskilling them. And we've got a management programme that the young people who are on the Board have been

¹³⁸ 'Black History' research Guide, available at https://search.lma.gov.uk/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/101834330/10/1/46?RECORD&DATABASE=RESEARCH_GUIDES.

¹³⁹ Colin Prescod, Interview, mp3, 13 June 2016.

¹⁴⁰ Margaret Andrews, Interview, mp3, 13 July 2016.

attending. We mentor them so they are not just left floundering, so they are- everyone is attached to somebody and the sort of young people who've been involved with the conferences are themselves highly skilled.¹⁴¹

As discussed by Prescod, for a collection such as the Huntley Collection that sits within an institution like LMA, it is vital that there remains the activity around the collection that reflects the politics and aims of the Huntleys as it is at risk of becoming swallowed up by the LMA. However, it isn't clear whether new Board members will be of African heritage I presume that FHALMA will continue to recruit people who have an enthusiasm for the content and political outlook of the Huntley Collection. Furthermore, whilst the Huntley Collection has been an important collection in opening up space and suggesting alternative models for working with community and mainstream organisations there still however remains questions about how far this has truly opened up new spaces and new ways of working. As outlined in Bressey's recent article *Radical History Then and Now* proposed changes to the National Curriculum under the Conservative Government since 2011 proves that 'hard-won arguments about diversity were shown to be vulnerable and seemingly easily contested.'¹⁴² It remains to be seen whether the inclusion of the Huntley Collection and other collections from the Black communities of London has fundamentally shifted the overall structural issues of racism and power inherent in the sector and whether the work of the LMA and FHALMA have been able to alter these structures. Given the likelihood of ongoing shifts in Government policies it is also unclear how deeply these commitments have been ingrained within LMA's organisational culture, rather than sitting with individuals or appeasing the current trends and policies (such as 'inclusion' when the collection was taken in).

Throughout this chapter I have investigated the symbolism of monuments and beacons to investigate how the organisations have attempted to present themselves and how this has impacted on what they collect. The BCA has defined itself as a monument, which in line with Afrocentrism has the potential of representing idealised and unchanging perspectives on Black experiences in Britain. However, BCA's presentation of itself as a monument is in line with the Pan-African approach of destabilising racist narratives and can offer new ways of understanding and complicating perspectives. On the other hand, GPI has presented itself as a beacon which suggests the resistance of fixity and speaks to the nature of ephemerality underscored throughout this work. However, there is a risk that the GPI becomes the 'dead

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Bressey, *Radical History Then and Now*, p. 218

monument' to La Rose during times of uncertainty. Underlying this chapter and the thesis has been a discussion of the future and the role of monuments, beacons and space in securing legacies for future generations.

8. Whiteness in the Archive

Underpinning this work has been a discussion of the importance of recognising race and the workings of racism within the development of the archives. As hinted at throughout this work, the archives not only speak to concepts of Blackness and how race is articulated but also there is the important flipside of thinking about whiteness. In this next chapter I am going to focus on two areas, firstly the presence of white archivists working on the material and secondly a brief discussion of 'affect' and the collections. For the archive sector, whiteness relates not only to those who work within the sector, but also structures the approaches to the archive and the understanding of what archives are as outlined earlier through the discussion of value. In his work, American archivist Mario H. Ramirez argues that much of the archival communities' response to broad discussions on social justice is in effect an attempt to secure the whiteness of the field and to maintain the status quo.¹ Drawing on the discussions of neutrality and objectivity, and on Anthony Dunbar's discussion of CRT² Ramirez highlights the ways in which 'whiteness' is often viewed as an invisible signifier, taken for granted and becomes the marker for what is 'normal' or objective, particularly within the archival sector.³ Ramirez's discussion of whiteness within the archives sector in America, also offers an important starting point in thinking about the role of whiteness within the development of the archives and its position within this work. I have chosen to situate this discussion in this part of the work as I did not want to continue to orient the work around whiteness, which in itself would be a product of whiteness. More importantly, as discussed throughout this work, the development of the archives has been due to the centring of the importance of Blackness and actors within the Black community. Additionally, it is the presence of white archivists in the latter stages of the development of the organisation and as a unifying discussion that leads to the discussion to be best placed here.

¹ Mario Ramirez, Being Assumed Not to Be: A Critique of Whiteness as an Archival Imperative, in *The American Archivist*, 78, no. 2 (Fall/Winter, 2015), p. 341.

² In his exploratory article, *Introducing critical race theory to archival discourse: getting the conversation started* Anthony W. Dunbar describes the growing body of literature within Critical Race Theory (CRT) and how it might be applied within archival theory and literature. In discussing CRT Dunbar highlights the ways in which it problematizes ideas which are taken to be normal or natural particularly in relation to the production of theory. Dunbar argues that CRT is most applicable to the formulation of ideas around evidence and its application within the wider arguments about the role of social justice.

³ Ramirez, Being Assumed Not to Be, p. 343.

The tensions around the role of race within this thesis can be summed up by Jon Newman who remarked:

Isn't it some kind of version of essentialism? Isn't it the notion that because of the particular nature of the records that we are going to call on our archivists to catalogue, we would expect that if they were themselves Black, that would carry some kind of innate understanding, or better way of cataloguing or interpreting the records? I'm assuming that- if there is a professional reason for it, it's presumably that. If you are just saying, we are a Black organisation and we only want Black staff, that's harder- well is it harder to argue? I don't know. [...] That would absolutely have made sense to Len Garrison in 1979, would it make sense to Paul Reid? Could Paul Reid still argue that in 2016? If we are saying that the one things that BCA has contributed to, is the de-ghettoisation of Black culture, Black heritage, Black history, Black archives, then isn't part of that process actually being able to move away from those rather emotive notions, of a kind of, the essentialist archivist?⁴

Newman's comments highlight the key questions of not only the broad frame of this research, but also the question of whether Black organisations should, or need to employ Black archivists to work on their collections. There are a number of different issues at play, firstly there are questions about the role of 'diversity' in the sector and the professional obligations to ensure that the workforce mirrors the diversity within the general population, and secondly there is the question about what Black archivists could offer to collections themselves. I will start with the diversity first, before turning to what Newman describes as the potentially 'emotive notions' of Blackness in the archives.

Diversity

One of BCA's long-term commitments has been to recruiting Black archivists but a commitment that they have yet to fulfil. Throughout BCA's history they have made attempts to fill the gaps themselves by offering training, but this has been difficult in their limited financial and professional experience. If BCA couldn't train or recruit Black archivists, the key questions as articulated by historian, S.I. Martin are: "[where] were the staff familiar with Black history, the Black presence in the armed forces, the patterns of Black settlement in these islands and

⁴Jon Newman, Interview, mp3, 2 May 2016.

the particular ways in which these records can be accessed? Where were the Black archivists?”⁵ Although FHALMA and LMA has made no public commitments to attempting to diversify the sector, the initial appointments of Maureen Roberts and Emma Agyemang has shown a commitment to recruiting members of the Black community to key positions to ensure accurate representation within the cataloguing. GPI have equally made no commitment to diversification of the sector but on her appointment, Sarah Garrod noted that whilst she was not Black she was hired because of her willingness to learn about Black history, something which is key to the organisational ethos.⁶ However, in 2017 former Trustee Gus John posted an open letter to the GPI on a British Black History mailing list where he expressed his disappointment in GPI’s requirement for a professional qualification in a job advertisement for a new post of Assistant Archivist. John ended his letter by stating that:

To put it bluntly, it would be anomalous and deeply worrying if the GPI were to end up with a body of paid white staff, supported by volunteers (white and Black), whose purpose is to conserve/preserve/archive records of the struggles of the African Diaspora in Britain pre- and post-World War Two, while not taking steps to actively engage with the need to ensure that that section of the labour market and of the Arts does not remain almost exclusively white and middle class.⁷

As highlighted in Stuart Hall’s keynote speech, ‘*Whose Heritage?*’ one of the great unspoken issues around diversity’ and the practice of diversifying the sector is that ‘by and large, this process has so far stopped short at the frontier defined by that great unspoken British value — ‘whiteness’.⁸ One of the by-products of whiteness is the way it shapes practice, and what is considered appropriate or professional, which as outlined, shapes the requirements for funding and associated value judgements. Hall’s comment on the whiteness of the heritage sector relates not only to the collections held within archives, museums and libraries but also to the staff who handle and process those collections. The whiteness of the sector has far reaching consequences ranging from accession and appraisal to cataloguing

⁵ S.I Martin, Inheriting diversity: archiving the past, in Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo (eds), *The Politics Of Heritage: The legacies of ‘race’*, (Routledge, 2005), p. 176

⁶ Interview between Sarah Garrod and Andrew Flinn for UCL Community Heritage Project, 2005.

⁷ Letter to GPI, 25 August 2017, available at <https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/wa-jisc.exe?A2=ind1708&L=BRITISHBLACKSTUDIES&P=R168264>.

⁸ Stuart Hall “Un-settling “the Heritage”, Re-imagining the Post-nation. *Whose Heritage?*, *Third Text* 13 (1999), p.

and interpretation. In Hall's speech, he also spoke of the real difficulties associated with ensuring change within the sector.⁹

Throughout my research I have also been hampered by the lack of statistics relating to the ethnic and racial diversity of the profession and any baseline data with which to make comparisons about how the diversity efforts of the last 20 years have made any tangible differences. Although the MCAAH focused on workforce diversity as one of their key goals, they were unable to find any data on the numbers of archivists or librarians from ethnic minority backgrounds.¹⁰ In 2015 the Archives and Records Association (ARA, previously the Society of Archivists) published a joint report with Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals which looked at the workforce and found that 96.7% of those surveyed identified as white, a figure that closely matches the users of archives, although the figure is not broken down by sector. However, another recent, smaller survey undertaken by two archivists Kirsty Fife and Hannah Henthorn found that 11% of their respondents, which equated to 10 people, identified as non-white.¹¹ However, as there were so few respondents and for reasons of data protection the specific ethnic breakdown is unavailable and in correspondence with Fife they felt that the figure of 10% may over-represent the true percentage nationally.¹² The very low numbers of Black and Asian archivists has also been anecdotally captured through Terry Cook's 2012 keynote to the then, UK Society of Archivists conference: 'look around the conference rooms of every archival conference I've attended in the Anglo-Saxon world for over three decades now, and you see a white, middle-class, well-educated, and not very diverse group—the only significant change in that time is the male-gender demographic domination has been replaced by a female one.'¹³

The MCAAH reported that 'denials and excuses behind these institutions' failure to implement changes to prepare themselves for the twenty-first century can be found in such claims as the lack of funding and resources for adequate recruitment, training and continuing professional development for a diverse workforce.¹⁴ However, the fact that there are still low

⁹ Ibid, pp. 8-9

¹⁰ Mayor of London, *Delivering Shared Heritage: Mayors Commission on Asian and African Heritage*, (Greater London Authority, 2005), p. 28.

¹¹ Kirsty Fife and Hannah Henthorn, 'Challenge the Future' https://www.academia.edu/34459875/Challenge_the_Future_How_Do_You_Want_The_Archive_Profession_to_Grow

¹² Email correspondence with Kirsty Fife, 10 October 2017.

¹³ Terry Cook, 'We are What we Collect' p. 175

¹⁴ Mayor of London, *Delivering Shared Heritage*, p. 53.

numbers of Black archivists can no longer be blamed on lack of funding and resources. Since 2010 the HLF has invested nearly £60 million in projects across the UK that have aimed at addressing skills shortages and to work towards diversifying the sector through their Skills for the Future programme. One of the aims of the Skills for the Future programme was specifically to diversify the workforce, which is understood to encompass all the sector rather than archives specifically, but it would be expected that there would be some knock-on effect. However, the evaluation on the first and second tranches of funding, published in 2009 found that:

The evidence on progress towards the “workforce diversity” strand of the programme is insufficient to draw clear conclusions on whether this aim has been achieved. Data on this aspect of the programme is very limited in the evaluation reports, and there is insufficient consistency in the way evaluations report the stated objectives, the quantitative targets and the projects’ actual achievements with regard to diversity. In particular, there is only limited and anecdotal evidence of increased workforce diversity in terms of ethnicity – whereas projects with an aim to recruit younger trainees or disabled people seem to have fared better.¹⁵

This confirms the difficulties that I have had in trying to find the necessary data to underpin my claims on the lack of workforce diversity, but also shows some of the weaknesses of projects that aim at diversity without the structural change, as highlighted by Hall that is necessary to make lasting change in this area.

The evaluation of the most recent cohort of the Skills for the Future programme also found that whilst many of the trainees were still in the sector, many were worried about the necessity to undertake the professional qualification in order to progress within the sector, a qualification that is currently only accessible through postgraduate degree level university courses.¹⁶ Kirsty Fife has broken down the costs of being an archivist and found that to undertake the Archives and Records Management postgraduate diploma at UCL, five years ago was approximately £54,000, an amount that is no doubt prohibitive to many and a cost that does not include volunteering.¹⁷ This push towards professionalisation, as defined by HLF and its funding practices can particularly be seen in the case of BCA. The Documenting the

¹⁵ HLF, Skills for the Future Final Report, available at <https://www.hlf.org.uk/skills-future-evaluation>, p. 2

¹⁶ The National Archives, ‘Transforming Archives’ available at <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/opening-up-archives-evaluation-2017.pdf>, p. 23

¹⁷ Kirsty Fife, ‘The Costs of Being an Archivist’, available at https://www.academia.edu/31849271/The_Costs_of_Being_an_Archivist.

Archives project was a major turning point in the professionalisation of the archives and saw the employment of three white archivists to fully catalogue the collection although as discussed in chapter five the organisation would have preferred to employ Black archivists.

Cataloguing

For the George Padmore Institute (GPI) and BCA it is the cataloguing of the collections that saw the hiring of white archivists and as discussed is bound up in the lack of diversity in the archives profession and the role of HLF funding that has an expectation of, and often requires, professional archivists to undertake cataloguing. The Huntley Collection offers an interesting lens with which to think about whiteness and the archives of Black-led archives, particularly to think through the question of whether race makes any difference in the treatment of the collections. As a collection based within an already professional archive with archive staff and resources, the Huntleys and FHALMA were able to put into effect their stipulation to have someone from the Black community to catalogue their collection, but with the knowledge that they would be supported by other archives staff. Underlining the desire to have Black people working on the collection is the assumption that Black people would have greater affinity with the material, from understanding the innate, or emotional value of the material to a greater understanding of the context and the connection between the two. As discussed chapter seven, there is a division between the emotional connection to material as highlighted by the early collecting of the BCA, the emotional connection that Huntleys and John La Rose had to their collecting; and what would be considered 'real' archival material that has a very definite evidential or research value, closer to what organisations like the HLF and TNA would expect to find. Richard Wiltshire describes much of the archive profession's antipathy to more ephemeral material as:

I think, then they're not intrinsically the most important aspect of the collection because they are not orderly, and they are not telling you everything. You know, if you have a set of correspondence that is meaningful, you get a lot of dialogue, you get a lot kind of, you see what it is whereas a random flyer for a hairdressers is lovely but where do you put it? How do you- you'd have to actually describe it. You could say, for example Eric and Jessica, well Jessica used to keep what random mail came through the door each year and she'd put it in a packet, she did actually file them for a certain number of years. So we've got those, and actually some of them are really good because they've got all sorts of things that they went to and things like hair things and I don't know, they are brilliant but if you catalogued them, I think in terms of staff time we

could only do it to the month, the year or something. There you go, done and maybe say “includes this and that” whereas for them to be actually open and accessible and a volunteer we’d have to do a bit like a scrap book you’d got to go through and item list each one, so that’s another layer.¹⁸

It is clear that there are two issues here, firstly as discussed there is the professional focus on material that is ‘orderly’, and the randomness and disorder of more ephemeral collections creates difficulty in understanding and processing collections which is outlined by the second part of Wiltshire’s discussion. As project funded entirely by the LMA it is likely that there was also some additional flexibility in the approach to the project, particularly in terms of time scales that might not have been present if LMA and what was then the Huntley Archives Advisory Group had approached the HLF for funding. As already outlined, approaching HLF for funding created some difficulties for both BCA and later FHALMA in terms of the collections, and the time bounded nature of HLF projects also creates added pressure and leaves little room for training. The nature of the archival profession, limited routes into the profession and the role of volunteering within the HLF funding structure also creates an environment in which it makes it difficult to spend additional time training people. However, this creates difficulties in terms of providing greater opportunities to diversify the sector and ensure more Black people can become archivists and enter the sector. Furthermore, as noted by Bookey:

Obviously, it was deeply upsetting to me that both me and the two archivists that were appointed were all white. We would have Black volunteers coming in to help on the collection, which we obviously wanted to do and HLF required it, and it’s very uncomfortable knowing that you are being paid to be there, and Black people volunteering are not being paid to be there. It’s one of the real tensions is around the nature of professionalism and archives, but it’s not even about the qualifications at the end of the day. It’s about knowing what skill, what processes need to take place in order that the collections are a) used properly, b) preserved properly, c) catalogued and made accessible and also new things are able to be acquired. So I guess, when I talk about, I talk about things like qualifications but I don’t mean that the Masters- the qualification in and of itself is necessary to run an archive but you need to have the experience that you would acquire had you gone through the hoops necessary to acquire the qualification [sigh]. [Pause] So yeah, it was odd, feeling like- especially because the HLF and funders and the people who are going on at BCA all the time

¹⁸ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

about archival issues, and integrity, they were all white as well. It became- if I chose to see it in that way, there was a bit of a weird divide between the collections professionals and the funders and the people banging on the drum for heritage were all white people, and the people who were less bothered and who just want to get the walls up are Black. And I think that that has changed now, but at that particular point in the organisation's development, the previous attempts to get the collections catalogued had not worked so the HLF had done a rare thing of giving the same project funding twice- but I think, yeah, I don't know. [Pause].¹⁹

This opens up a further question about race and whiteness within the organisations that relates to how far having white archivists working on the collections can provide important advocacy and understanding of different approaches to heritage. For Bookey, as outlined in the previous chapter, there were particular frustrations with BCA around the push towards creating a permanent space for the archives that seemed to side-line the importance of the actual archives that were held by the organisation but it was the presence of the professional, white archivists who appeared to be the champions of the archives. However, as also discussed by Bookey, 'whiteness' also structures a value approach to material that she outlined in terms of the way that HLF and TNA at times appeared to devalue the material held by the organisation. It is possible that 'whiteness' can have the potential to inadvertently derail the organisations through different understandings of value that are both culturally understood and professionally mediated. This is particularly the case for BCA as a collecting organisation and the material that it collects, which has already been discussed. In this case, there is the potential divergence between the value of the collections to the community because they represent the underlying, emotive rationale for their collection and the value placed on the content of the collections. For BCA particularly, and to a lesser extent for GPI and the Huntley, the value of the collections lay in the processes of their collection and what they represent to the community in addition to their research or content value. Whilst Bookey felt frustration that the collection itself seemed to be side-lined, it returns us to the discussions outlined earlier about the importance of the 'monument' to BCA that grants additional value to the collections for the organisation. There is also the question of how professional, white, archivists also interact with the material that has already been collected. However, it is clear that for Sarah Garrod and Tamsin Bookey that they were acutely aware of these potential issues and both of them stressed their reticence to throw material away. Bookey notes:

¹⁹ Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017.

Given the kind of historic significance of the foundation of the collection, it would never have felt appropriate for me as a white person coming in to start deaccessioning things that someone like Len [...] - It would not have been appropriate for me to chuck things out. I think, I genuinely think that the decision around formalising the mission and the collecting kind of policy has to come from the Black owners and trustees and senior staff, informed by the public who are using it. So, I just, yeah, we were there to catalogue what was there and to pull out what we thought were the most significant things and to try to add to the collection.²⁰

Bookey notes she was aware of questions of value and an understanding of significance and so the archivists working on the cataloguing during the DTA project only did not undertake the removal of any material that was already held by the organisation. This was also echoed by Garrod who said:

So actually I was very careful not to weed out any of John's own handwritten things to be honest but I haven't really weeded out very much at all but it tends to be the printed stuff that goes and the handwritten stuff that stays because you feel well, I think he did definitely write that down for a specific reason. And that's something I got from him through talking to him and I think just gauging his way of looking at the world and his - the way he always took on detail and even if he couldn't remember when he'd got older what that detail was, he was racking his brains trying to find the name in there somewhere that he'd knew and you know, I guess that's why there is so much material that he kept, it's just that you know, it was all there for a purpose. Or, potentially had a purpose anyway.²¹

Garrod's statement highlights that like Bookey, she was wary of removing material although she didn't make the same explicit statement about her rationale behind not weeding material in terms of racial dynamics. However, Garrod's statement also underlines some of the earlier discussion about whether having Black archivists working on Black material brings an additional understanding of the material. As discussed by Garrod, she notes that she tried to 'gauge [La Rose's] way of looking at the world' which suggests that she was at least implicitly aware of the role that race, gender and class can frame alternative world views and viewpoints. Garrod further discusses how she approached the cataloguing:

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Sarah Garrod, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2017.

It was nice talking to John actually, at events because I could still get a sense of how he thought, even if I didn't actually talk to him about the records themselves. I could understand why he was perhaps, I don't know, taking hundreds of notebooks and jotting down what seemed to me quite trivial things, but to him that was really important that he'd made a phone call on that day, at that time and he'd discussed something. He kept that in his mind and wanted to record all those little incidental events, I guess because they built up to something bigger or he could tell they made- they would get to a bigger thing and he wanted to make sure he sort of had that trail, literally that paper trail there which sort of helped me to look at things differently when I say, had a big working file on apparently bits and pieces and notes from here there and everywhere, I could try and see patterns in it a bit and which bits would have been important to him and which bits perhaps wouldn't have been so important to him and that actually helped me to weed out a little bit, some of that contextual material that perhaps he only kept just as a passing thing that happened to be of interest on that day from the things which often didn't look very exciting, very scruffy but you know John had actually written that down for a purpose.²²

Garrod's discussion of her cataloguing approach further highlights how she attempted to understand the organisation through the eyes of John La Rose and his 'circle' rather than approaching the material in a dispassionate or archivally 'objective' way. Furthermore, for both the BCA and the GPI they had created archival committees to sit alongside the archivist to help to make decisions regarding the collections.²³ These committees are pragmatic in the sense that they help Garrod and the archivist at BCA with decision making, but both committees are populated by members of the organisation and outside members with knowledge of history to help offset essentially the power of having an individual archivist responsible for further collecting, cataloguing or deaccessioning. However, it is also possible that the success of these committees relies on the willingness of the archivist to work with them, and the clarity and guidance provided by the Board of Trustees. Furthermore, for the GPI and the Huntley Collections that are framed around key individuals and their immediate networks, the presence of whiteness relates more to the subsequent presentation of the collections rather than decisions around collection.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

Additionally, for Roberts, working with the Huntley Collection also provided the opportunity to think differently about how to catalogue and process the collection. As highlighted previously, Roberts had noted that as a member of the Black community 'I was passionate, it was my community, it was my history, I always go back to this phrase, Nelson Mandela phrase 'the struggle is my life' and so for me, this is a little bit like a calling as opposed to it being like a job.'²⁴ As the original cataloguer of the collections, Roberts discusses how she was able to engage with the process of cataloguing and provide a different understanding of the material she was handling. As the collection was at the LMA, the archivists initially approached the material as they would any collection and undertook a degree of weeding, however, Wiltshire described a series of records that required an additional approach:

Particularly after [moving the collection], what we did was, where I wasn't sure I just lifted it all, or we just lifted the box in the end because there was no space, we just lifted it all the boxes and then the appraisal I directed Maureen particularly because she did most of the first sorts to get- start boxing by each category. Either publishing, or Bogle or these different committees and with Bogle, there's a lot more weeding that could be done, particularly because they kept every invoicing kind of stuff so we just, naturally, for routine stuff we don't keep that kind of thing. Though, it raised an important question about how you deal with that, not to assume that just because it's in the files called 'invoice correspondence' that it isn't worth keeping because we realised that attached to an invoice or letter that there would be an 8 page letter about the current political situation in Grenada and so, realising that we weeded page by page and just kept the ones with the substantial letters and all the rest went. Because there already were the higher levels anyway, the cash books, that kind of things. So you had to be more careful and that then just shows you that when you are dealing with a personal business you are likely to get that more than you would if it was, I don't know, ordering something from Amazon, you're not going to send an 8 page letter an incident or something, so there was- some of the best stuff is in the invoice. And we kept it, it's a series called 'invoice correspondence' but they are in there.²⁵

As a collection placed under the umbrella of business archives it is natural that archivists would attempt to approach the collection in the hierarchical way usual for businesses but it is clear that for a collection that represents not only a business but a community that this formalised, hierarchical approach could be inappropriate. Roberts described how she

²⁴ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017.

²⁵ Richard Wiltshire, Interview, mp3, 28 June 2017.

approached this collection. Just prior to this next section Roberts discussed the fact that she is a Black woman and noted:

I think it made a huge difference because I think, it's not just about empathy and about understanding the material and I think sometimes when people come to a situation, one of the first things they say, if they are from a community is "is that really true? Could that be true?" because some of it can be so hard hitting so they don't believe it and there is that ten- there is that tendency. Whereas I was looking at this information and I knew the history, I understood it, I knew- from a Grenadian background I knew what was going on with the coup in Grenada and all of that. I recognised the names that were important to the community so, normally in a sort, the LMA would throw away all of the invoices for instance and its repetitive and there's loads of them and it's a business community, you don't need loads and loads but what I found was that as I went through the invoices I was finding little notes from amazing people who'd written little things, sent it back and it was like "oh my god, do you know who this is from?" and poor Richard, it was like, "perhaps we'd better keep those then" and in the end we kept a really good assortment of invoices which you wouldn't do normally but they- the invoices were saying really important things.²⁶

In this section Roberts discusses the importance of having someone working on a collection who is well versed in the community, particularly someone who has the contemporary and contextual knowledge to recognise the historical significance of those who are captured within the collection. Roberts also described that her interest in Black history, as a member of the Black community caused her to spend more time working with the collections due to her interest as demonstrated by the passion of Marika Sherwood as outlined in chapter five and Sarah White. Additionally, as outlined by Colin Prescod, Blackness is not an essential quality but represents an understanding of, and sensitivity towards historical narratives. Clearly, not only Black people have an interest and knowledge in Black history but as discussed at the outset of the development of these organisations, given the position of Black history in the general history curriculum it is more likely that someone from the Black community would have the knowledge and interest in the collections.

Furthermore, Roberts' discussion of the role of empathy echoes recent discussions within archival literature on the role of empathy within collections. Michelle Caswell and Marika

²⁶ Maureen Roberts, Interview, mp3, 18 July 2017.

Cifor in *From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics: Radical Empathy in the Archives* introduce the role of empathy, specifically a feminist ethics of care to archival practice. They argue that there are four key relationships that exist within the collections: the relationship between archivists and records creators; between archivists and record subjects; between archivists and users and finally between archivists and larger communities.²⁷ Caswell and Cifor argue that '[in] each of these relationships, we argue that archivists have *affective responsibilities* to other parties and posit that these affective responsibilities should be marked by *radical empathy*, the "ability to understand and appreciate another person's feelings, experience etc."²⁸ They go on to say:

Radical empathy offers a way to engage with others' experience that involves discarding the assumption that we share with them the same modal space of belonging in the world. Our conception of empathy is radical in its openness and willingness to be affected, to be shaped by another's' experiences, without blurring the line between self and others.²⁹

As discussed it is likely that members of the Black community are more likely to sympathetic and empathetic to the collections held by BCA, GPI and the Huntley but it is also clear that in many ways Bookey and Garrod employed a version of radical empathy in their approach to the collections and the cataloguing. Both Bookey and Garrod discussed the 'affect' that working with the collections had on them, particularly Garrod. She noted the way in which working with the collections had changed her perspective 'so, it's, yeah as far as I would say definitely the organization has trained me, definitely the more I work with the organization and the more I work in the archives of the organization the more I am getting into the ethos of the organization, definitely.'³⁰ She goes on to say:

There is so much going on. I was really blown away by the amount of things that people were doing at the same time I mean, someone like John, one week he is in a campaign for this, the following week he is in a movement for something else, and he's running something else in parallel with all those three, he's writing a book of poetry, he's you know. It's just that sheer determination to do all those things, and carry on and prove, I guess, it's proving yourself and proving to the world, you know, 'we did not come alive

²⁷ Michelle Caswell and Marika Cifor, *From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics: Radical Empathy in the Archives* in *Archivaria* 81 (Spring, 2016), p. 24

²⁸ Ibid, p. 24-25, original emphasis.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 31.

³⁰ Sarah Garrod, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

in Britain' basically. We're here to stay. And I think it's, the whole archive, sort of, takes you along, literally, it's got its own momentum about it, and that's something that's really struck me. As soon as you start looking at a collection, the records themselves start carrying you along, you've got big working files that, you know, they are all over the place but yet they somehow hang together and before you know it you are onto the next file and it's got bits from all over the world stuffed into it and then you are onto . It's a terrific movement and, what's the word? It's energy. I think that's the big word that comes out a lot, it's the energy you find within so many of the archives here, whether that be cultural, political, social and regardless of what everyone else is saying around the world, outside the windows, there is that continuous energy going on straight through.³¹

This was also echoed by Bookey who noted that she:

Learnt loads of positive things about Black history and white privilege which [pause] and about insider/outsider stuff around oral history as well. I definitely have brought that to bear in my work subsequently. The importance of having ownership of, by the community you purport to represent is key and balancing that with any other outside expertise you get.³²

Bookey's description of the importance of balance was further echoed by Garrod who also noted that:

I mustn't get so trained up where I start to lose my own perspective on things because obviously I am here to offer advice and whatever to the GPI so, it's quite interesting balancing the two, you know, I've still got my own professional perspectives and viewpoints but at the same time I've got the viewpoint of the organization and its juggling those two all the time but that to me is part of the fun of it, well certainly the challenge. I enjoy that challenge, anyway.³³

And:

³¹ Sarah Garrod, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

³² Tamsin Bookey, Interview, mp3, 12 July 2017.

³³ Sarah Garrod, Interview, mp3, 20 July 2015.

As I see it, my, I think the role of the George Padmore Institute is to open up Black and minority history, experiences, whatever you like to call them to anyone really. I think the Trustees possibly see it a little bit more as a mentoring type role, in that they are particularly looking at, younger, Black, males perhaps, in some cases, not necessarily just that but in an example where they feel they would like to, mentor them in some way, try and get them thinking more about life, doing things in life, whatever. I think they are looking more at the experience of life, and what they can learn from records, whereas actually I mean, it's inevitable because I am not Black, and I'm an archivist I tend to see records, more as a way of learning through the records.³⁴

As outlined by Caswell and Cifor it is clear both Bookey and Garrod were conscious of their role in the organisations. Whilst they could both be understood as employing a form of radical empathy, in addition to being 'affected' by the records and the environment in which they were working, they were both aware of wanting to maintain a form of professional boundaries and awareness of their positionality as white archivists working within predominantly Black organisations. Perhaps, surprisingly, the discussion of race and the collections management did not particularly come up in my interview with Richard Wiltshire, although it did in my discussion with Maureen Roberts. It could be the case that as a white archivist in a white institution that thinking about the impact of race in terms of collections management was less at the forefront of his thinking, particularly as much of the work of using, thinking about, and managing the collections is to some extent mediated through HAAG/FHALMA. However, it must also be noted that unlike Wiltshire who was already working at LMA when the Huntley Collection came in and whilst he clearly put in a lot of effort into the work, he did not select to work with the archives in the way that Bookey, Garrod and myself actively sought to work for the collections and so were already be predisposed to having some degree of openness to the collections and awareness of positionality. Furthermore, the role of radical empathy and its association with feminism also opens up other complex questions of gender within the archival sector that require further research.

The discussion of 'whiteness' in the formation of Black archives highlights the interconnected issues of value, professionalisation and diversity. The discussion of 'diversity' highlights that whilst the presence of BCA, GPI and the Huntley has shifted some conversations about the value of Black collections, there has been limited success in literally

³⁴ Ibid.

changing the face of the sector: it still remains overwhelmingly white and steeped in whiteness, as professional practice. However, thinking about whiteness in these organisations helps to raise some of the tensions around whether an innate understanding and valuing of Black experiences necessarily comes from having Black people working on the collections. As highlighted by Roberts and outlined in the previous chapter by Prescod, members of the Black community can bring with them a certain outlook and viewpoint that is framed through their experiences of being Black in Britain, along with community and historical knowledge. It is clear that this is vital for understanding and processing the collection ensuring that key pieces of information and situated knowledges aren't inadvertently lost when they come into contact with a professional approach to the collections. However, there is a tension between thinking about this only in terms of race, as some of these issues are complicated by an understanding of professionalism and work to greater understand their position and the cultures of the communities. In the case of Roberts working on the collection her contribution to changing the approach to the invoices was mediated both through her para-professional status and by her race. Nevertheless, as outlined by Caswell and Cifor, an approach to Black collections that embodies a type of 'radical empathy' can help to mitigate against some of these issues provided that archivists are willing to put aside undertaking management of collections in a 'professional' way for the sake of professionalism. Returning to the discussion on diversity in the sector, bringing people into the profession that have a range of viewpoints and experiences can help to alter discussions about professional practice that come from an individual's experiences of being working class, disabled, Black or LGBTQ and their intersections. It is clear that the affective nature of the collections and the collecting offers important lens for both the collecting and the role of race within the collections.

The collections clearly have an affective element, affecting not only the collectors but also the archivists working on the collections. This is an area that deserves more research, in thinking more fully about the affective element of the collections, binding people together as a community through the collections and offering an opportunity to understand Black communities through 'radical empathy'. In the following, concluding chapter I will consider the importance of legacies and indicate areas of potential research.

Conclusion

'So, don't start with what you are being told by others is realistic or possible. Start with the questions, "What is the world I want to live in? And who do I want to be in that world?" Then put in the glorious work to give those dreams voice and legs.'³⁵

Walidah Imarisha

Throughout this research I have been engaging with the 'archival impulse' that led three distinct organisations to create archival collections within a relatively short space of time and geographical distance. I have also attempted to answer the question of 'what is a Black-led archive?' through the development of a biography of three Black-led archives in London. I have argued that their 'archival impulses' were the product of the founders' engagement in the politics of Pan-Africanism that has provided the framework and structure for their work and shaped their praxis. As outlined in the introduction I set out to answer the broad questions of why did these organisations develop?' and 'how did they develop?' As I have undertaken this work and argued throughout the main answer to these questions is through the networks and linkages within the Pan-African Movement that have led to the fruition of these organisations in the late twentieth century. Engaging with this work has proved difficult at times, particularly in attempting to mitigate against the position of British Black history within the UK and finding a suitable footing from which to build from. As outlined in the introduction and the literature review, there is important scholarly work that looks at community archives and recent work on post-war Black communities, but very little work that combines the two. The middle chapters of this thesis are my construction and reconstruction of these histories, filling gaps in the histories where they previously did not exist. Whilst this means that I have been able to construct my own narratives and explore new themes and avenues, it has also meant that the bulk of the labour that has gone into this work has been the construction of the narratives and histories.

One of the key contributions that this thesis has made has been to recognise the role of Arthur Schomburg, and Pan-Africanism as a fundamental part of the development of an archival theory outlining a framework for Black archival thought. This research has shown that

³⁵ Walidah Imarisha, 'Sankofa, Survival And Science Fiction: A Graduation Speech', *Walidah Imarisha* (blog), 12 June 2016, <http://www.walidah.com/blog/2016/6/12/sankofa-survival-and-science-fiction-a-graduation-speech>

it is vital that Schomburg's theories underpinning his collecting be discussed alongside more mainstream theorists.³⁶ Placing Schomburg's work alongside that of better known theorists helps us to understand the global context and the urgency with which Schomburg understood his work and the global insecurities that were manifested in the inter-war era. As outlined in chapter three, Schomburg's articulation of the Pan-African politics underpinning his collection show a roadmap for reconsidering why we collect material, with an explicit emphasis on communities and agency. The inclusion of Schomburg within the broader archival 'canon' helps us to map out alternative histories and alternative futures. It gives the archival profession broader scope to question and interrogate inherited theories and to better understand ourselves as a profession. By engaging with the work of Schomburg as a theorist, I have challenged the positioning of Black Cultural Archives (BCA) and the George Padmore Institute (GPI) as 'community' organisations, pursuing only reactive policies and to highlight the tradition of archival theories that they sit within. It is also clear that the positioning of these organisations as 'community' rather than professional, surface value assumptions about the material that has been reflected through some of the difficulties that the organisations have faced, and that have been discussed throughout this thesis.

In the introduction I also set out to investigate how the organisations have adopted the forms they have, and how easily the organisations serve as a model for other independent organisations. However, one of the main aspects underpinning these two questions is the availability and role of funding. As I have argued throughout this thesis, the organisations represent a move towards greater 'professionalism' that has allowed them to receive greater funding from organisations like the Heritage Lottery Fund, but which has put them in a precarious position and at times forced them into proscribed models of working. During the late stages of my research I returned to BCA during a period of 'crisis', where the financial position of the organisation was uncertain. A larger building and greater infrastructure naturally leads to a greater level of income necessary. The organisation has subsequently received additional funding from the Government, through the Department for Culture Media and Sport, as well as ongoing funding and support from Lambeth Council.³⁷ As BCA is one of the first organisations to attempt to support itself following a large capital grant, it is clear the current models of funding available are not necessarily fit for purpose. Whilst the Schomburg Center clearly offered an important political framework, the stability of the Center has been

³⁶ H. J. M Ishmael, 'Reclaiming History: Arthur Schomburg', *Archives and Manuscripts* online (2019): 1–21.

³⁷ Sally Weale, 'MPs Urge Government to Secure Future of Black Cultural Archives', *The Guardian*, 31 October 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/oct/31/mps-government-secure-future-black-cultural-archives-brixton-london>.

guaranteed through its position within the New York Public Library system, along with generous donations and endowments since its establishment.³⁸ This system of institutional support, along with external donations and endowments may not be easily replicated in Britain. This is also the case for the GPI who has also relied on some level of external funding undertake key projects, so it also raises questions about how they will continue to grow and where they will get support from. Additionally, even where institutional support is available it may not be enough to secure long-term viability. This is clear in the case of the Women's Library which was transferred from its £5.5 million dedicated home (completed in 2002) as part of London Metropolitan University to the LSE in 2013³⁹ and so raises questions for the position of a collection like the Huntley Collection, that sits within a mainstream organisation. For all of the organisations, their future constitution remained uncertain. However, using the Schomburg as a model can suggest new ways of thinking about, and practical opportunities, for replicating the model in the UK to produce new funding models. Additionally, as highlighted throughout the research the funding of the organisations has allowed for unprecedented access to the collections and opportunities to engage with audiences nationally, and internationally.

As organisations built on the need for education and the creation of educational researches this suggests that securing funding should be at the forefront of the organisational requirements. However, the search for funding has also put the organisations on less firm footing as well as forming a basis for the relinquishing of autonomy and control. For the organisations it remains less clear whether the opening up of the collections as the expense of autonomy has had the best results. These questions of funding and support are an important avenue for further research to compare funding models across and within different community groups and to offer concrete recommendations for changing the funding model for different groups across the UK. In answer to the question of replication of models, until the funding issue is addressed, it is unlikely that other organisations could or should operate on the same models. However, as noted by Margaret Andrews, a strong case could be made for all the organisations to work together to request funding from Central Government. In line with the broader Pan-Africanist outlook on reparations Andrews noted:

³⁸Annual Report 2018', New York Public Library, available at https://www.nypl.org/sites/default/files/18600_annual_report_2018v19_web.pdf. I conducted a keyword search in this latest report to get a sense of the investment into the Schomburg.

³⁹ Rachel Cooper, 'A Room of Her Own: The Battle for the Women's Library', *The Telegraph*, 8 November 2012, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/9662627/A-room-of-her-own-The-battle-for-the-Womens-Library.html>.

I believe that the future is an interesting one of bringing together all those archives and having discussions, pulling out themes, having discussions about them. And then, actually, going to the [pause] the Government departments as opposed to begging Heritage Lottery, but going to Government departments and saying “we’ve given our labour for free as enslaved people, our gold, our diamonds, so many of our resources have built this country. We’ve been paying our taxes since we’ve been free, it’s time now that we actually had ample contributions from the State in order to be able to house our archives and promote them.”⁴⁰

Engaging with reparations, both as an intellectual and emotional framework and as a way of gaining additional funding and resources is an interesting approach and which sits within the history of the organisations, but which hasn’t been otherwise discussed throughout my interviews.

The picture that emerged throughout this thesis on the question of Black archival thought is one that is underpinned by the uses of the archival materials. This idea of the importance of the use of archival materials was summed up by Hakim Adi who said:

So then, once you have that view of things, then it’s ‘how can you play a role in addressing that?’ and if you like, exposing the falsification of history and also presenting history in way that its meaningful to people, helps people to understand their place in the world, make sense of the world and therefore, anyway, change the situation that people are in generally.⁴¹

The development of the archives has been to these historical narratives that centre the experience of being Black and contribute to making space for belonging within narratives of Britishness in a way that is ‘meaningful to people’ and representative of their lived experiences and can help to shape their understanding of their place in the world. Returning to David Scott’s concept of ‘problem-space’ it is clear that these organisations developed to address the problem spaces that were emerging that focussed on education, Windrush and narratives of belonging and the role of Black archival material in contesting professional discussions of value. However, as discussed, whilst the problem space and idea of Black archival thought is rooted in experiences of being racialised, it is clear that these are not essentialist ideas of Blackness. This was particularly clear through discussions with white archivists who have worked on the collections. These archivists highlighted the importance of empathy with the

⁴⁰ Margaret Andrews, Interview, mp3, 13 July 2017.

⁴¹ Hakim Adi, Interview, mp3, 18 February 2016.

collections and an understanding of the broader aims of the organisations, whilst not having the same experiences. However, this has also raised other areas of research; for the BCA there is a need to delve deeper into the histories of the other founders to give a rounded picture of those involved outside of Garrison, whilst acknowledging the dedication that Garrison gave to the organisation. Equally, as outlined by Harris, there are still many stories to be told about the role of women within the key campaigns and spheres of activism that the archives hold, including the role of women in addressing stop and search and other campaigns against state violence. One such woman is Pansy Jeffrey whose biography had been planned by Jessica Huntley and whose work with the communities of North London could be better known. The question of representation suggests other key avenues for future research, attending more to questions of gender, class and sexuality within the treatment of the organisations. It also offers important frameworks for comparison with other organisations, those who have organised more clearly along gender or class lines in order to investigate how BCA, GPI and the Huntley Collection can be positioned alongside other community and professional organisations.

Ultimately, this thesis has helped me to explore the ways in which the Black Cultural Archives (BCA), George Padmore Institute (GPI) and the Huntley Collection have attempted to collect and preserve the varied experiences of Black communities to become usable resources for challenging traditional narratives. These collections have allowed the organisations to attempt to present nuanced and multifaceted histories that move the experiences of Black people away from their interactions with the State and whiteness.⁴² Capturing historic experiences of how racism was experienced in the past, can help us to understand the ways in which racism has changed and to draw on the ways in which racism was fought. The weight of past experiences can help to highlight the pervasiveness of racism throughout history. As covered throughout this work, it is not surprising then that the archives and the collections were created by the first generation of Windrush migrants to the UK who wanted to use the archival collections to create a bedrock for their children and later generations. However, as outlined throughout the thesis it is also important to bear in mind the ways in which the founders of the archives have also attempted to disrupt the narratives of migration and disavowal to reconnect the history of Caribbean with the history of England and Empire, and to complicate the nature and status of 'migrant' and migration. Returning to Thompson's discussion of Rubbish Theory from the literature review, it is clear that Garrison, La Rose and the Huntleys have been actively attempting to push the boundaries of what is

⁴² See Ishmael, 'Is we speak to we now.'

valued and valuable, moving their collections from 'transient' to durable. Whilst I have explored the gradual gains made by the organisations and the shifts within Government policies that have increased the efforts of mainstream organisations to become more inclusive, the 2017 Windrush Scandal highlights how tenuous these gains are. As outlined in chapter three, the creation of the 'hostile environment' and the subsequent destruction of vital migration records highlight how fragile gains made in the arena of anti-racist work are. By articulating a collecting and appraisal approach that focusses not on legal or administrative approaches to understanding records, but a more holistic approach can help us to make different decisions about how we value and understand archives.

One of the important questions raised by the 'Windrush Scandal' and general discussions about how records are valued is broader diversity within the heritage sector. Another key aspect that has emerged from my research is that although there has been a great focus on diversity in terms of collecting, I have found little material relating to diversifying the workforce. It stands to reason that one way of encouraging diverse users, apart from collections is to disrupt the visibility of whiteness in the profession through training and recruiting more Black, Asian and other 'diverse' archivists. 2019 marked the 20th anniversary of Stuart Hall's keynote *Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the Post-nation: Whose heritage?* at the *Whose Heritage? The Impact of Cultural Diversity on Britain's Living Heritage* conference and the 10th anniversary of the Mayor's Commission on Asian and African Heritage but throughout my research it remains clear that whilst these two initiatives raised key questions about diversity in the sector, little has changed. The presence of organisations like BCA and GPI, and collections like the Huntley Collection, aren't enough to ensure ongoing demographic change within the sector and offers an important avenue for research. There are still key research opportunities to investigate practical ways of ensuring greater representation within the sector, including but not limited to the structure of funding and funding opportunities outlined earlier.

Finally, throughout this thesis I have been interested in possibilities, and transformation. I have argued that although the development of Black-led archives can be broadly conceived as operating within an intellectual framework drawn from Pan-Africanism. Equally, the development of these organisations was not fixed but was open to different possibilities at different times. Returning to the opening of Schomburg's article, *The Negro Digs Up his Past*, he argued 'the American Negro must remake his past in order to make his

future,⁴³ and as I have argued throughout this work the idea of remaking, recovery and the future have underlined the work of the founders of the archives. Within this thesis has been the focus on future generations, particularly how the founders of Black Cultural Archives, George Padmore Institute and the Huntley Collection have thought about their work with an eye on what future generations may need. Taking up the importance of remaking, poet and scholar Walidah Imarisha introduced the ways in which science fiction and activism are connected, she said 'first you have to have that space to say, what do we want? Beyond the boundaries of what we are told is possible, or what is real. And so, I hope that you create those sort of visionary spaces to have those conversations with each other in your institutions and in your communities.'⁴⁴ Imarisha goes on to discuss the ways in which the genre of science fiction and political organisation are linked and argues for the importance of imagination within political activism as an important factor for how social movements envision change and what is possible:

this idea of liberated archives [is important] because we need that past to move forward into the future. That we need these visions of liberation that existed before, we need to be able to study them, we need to be able to explore them to say, 'what is the wisdom and knowledge that exists in the past that will help us build the future?' [...] our ancestors existed in the past, the present, the future at once and so recognising how they saw the world, how they envisioned the future or lived the future, is something that can help us to create the future that we want.⁴⁵

For the BCA, GPI and the Huntley Collection, the collection and use of their archives has always been future focused. As outlined previously, John La Rose, founder of the GPI wrote, 'having won the battles for space, for freedom and independence, we are freer to remake ourselves.'⁴⁶ However, whilst it is clear that the future is an important aspect within this work, due to time constraints I have been unable to investigate more fully a temporal discussion of the organisations. For the organisations they have focussed much of their collecting on the idea of creating usable pasts with an eye on the future. This orientation may offer a framework for a greater assessment of the organisations' claims to be 'beacons' or 'monuments' and the interplay between the two, offering a greater way to judge whether the organisations have fully met their stated aims and to focus more accurately criteria of success and failure.

⁴³ Schomburg, *The Negro Digs up his Past*, p. 213.

⁴⁴ Imarisha, 'Liberated Archives'.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ La Rose, *Everchanging Immanence of Culture*, p.57.

Returning to the quote outlined at the beginning of this chapter, this thesis began with the question ‘how and why did Black-led archives develop in London?’ Throughout this research it has become clear that the history and development of these organisations is deeply rooted in questions about belonging, and as attempts to answer the questions outlined in the quote. The development of these organisations represents the fulfilment of decades-long dreams, made real through the physical housing of the collections. The importance of dreaming and remaking is one of the fundamental aspects in the development of the archives; remaking the past in order to provide an alternative vision for the future, a more hopeful future. In this sense it is clear that for political activists like the founders of the Black-led archives and others engaged in fighting for change, the creation of resources and then later creating archival institutions was the work not only of imagination to ensure transformation, but history and the archive becomes the space for signposting how this can be achieved. The founders were showing that change can be achieved and the future they hoped for is possible and with history as a blueprint towards reconciliation and repair; moving from the transient and securing the place of Black Britons within British history.

Reference List

Primary Sources

Black Cultural Archives

- ABL, Draft business plan 2004, BCA/1/7/7, Black Cultural Archives.
- 'ACER Project Background', undated, Garrison 2/1/4, Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Acquisitions and Disposal Policy', 2001. BCA/5/2/1. Black Cultural Archives.
- 'AMBH Final Report', July 2003. BCA/1/5/3. Black Cultural Archives.
- 'AMBH Meeting', 6 September 1999. BCA/1/2/4 (1/2). Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Amelda Inyang Affidavit', n.d. BCA/1/3/1. Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Annual Report', undated. BCA/1/2/7. Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Annual Report 1985-1986', 1986. BCA/1/4/1. Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Annual Report 1998,' BCA/1/4/5, Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Annual Report 2003-2005', n.d. BCA/1/4/7. Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Application to Lambeth Grants 1995/1996', 1996. BCA/2/2. Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Archival Donations 1990-1997', n.d. BCA/5/2/3. Black Cultural Archives. '
- 'Business Plan', 2010. Uncatalogued. Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Brakeley's Audit', May 2004. BCA/1/2/5 (3/3). Black Cultural Archives.
- Bellos, Linda. Interview. Mp3, 8 December 2009. BCA/4/8. Black Cultural Archives.
- Board Meeting 6th May 2003, BCA 1/2/5 (2/3), Black Cultural Archives.
- 'Board Meeting', June 2003. BCA/1/2/5 (2/3). Black Cultural Archives.

Coaston, Makeda, and Askala Miriam. Documenting the Archives volunteer training recording. Mp3, 25 September 2009. Uncatalogued. Black Cultural Archives.

'Coordinators Report', undated. BCA/1/1/1. Black Cultural Archives.

'Development Meeting', 26 March 2003. BCA/1/2/5 (1/3). Black Cultural Archives.

Directors Report September 2001, BCA/1/5/3, Black Cultural Archives.

'Directors Report', 2004. BCA/1/2/5 (2/3). Black Cultural Archives.

'Draft Business Plan', 2004. BCA/1/7/7. Black Cultural Archives

'DTA Final Report', March 2011.

'Ethnic Minority Archives', 1998. BASA/2/1/2. Black Cultural Archives.

'European Congress Condemns Abolition Attack on Ethnic Minorities'. Press Release, 15 May 1985. Black Cultural Archives.

'Exhibit Marked "LG1, Constitution"', 1987. BCA/1/3/4. Black Cultural Archives.

Garrison, Len. 'The Black Historical Past in British Education.' Unpublished work, Garrison/3/1/3. Black Cultural Archives.

'General Meeting', 3 February 1985. BCA/1/2/2. Black Cultural Archives.

'GLC Looks to the Future'. Press Release, 9 September 1985. RC/RF/4/11/H. Black Cultural Archives.

Harris, Martyn. 'The Last Days of the Mets'. *New Society*, 21 March 1986. RC/RF/4/11/H. Black Cultural Archives.

Kelly, George 'Fowokan'. Interview. Mp3, 2009. Oral/4/2. Black Cultural Archives

Letter dated 31st July 1990, BCA/1/2/6, Black Cultural Archives.

'Letter from Amelda Inyang', 12 May 1987. BCA/1/2/6. Black Cultural Archives.

'Letter from Lambeth Archives', n.d. BCA/5/2/3. Black Cultural Archives.

'Letter from Len Garrison to David Udoh', 20 October 1989. BCA/1/2/6. Black Cultural Archives.

'Letter from Sam Walker to Len Garrison', 26 July 1990. BCA/1/2/6. Black Cultural Archives.

Letter of Intent, BCA/1/2/4, Black Cultural Archives.

'Management Committee Meeting', 8 April 1995. BCA/1/2/4 (2/2). Black Cultural Archives.

'Meeting', 3 March 1988. BCA/1/2/3. Black Cultural Archives.

'Meeting', 3 June 2003. BCA/1/2/5 (2/3). Black Cultural Archives.

'Meeting of Board of Trustees', 8 February 2004. BCA/1/2/5 (2/3). Black Cultural Archives.

'Meeting of the Board of Trustees,' 23rd November 1999, BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

'Meeting of the Board of Trustees,' 22nd September 1999, BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

Meeting of the BCA Sub-Committee, 2nd November 1999, BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

'Middlesex's View', Minutes from meeting 13th December 1999, BCA/1/2/4, Black Cultural Archives

'Minutes of Board Meeting', August 2005. BCA/1/2/5 (1/3). Black Cultural Archives.

'Minutes of Board Meeting', July 2006. BCA/1/5/4. Black Cultural Archives.

'Minutes of Board of Trustees Meeting', 28 March 2006. BCA/1/5/4. Black Cultural Archives.

'Minutes of Management Meeting', 27 January 1994. BCA/1/2/4 (1/2). Black Cultural Archives.

'Minutes of Meeting,' 13 December 1996, BCA/1/2/4 (2/2), Black Cultural Archives.

'Minutes of Personnel Sub-Committee Meeting', 18 March 2005. BCA/1/25 (1/3). Black Cultural Archives.

'Minutes of the AGM of Trustees', 26 July 2005. BCA 1/2/5 (1/3).

'Minutes of the Board of Trustees', 26 July 2005. BCA/1/2/5 (1/3). Black Cultural Archives.

Minutes of the AGM of Board of Trustees, Thursday 26th June 1997, BCA/1/1/2, Black Cultural Archives.

Minutes of the AMBH Board of Trustees held on 20th Feb [2001], BCA/1/2/4 (1/2), Black Cultural Archives.

'New Nation' 9th December 1996 in BCA/7/4, Black Cultural Archives.

'Note on "Foundations"', Undated. BCA/1/7/10. Black Cultural Archives.

Press release from 'Spotlight' Week ending 3rd September 1999, BCA/7/4, Black Cultural Archives.

'Report', undated (c 1990). BCA/1/2/7. Black Cultural Archives.

Report to Board of Trustees, April 2005, BCA/1/5/4. Black Cultural Archives

Report to Management Committee Meeting 4th July 1992, BCA/1/2/7. Black Cultural Archives.

"Row over cash for black museum', Tottenham and Wood Green Journal 5th December 1996, in BCA/7/4, Black Cultural Archives.

Sunday Telegraph December 29 1996, from BCA/7/4, Black Cultural Archives.

'The Black Cultural Archives Centre' in Exhibit Marked "LG3", n.d. BCA/1/3/4. Black Cultural Archives.

'The County Council of West Midlands Race Relations and Equal Opportunities Committee. Observations on the Government's White Paper "Streamlining the Cities".', 13 January 1984. RC/RF/4/11/H. Black Cultural Archives.

Thompson, Vince. Interview. Mp3, 24 November 2006. BCA/4/6/2. Black Cultural Archives

Walker, Sam. 'Directors Report', 1993. BCA/1/1/1. Black Cultural Archives.

'Undated Paper Relating to the ACFF', n.d. Garrison 1/1/3. Black Cultural Archives.

British Library

Ron Ramdin Collection, 28 April 1992. C1172/14-15 C1. British Library.

George Padmore Institute

Beese, Barbara. 'Race Today Interviews New Beacon'. London, July 1977. Jou/1/1/93. George Padmore Institute.

'Black Education Movement', undated. BEM/2/1/1 (27). George Padmore Institute.

"Bookshops Fight Racist Attacks". *Race Today*, January 1978. JOU/1/1/97. George Padmore Institute.

Brathwaite, Edward (Kamau). 'Africa in the Caribbean: A Conference Talk by Dr. Eddie Brathwaite', 15 August 1969. CAM/4/3/2. George Padmore Institute.

The Caribbean Education & Community Workers Association. Introductory Statement (Aims and Objects of the Association). BEM/2/2/2/4 (32). George Padmore Institute.

'Education and Schooling: Origins of the Black Education Movement', n.d. BEM/2/1/1/ (27). George Padmore Institute.

'Journal of John La Rose', 1970. LRA/02. George Padmore Institute.

'Letter to Edward Brathwaite', 24 February 1969. LRA/143/4. George Padmore Institute.

Newsletter, no. 6 (2001), George Padmore Insitute.

'Notes Composed by Roxy Harris', May 1995. BFC/12/01/01/07. George Padmore Institute.

'Meeting of Radical Bookshops at Socialist Book Fair', 3 November 1977. BPM/6/1/1/1. George Padmore Institute.

'Statement: The International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third World Books' (February 1997), BFC 12/01/01/07, George Padmore Institute.

London Borough of Lambeth

'Cabinet Meeting'. London Borough of Lambeth, 29 October 2007.
<http://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=4229>.

'Cabinet Meeting'. London Borough of Lambeth, 29 October 2007.
<https://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/ieListDocuments.aspx?CIId=225&MID=5747#AI3326>.

'Cabinet Meeting'. London Borough of Lambeth, 22 March 2010.
<http://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=4229>.

'Officer Delegated Decision'. London Borough of Lambeth, 14 January 2013.
<https://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/ieListDocuments.aspx?CIId=225&MID=5747#AI3326>.

'Raleigh Hall – Information Item 285/03-04'. London Borough of Lambeth, 2003.

'Raleigh Hall Assessment Report', October 2003.
<https://modern.gov.lambeth.gov.uk/ieListDocuments.aspx?CId=225&MID=5747#A133>
26.

Huntley Collection

'Biographies of Prominent West Indians in Britain', n.d. LMA/4462/Q/01/010. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

'Ealing Windrush 1998 Consortium' Annual Report, 2nd February 1999'.
LMA/4463/C/012/02/001. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

Huntley, Jessica, and Eric Huntley. Harry Goulbourne interview. Interview by Harry Goulbourne, 27 May 1992. LMA/4463/F/07/01/001/C Side A. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives

Huntley, Jessica, and Eric Huntley. Harry Goulbourne interview. Interview by Harry Goulbourne, 27 May 1992. LMA/4463/F/07/01/001/C Side B. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

Huntley, Jessica, and Eric Huntley. Harry Goulbourne interview. Interview by Harry Goulbourne, 3 June 1992. LMA/4463/F/07/01/001/E Side A. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives

Huntley, Jessica, and Eric Huntley. Harry Goulbourne interview. Interview by Harry Goulbourne, 3 June 1992. LMA/4463/F/07/01/001/E Side B. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

'History of Bogle', undated. LMA/4462/A/02/012. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley', 7 January 1988. LMA/4462/Q/01/010. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley', 8 January 1990. LMA/4462/Q/01/010. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley', 11 August 1990. LMA/4462/Q/01/010. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley', 9 September 1990. LMA/4462/Q/01/010.

'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley', 18 December 1990. 18th December 1990. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

'Letter to Andrew Salkey from Jessica Huntley', 6 June 1991. LMA/4462/Q/01/010. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

Meeting held 8 June 1990. LMA/4462/Q/01/010, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

Meeting of the 6 September, 1992. LMA/4462/Q/01/010, Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

'Proposal for Ealing Windrush Education Pack', 1998. LMA/4463/C/012/03/007. Huntley Collection, London Metropolitan Archives.

Interviews and Correspondence

Email correspondence with Kirsty Fife, 10 October 2017.

Andrews, Margaret. Huntley Collection. Mp3, 13 July 2017.

Adi, Hakim. Black Cultural Archives, Mp3, 18 February 2016

Bookey, Tamsin. Black Cultural Archives. Mp3. 12 July 2017.

Garrod, Sarah. George Padmore Institute. Mp3, 20 July 2015.

——— Interview for Community History Project. Interview by Andrew Flinn.

Harris, Roxy. George Padmore Institute. Mp3, 8 July 2015.

Hill, Dawn. Interview. Black Cultural Archives. Mp3, 3 March 2016.

Jenkins, Deborah. Interview for Community History Project. Interview by Andrew Flinn, 14 July 2008.

La Rose, Michael. George Padmore Institute. Mp3, 27 June 2015.

Lyon, Angela. Black Cultural Archives. 29 February 2016.

Newman Jon. Black Cultural Archives. Mp3. 2 May 2016

Peters, Conrad. Black Cultural Archives, 2 March 2016.

Prescod, Colin. Huntley Collection. Mp3, 13 June 2017.

Reid, Paul. Black Cultural Archives. Mp3, 12 March 2016.

Roberts, Maureen. Huntley Collection and Black Cultural Archives. Mp3, 18 July 2017.

Walker, Sam. Black Cultural Archives. Mp3, 9 March 2016.

White, Sarah. George Padmore Institute. Mp3, 20 July 2015.

Wiltshire, Richard. Huntley Collection. Mp3, 28 June 2017.

Journals

Journal Entry, 29/1/2016.

Journal Entry, 4/5/2015.

Journal Entry, 28th October 2015

Journal Entry, 20th and 21st January 2016

LMA Field notes, 10 May 2017

Published Sources

'A Study of the UK Information Workforce: Mapping the Library, Archives, Records, Information Management and Related Professions in the United Kingdom' (ARA and Cilip, 2015).

Abiole Irele, F. *The Negritude Moment: Explorations in Francophone African and Caribbean Literature and Thought*. London: Trenton, 2011.

'About'. Brixton Forum. Accessed 25 January 2016.

<http://brixtonforum.btck.co.uk/About%20us>

'About', Community Archives and History Group. Accessed 30 December 2017.

<http://www.communityarchives.org.uk/content/about/history-and-purpose>

'About,' Fisk University. Accessed 15th June 2018. <https://www.fisk.edu/about>

'About,' Tate & Lyle. Accessed 3 May 2019. <https://www.tateandlyle.com/about-us/henry-tate>.

'About the Schomburg Center,' New York Public Library. Accessed 22 April 2016.

<http://www.nypl.org/about/locations/schomburg>.

Adams, Norman. *A Historical Report. The Rastafarian Movement in England*. London: GWA Works, 2002.

Addai-Sebo, Akyaaba. Interview. Accessed 11 June 2018. <http://everygeneration.co.uk/index.php/black-british-history/bhm-black-history-month/24-akyaaba-addai-sebo>.

Adi, Hakim. *Pan-Africanism: A History*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.

———. *West Africans in Britain: 1900-1960 Nationalism, Pan Africanism and Communism*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1998.

Adi, Hakim, and Marika Sherwood. *Pan African History. Political Figures from the African Diaspora since 1787*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.

———. *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited*. London: New Beacon Books, 1995.

'African Caribbean Memorial'. Accessed 3 May 2019. <http://nubianjak.org/the-african-and-caribbean-memorial/>.

African Reparations Movement, 'Admin History,' Black Cultural Archives. Accessed 25 April 2016. <http://www.calmview.eu/BCA/CalmView/Overview.aspx?src=DServe.Catalog,accessed 25.04.2016>.

Ahmed, Sara. *Living a Feminist Life* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2017).

———. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*, online (London: Duke University Press, 2012)

———. *Queer Phenomenology. Orientations, Objects and Others*. Duke University Press, 2006.

Alleyne, Brian. 'Anti-Racist Cultural Politics in Post-Imperial Britain: The New Beacon Circle'.

In *Utopian Pedagogy: Radical Experiments Against Neoliberal Globalization*, 207–26. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

———. *Radicals Against Race: Black Activism and Cultural Politics*. Oxford: Berg, 2002.

Andrews, Kehinde N. 'Back to Black: Black Radicalism and the Supplementary School Movement'. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010.

——— *Resisting Racism: Race, Inequality, and the Black Supplementary School Movement*, (Institute of Education Press, 2013

Andrews, Margaret. *Doing Nothing Is Not an Option*. Krik Krak, 2013.

Anim-Addo, Joan. *Longest Journey: A History of Black Lewisham*. London: Deptford Forum, 1995.

'Announcing the 10th Annual Huntley Conference: "Mountain High: Archive Deep"'. *No Colour Bar* (blog), 29 September 2015. <http://nocolourbar.blogspot.com/2015/09/>.

Annual Report 2018', New York Public Library. Accessed 3 May 2019.

https://www.nypl.org/sites/default/files/18600_annual_report_2018v19_web.pdf.

Appadurai, Arjun. 'Archive and Aspiration'. Accessed 23 July 2019.

<https://archivepublic.wordpress.com/texts/arjun-appadurai/>.

Archives and Manuscripts Journal.

<https://www.archivists.org.au/learning-publications/archives-and-manuscripts/back-issues-of-the-journal> accessed 3/1/2018

Archives and Records Association. Accessed 3 August 2019. <http://www.archives.org.uk/publications/journal-of-the-ara-sp-1111397493.html>,

Arokiasamy, Clara. 'Embedding Shared Heritage: The Cultural Heritage Rights of London's African and Asian Diaspora Communities.' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18, no. 3 (May 2012): 339–45.

Arthur Lewis, W. *Labour in the West Indies: The Birth of a Workers' Movement*. London: New Beacon Books, 1977.

'Arrival of the SS Windrush.' Accessed 27 June 2020. Available at <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/months-past/arrival-ss-empire-windrush>.

- Asante, Molefi K. *Afrocentricity: Theory of Social Change*. 3rd ed. New York: Africa World Press, 1992.
- 'Aubrey Williams and "ACTS OF REBELLION"'. *No Colour Bar* (blog), 30 October 2015. <http://nocolourbar.blogspot.com/2015/10/>.
- Austin, David. 'Introduction to Walter Rodney'. *Small Axe* 5, no. 10 (2001): 60–65.
- Barker, Martin. *The New Racism*. London: Junction Books, 1982.
- Barriers to Entering Careers in Museums, Libraries and Archives. (Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, 2005)
- Bastian, Jeannette A. 'Documenting Communities Through the Lens of Collective Memory'. In *Identity Palimpsests: Archiving Ethnicity in the U.S and Canada*, edited by Dominique Daniel and Amalia S. Levi, 13–34. Litwin Books, 2014.
- Bastian, Jeannette Allis. "'Play Mas": Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival: Records and Community Identity in the US Virgin Islands."'. *Archival Science* 9, no. 1–2 (2009): 113–25.
- . 'The Records of Memory, the Archives of Identity: Celebrations, Texts and Archival Sensibilities'. *Archival Science* 13 (2013): 121–31.
- Beckles, Colin A. 'PanAfrican Sites of Resistance: Black Bookstores and The Struggle To Re-Present Black Identity'. University of California, 1995.
- Benn, Dennis. *The Caribbean An Intellectual History 1774-2003*. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2004.
- Bernie Grant Archive, 'Bernie Grant A Short Biography. Accessed 27 June 2020 available at <http://berniegrantarchive.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Bernie-Grant-A-Short-Biography.pdf>
- Bergin, Cathy, and Anita Rupprecht. 'History, Agency and the Representation of "Race" - An Introduction'. *Race & Class* 57, no. 3 (2017): 3–17.
- Bianchini, Franco. 'GLC R.I.P. Cultural Policies in London 1981-1986'. *New Formations* 1 (Spring 1987): 103–17.
- Birt, Robert. 'Existence, Identity and Liberation'. In *Existence in Black: An Anthology of Black Existential Philosophy*, edited by Lewis R. Gordon. New York and London: Routledge, 1997.

Black and Asian Londoners Database. Accessed 2 January 2018.

http://learningzone.cityoflondon.gov.uk/dataonline/lz_baproject.asp

'Black History Research Guide,' London Metropolitan Archives. Accessed 2 July 2018.

https://search.lma.gov.uk/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/101834330/10/1/46?RECORD&DATABASE=RESEARCH_GUIDES

Blain, Keisha N. *Set the World on Fire : Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press), 2018.

Bogues, Anthony. 'CLR James and George Padmore: The Ties That Bind- Black Radicalism and Political Friendship'. In *George Padmore: Pan-African Revolutionary*. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2009.

Bolland, O.Nigel. *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean: The Social Origins of Authoritarianism and Democracy in the Labour Movement*. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2001.

Bontemps, Arna. 'Special Collections of Negroana'. *The Library Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1944): 187–206.

Boyd, Herb. 'In Memoriam: Longtime Activist Queen Mother Moore, 98, Dies'. *The Black Scholar: Journal of Black Studies and Research* 27, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 1.

Brah, Avtar. *Cartographies of Diaspora : Contesting Identities*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Brathwaite, Edward (Kamau). 'The Caribbean Artists Movement'. *Caribbean Quarterly* 14, no. 1/2 (June 1968): 57–59.

Bressey, Caroline. 'Invisible Presence: The Whitening of the Black Community in the Historical Imagination of British Archives'. *Archivaria, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists* 61 (Spring 2001): 47–61.

———. 'Radical Histories: Radical History Then and Now'. *History Workshop Journal* 83 (2017): 217–22.

Brixton Black Women's Group, and Alice Henry. 'Interview: Black Politics ⇌ Black Feminism: Brixton Black Women's Group Talks about Its Part in British Black Feminism...' *Off Our Backs* 14, no. 11 (December 1984): 14–15.

- Bryan, Beverley, Dadzie Stella and Scafe, Suzanne. *The Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives In Britain*, 2nd edition, (Verso, 2018).
- Bunce, Robin, and Paul Field. *Darcus Howe: A Political Biography*. London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Burant, Jim. 'Ephemera, Archives, and Another View of History'. *Archivaria, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists*, no. 40 (Fall 1995): 189–98.
- Busby, Margaret. 'Huntley, Jessica Elleisse (1927–2013).'. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by David Cannadine, January 2017. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/108028>.
- Bush, Ruth. 'Caribbean Artists Movement.' Accessed 28 June 2018.
<https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/collection/caribbean-artists-movement>
- . 'Froudacity'. Accessed 2 June 2018.
<https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/the-pioneering-years/gallery-of-publications/froudacity-1969-1889>.
- . 'How the West Indian Child is Made Educational Sub-Normal.' Accessed 16 June 2015. <http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/the-pioneering-years/gallery-of-publications/how-west-indian-child-made-educationally-sub-normal>.
- . 'NBB Gallery.' Accessed 16 September 2015. <http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/the-pioneering-years/gallery-of-publications>.
- . 'Theory.' Accessed 05 June 2015.
<http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/the-pioneering-years/gallery-of-publications/theory-and-practice-creole-grammar-1969-1869>.
- Bush, Ruth, and Jay Bernard. *Beacon of Hope*. London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 2016.
- Butler, Patrick. 'Key Points of the Race Relations Amendment Act Implementation Report'. *The Guardian*, 22 February 2001. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2001/feb/22/policy.raceequality>.

- Caldera, Mary A., and Kathryn M. Neal. 'Introduction'. In *Through the Archival Looking Glass*, edited by Mary A. Caldera and Kathryn M. Neal, ix–xxiv. United States of America: Society of American Archivists, 2014.
- Camic, Paul. 'From Trash to Treasured: A Grounded Theory Analysis of the Found Object'. *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts* 42, no. 2 (2010): 81–92.
- Campbell, Horace. *Rasta and Resistance : From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney / Horace Campbell*. London: Hansib, 1985.
- Carmichael, Stokely, and Charles V. Hamilton. *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.
- Carter, Elena. 'Setting the Record Straight': The Creation and Curation of Archives by Activist Communities. A Case Study of Activist Responses to the Regeneration of Elephant and Castle, South London.' *Archives and Records* 38, no. 1 (2017): 27–44.
- CASBAH, Archive Wayback Machine. Accessed 3 August 2015.
- <https://web.archive.org/web/20140820145631/http://www.casbah.ac.uk/>
- Cashmore, Ernest. *Rastaman: The Rastafarian Movement in England*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979.
- Caswell, Michelle. 'Inventing New Archival Imaginaries: Theoretical Foundations for Identity-Based Community Archives'. In *Identity Palimpsests: Archiving Ethnicity in the U.S and Canada*, edited by Dominique Daniel and Amalia S. Levi, 35–59. California: Litwin Books, 2013.
- . 'Seeing Yourself in History. Community Archives and the Fight Against Symbolic Annihilation'. *The Public Historian* 36, no. 4 (2014): 26–37.
- Caswell, Michelle, Marika Cifor, and Mario H. Ramirez. "To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing": Uncovering the Impact of Community Archives'. *The American Archivist* 79, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2016): 56–81.
- Caswell Michelle and Cifor, Marika. From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics: Radical Empathy in the Archives in *Archivaria*, 81, (Spring, 2016), p. 23-43.
- Caswell, Michelle, Gabiola, Joyce, Zavala, Jimmy, Brilmyer, Gracen, and Cifor, Marika.

"Imagining Transformative Spaces: The Personal–political Sites of Community Archives." *Archives & Museum Informatics* 18.1 (2018): 73-93

Caswell, Michelle and Gilliland, Anne J. Records and their imaginaries: imagining the impossible, making possible the imagined in *Archival Science* (16, 2016), pp. 53-75

'Centres for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All'. Department of Culture, Media and Sport, May 2000. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100113222743/http://www.cep.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/centers_social_change.pdf.

Charmaz, Kathy. *Constructing Grounded Theory. A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage, 2006.

Citizens of a Common Future.' George Padmore Institute. Accessed 1 August 2019. <https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/citizens-common-future>,

Clover, David. 'Dispersed or Destroyed: Archives, the West Indian Students' Union, and Public Memory'. *The Society for Caribbean Studies Annual Conference Papers* 6 (2005). <http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/3117/1/olvol6p10.PDF>.

Coard, Bernard. *How the West Indian Child Is Made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System. The Scandal of the Black Child in the Schools in Britain*. London: New Beacon Books for the Caribbean Education and Community Workers Association, 1971.

———. 'Why I Wrote the "ESN Book"', *The Guardian*, 5 February 2005. Accessed 3 August 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2005/feb/05/schools.uk>.

Coaston, Makeda. 'Embedding Shared Heritage : The Heritage Diversity Task Force Report.' Greater London Authority, 2009.

Coffey, Amanda. *The Ethnographic Self*. London: Sage, 1999.

'Collections,' George Padmore Institute. 13 September 2018. <https://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/archive/collections>

'Collections Overview,' Black Cultural Archives. Accessed 2 July 2018. <https://blackculturalarchives.org/collections/overview>

- Comb, Michele. 'Ephemera'. In *Encyclopedia of Archival Science*, edited by Luciana Duranti and Patricia C. Franks, 201–5. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015.
- Cook, Terry. 'Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms'. *Archival Science* 13 (2013): 95–120.
- . "'We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are": Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future'. *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 32, no. 2 (2011): 173–89.
- Cook, Terry, and Joan M. Schwartz. 'Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance'. *Archival Science* 2, no. 3 (2002): 171–85.
- Cooper, Rachel. 'A Room of Her Own: The Battle for the Women's Library', *The Telegraph*, 8 November 2012. Accessed 3 May 2019. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/9662627/A-room-of-her-own-The-battle-for-the-Womens-Library.html>.
- Cunningham, Nijah. 'A Queer Pier: Roundtable on the Idea of a Black Radical Tradition'. *Small Axe* 40 (March 2013): 84–95.
- Curran, James. "The Political Impact of the Media". In *Culture Wars: The Media and the British Left*, by James Curran, Ivor Gaber, and Julian Petley, 255–87. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005
- Custodial History, London Metropolitan Archives, Accessed 2 July 2018.
- <https://search.lma.gov.uk/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/201846278/2/3/7904?RECORD&UNION=Y&URLMARKER=STARTREQUEST>
- Cvetkovich, Ann. *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures*. Duke University Press, 2003.
- Dabydeen, David, and Shivani Sivagurunathan. 'Walter Rodney'. In *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*, edited by David Dabydeen, Cecily Jones, and John Gilmore. Oxford University Press, 2007. 10.1093/acref/9780192804396.001.0001.
- Davies, Carol Boyce. *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*, (Duke University Press, 2008).

- Davis, John. 'From GLC to GLA: London Politics from Then to Now'. In *London: From Punk to Blair*, edited by Joe Kerr and Andrew Gibson, 2nd edition., 109–17. London: Reaktion Books, 2003.
- 'Delivering Shared Heritage'. London: Mayor's Commission on African and Asian Heritage, 2005.
- Des Verney Sinnette, Elinor. 'Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile and Curator: His Contribution to the Collection and Dissemination of Materials about Africans and Peoples of African Descent'. Columbia University, 1977.
- Dickerson, Amina. 'Archival Life in the New Century'. *Third Text* 15, no. 54 (Spring 2001): 101–6.
- Drake Jarrett M., 'Diversity's Discontents: In Search of an Archive of the Oppressed', *Archives and Manuscripts* online (2019). pp. 1-10.
- Dresser, Madge. 'Museums'. In *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*. Oxford University Press, 2007. <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192804396.001.0001/acref-9780192804396-e-288>>.
- Duffie, Erik S. "I Wanted a Communist Philosophy, but I Wanted us to Have a Chance to Organize Our People": The Diasporic Radicalism of Queen Mother Audley Moore and the Origins of Black Power'. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 3, no. 2 (2010).
- Dunbar, Anthony W. Introducing critical race theory to archival discourse: getting the conversation started, in *Archival Science*,(2006), pp. 109-129.
- Eastwood, Terry. 'A Contested Realm: The Nature of Archives and The Orientation of Archival Science'. In *Currents of Archival Thinking*, edited by Terry Eastwood and Heather Macneil, 3–21. California: Libraries Unlimited, 2010.
- Eichorn, Kate. *The Archival Turn in Feminism: Outrage in Order*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013.
- Ellis-Peterson, Hannah. 'Black Cultural Archives Unveils New Centre in Brixton'. *The Guardian*, 29 July 2014. <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2014/jul/29/black-cultural-archives-new-centre-brixton>.

- 'End of Year Report to the Charity Commission', 2012.
<https://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/DocumentList.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1051087&SubsidiaryNumber=0&DocType=AccountList>.
- 'End of Year Report to the Charity Commission', 2014.
<https://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/DocumentList.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1051087&SubsidiaryNumber=0&DocType=AccountList>.
- 'Eric's Story.' Accessed 23 May 2017. Huntleyonline.com.
- Ewing, Adam. 'Caribbean Labour Politics in the Age of Garvey, 1918–1938'. *Race & Class* 55, no. 1 (2013): 23–45.
- Farmer, Ashley. 'Somebody Has to Pay: Audley Moore, Mother of the Reparations Movement'. *Black Perspectives* (blog), June 2015. <https://www.aaihs.org/somebody-has-to-pay-audley-moore-mother-of-the-reparations-movement/>.
- Fife, Kirsty. 'The Costs of Being an Archivist, available at
https://www.academia.edu/31849271/The_Cost_s_of_Being_an_Archivist.
- Kirsty Fife and Hannah Henthorn, 'Challenge the Future' available at
https://www.academia.edu/34459875/Challenge_the_Future_How_Do_You_Want_The_Archive_Profession_to_Grow
- Filax, Dennis Sumara, Brent Davis, and Debra Shogan. 'Queer Theory/Lesbian and Gay Approaches'. In *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, edited by Bridget Somech and Cathy Lewin, 81–89. Sage Publications, 2004. ProQuest Ebook Central, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucl/detail.action?docID=254604>.
- Flinn, Andrew. 'Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges'. *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 28, no. 2 (2007): 151–76.
- Foster, Hal. 'An Archival Impulse'. *October* 110 (Autumn 2004): 3–22.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3397555>.
- Fraser, Cary. 'The Twilight of Colonial Rule in the British West Indies: Nationalist Assertion vs Imperial Hubris in the 1930s'. *The Journal of Caribbean History* 30, no. 1 (1996): 1–19.

- Fricker, Miranda. *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing*. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2007. 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198237907.001.0001.
- 'Gale papers,' Black Cultural Archives. Accessed 15 May 2019.
<http://www.calmview.eu/BCA/CalmView/TreeBrowse.aspx?db=Catalog&field=RefNo&key=GALE>
- Garrison, Len. 'Against The Tide: Black Experiences in the ILEA'. In *Against The Tide: Black Experiences in the ILEA*, edited by Sarah Olowe. London: Inner London Education Authority, 1990.
- . *Black Youth, Rastafarianism, and the Identity Crisis in Britain*. London: African Caribbean Education Resource Project, 1979.
- . 'Where Are Our Monuments?' In *Beyond Babylon: Collection of Poems (1972-82)*, 45–47. London: Black Star Publications, 1985.
- 'Garrison, Lenford Kwesi', New Ruskin Archives. Accessed 16th March 2016.
http://newruskinarchives.org.uk/wp/?page_id=757
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Perseus Books, 1973.
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;idno=heb01005>.
- 'Generations', London Transport Museum. Accessed 20 April 2016.
<https://www.ltmuseum.co.uk/assets/downloads/Generations.pdf>
- Gentleman, Amelia. 'Amber Rudd "sorry" for Appalling Treatment of Windrush-Era Citizens'. *The Guardian*, 16 April 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/apr/16/theresa-may-caribbean-representatives-windrush-immigration>.
- . 'Home Office Destroyed Windrush Landing Cards, Says Ex-Staffer'. *The Guardian*, 17 April 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/apr/17/home-office-destroyed-windrush-landing-cards-says-ex-staffer>.
- Gerring, John. *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic : Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London: Verso, 1993.
- . 'The End of Anti-racism'. *The Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 17, no. 1 (71-83): 1990.

- . *'There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack': The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Given, Lisa M. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. 0 vols. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2008. SAGE Research Methods. Web. 26 Jul. 2020, doi: 10.4135/9781412963909.
- Glass, Ruth. *Newcomers: The West Indians in London*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1960.
- 'Glossary,' Black Cultural Archives, Accessed 12 January 2019.
<http://www.calmview.eu/BCA/CalmView/glossary.aspx>.
- Gordon, Lewis R. 'Africana Philosophy of Existence'. In *Existentia Africana: Understanding Africana Existential Thought*, 1–22. New York and London: Routledge, 2000.
- Goulbourne, Harry. *Caribbean Transnational Experience*. London: Pluto Press, 2002.
- Green, Jeffrey. 'Taylor, Samuel Coleridge- (1875–1912), composer.' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. September 23, 2010. Oxford University Press. Date of access 9 February 2019, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32492>
- Greene, Mark A. 'The Power of Meaning: The Archival Mission in the Postmodern Age'. *The American Archivist* 65 (Spring/Summer 2002): 42–55.
- Halberstam, Jack. *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*. New York: New York University Press, 2005.
- Halilovich, Hariz. 'Re-Imaging and Re-Imagining the Past after "Memoricide": Intimate Archives as Inscribed Memories of the Missing'. *Archival Science* 16 (2016): 77–92.
- Hall, Catherine. 'Doing Reparatory History: Bringing "Race" and Slavery Home'. *Race & Class*, 2018, 1–19.
- Hall, Stuart. 'Black Diaspora Artists in Britain: Three "Moments" in Post-War History'. *History Workshop Journal* Spring, no. 61 (2006): 1–24.
- . 'C. L. R. James, 1901-1989' *History Workshop Journal*, no. 29 (Spring 1990): 213–15.
- . 'Constituting an Archive'. *Third Text*, Spring 2001, 89–92.

- . 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora'. *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 36 (1989).
- . 'From Scarman to Stephen Lawrence'. *History Workshop Journal* 48 (Autumn 1999): 187–97.
- . 'Thinking the Diaspora: Home-Thoughts from Abroad'. *Small Axe*, no. 6 (September 1999): 1–18
- . 'Un-settling "the Heritage", Re-imagining the Post-nation. Whose Heritage?', *Third Text* 13 (1999), pp. 3-13.
- Hall, Stuart, and Les Back. 'AT HOME AND NOT AT HOME: STUART HALL IN CONVERSATION WITH LES BACK'. *Cultural Studies* 23, no. 4 (2009): 658–87.
- Hall, Stuart, and Bill Schwarz. *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands*. Great Britain: Allen Lane, 2017.
- Ham, F. Gerald. 'The Archival Edge'. *The American Archivist* 38, no. 1 (1975): 5–13.
- Hammond Perry, Kenetta. *London Is the Place for Me: Black Britons, Citizenship, and the Politics of Race*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- 'Harlem Renaissance' in Hazel Arnett Ervin (ed.), *Handbook of African American Literature*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004).
- Harris, Roxy. 'Openings, Absences and Omissions Aspects of the Treatment of "Race", Culture and Ethnicity in British Cultural Studies'. *Cultural Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996): 334–44.
- Harris, Roxy, and Sarah White, eds. *Building Britannia. Life Experience with Britain*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 2009.
- , eds. *Changing Britannia Life Experience With Britain*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 1999.
- Harrison, Anthony Kwame. 'Ethnography,' in Oxford Handbooks Online (Oxford University Press). Accessed 9 September 2015 at <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199811755.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199811755-e-011>.
- Haynes, Aaron. *The State of Black Britain*. Root Publishing, 1983.

Henrik Clarke, John. 'The Influence of Arthur A Schomburg on My Concept of Africana Studies'. *Phylon* 49, no. 1/2 (Spring 1992): 4–9.

Hesse, Barnor. 'Introduction: Un/Settled Multiculturalisms'. In *Un/Settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, 'Transruptions'*, edited by Barnor Hesse, 1–30. New York: Zed Books, 2000.

Hill, Robert. 'On Collectors, Their Contributions to the Documentation of the Black Past'. In *Black Bibliophiles and Collectors: Preservers of Black History*, edited by Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, W. Paul Coates, and Thomas C. Battle, 47–56. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990.

Hinds, Donald. *Journey to an Illusion: The West Indian In Britain*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture, 2001.

———The *West Indian Gazette*: Claudia Jones and the Black press in Britain, in *Race & Class*, 50.1, pp.88-97

'History Matters.' Accessed 2 January 2018. <https://www.chi.ac.uk/departments/history-and-politics/history-matters>.

Hodges, Lucy, and Martin Kettle. *Uprising!: The Police, the People, and the Riots in Britain's Cities*. London: Pan, 1982.

Hoffnung-Garskof, Jesse. 'The Migrations of Arturo Schomburg: On Being Antillano, Negro, and Puerto Rican in New York 1891-1938.' *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21, no. 1 (2001): 3–49.

Hogsbjerg, Christian. *CLR James in Imperial Britain*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014.

Holton, Adaline. 'Decolonising History: Arthur Schomburg's Afrodiasporic Archive'. *Journal of African American History* 92, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 218–38.

Home,' Black and Asian Studies Association. Accessed 3 August 2018.

<http://www.blackandasianstudies.org/>.

'Home', George Padmore Institute. Accessed 1 June 2015. <http://web.archive.org/web/20020126061636/http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/>

Hopkins, Ieuan. 'Places from Which to Speak'. *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 29, no. 1 (2008): 83–109.

Hussain, Mariya. 'Why Is My Curriculum White?', 11 March 2015. Accessed 3 August 2019.

<https://www.nus.org.uk/en/news/why-is-my-curriculum-white/>.

Imarisha, Walidah 'The Liberated Archive: A Forum for Envisioning and Implementing a Community-Based Approach to Archives', in *Archives 2017* (Society of American Archivists Annual Meeting, Portland, Oregon: Society of American Archivists, 2017), <https://www2.archivists.org/am2017/liberated-archive-keynote>.

———. 'Sankofa, Survival And Science Fiction: A Graduation Speech', *Walidah Imarisha* (blog), 12 June 2016, accessed 10 May 2019 <http://www.walidah.com/blog/2016/6/12/sankofa-survival-and-science-fiction-a-graduation-speech>. accessed 10 May 2019

Ishmael, H. J. M. "'Is We Speak to We Now": The Making of Caribbean Archives in London'. In *Decolonizing the Caribbean Record: An Archives Reader*, edited by Jeannette A Bastian, John A. Aarons, and Stanley H. Griffin, 723–47. California: Litwin Books, 2018.

———. 'Reclaiming History: Arthur Schomburg', *Archives and Manuscripts* online (2019): 1–21.

Ishmael, H. J. M, and Rob Waters. 'Archive Review: The Black Cultural Archives, Brixton'. *Twentieth Century British History* 28, no. 3 (2017): 465–473.

James, Leslie. *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below. Pan-Africanism, The Cold War, and the End of Empire*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

———. 'What We Put in Black and White: George Padmore and the Practice of Anti-Imperial Politics'. London School of Economics, 2012.

James, Winston. *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth Century America*. London and New York: Verso, 1999.

'Jessica's Story.' 23 May 2017. Huntleysonline.com

Jimmerson, Randall C. *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability, and Social Justice*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009.

John, Gus. 'La Rose, John Anthony (1927–2006)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2010. Online Ed, Jan 2011). Accessed 18 August 2015. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/97081>,.

———Letter to GPI, 25 August 2017. Accessed 29 August 2020. Available at <https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/wa-jisc.exe?A2=ind1708&L=BRITISHBLACKSTUDIES&P=R168264>.

Johnson-Odim, Cheryl. "Unfinished Migrations": Commentary and Response'. *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (April 2000): 51–53.

Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies. Accessed 3 January 2018.

[http://libraryjuicepress.com/journals/index.php/jclis/issue/view/3.accessed 3/1/2018](http://libraryjuicepress.com/journals/index.php/jclis/issue/view/3.accessed%203/1/2018)

Kaplan, Elisabeth. 'We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity'. *The American Archivist* 63 (Spring/Summer 2000): 126–51.

Ketelaar, Eric. 'A Living Archive: Shared by Communities of Records,' in Ben Alexander and Jeanette Bastian 'Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory' (Facet, 2009), pp. 109-132.

Kelley, Robin D G. "But a Local Phase of a World Problem": Black History's Global Vision, 1883-1950'. *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999): 1045–77.

Korte, Barbara and Pirker, Eva Ulrike. 'Black History - White History: Britain's Historical Programme between Windrush and Wilberforce', (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2011)

Kruks, Sonia. 'Women's "Lived Experience": Feminism and Phenomenology from Simone de Beauvoir to the Present'. In *Sage Handbook of Feminist Theory*, edited by Mary Evans, Clare Hemmings, Marsha Henry, Sumi Madhok, Ania Plomien, and Sadie Wearing, 75–92. Los Angeles: Sage, 2014.

Kushner, Tony. *The Battle of Britishness: Migrant Journeys, 1685 to the Present*. Manchester University Press, 2012.

Lambeth Council, 'Future Brixton.' Accessed 15 April 2016.

<https://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/documents/s57901/01%20Future%20Brixton%20Masterplan%201.pdf>.

La Rose, John. 'Honouring George Padmore'. In *Unending Journey: Selected Writings*, 71–75. London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 2014.

- . 'The Tottenham Insurrection 1985 and the Struggle for Change in Britain'. In *Unending Journey: Selected Writings*, 34–39. London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 2014.
- . 'Everchanging Immanence of Culture.' In *Unending Journey: Selected Writings*, 57–59. London: New Beacon Books and George Padmore Institute, 2014.
- . 'We Did Not Come Alive in Britain'. *The Race Today Review*, 1987.
- Leavy, Patricia. 'Introduction' in *Oxford Handbooks Online*, (Oxford University Press, 2001). Accessed 9 September 2015. <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199811755.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199811755-e-033..>
- Lemelle, Sidney, and Robin D G Kelley. *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora*. Verso, 1994.
- Levering Lewis, David. *When Harlem Was in Vogue*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Lewis, Gail. 'Situated Voices: "Black Women's Experience" and Social Work'. *Feminist Review* no. 53, no. Speaking Out: Researching and Representing Women (Summer 1996): 24–56.
- 'London Carnival Programme', 1980. Kensington and Chelsea Local Studies and Archive.
- Luxenberg, Stan. 'The Schomburg Center: The Soul of Black Scholarship'. *Change* 9, no. 9 (1977): 18–22.
- Mangrove Nine DVD Sleeve, directed by Franco Rossi and John La Rose.
- Makalani, Minkah. *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917-1939*. University of North Carolina Press, 2011. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9780807869161_makalani.11.
- Marable, Marable. *Living Black History: How Re-imagining the African-American Past can remake America's Radical Future*, (Basic Books, 2011).
- Makepeace, Chris. *Ephemera: A Book on Its Collection, Conservation and Use*. Aldershot: Grafton Book, 1985.

- Marcus, Jane. *Hearts of Darkness: White Women Write Race*. New York: Rutgers University Press, 2004.
- 'Marsha Lowe in Conversation with Eddie Chambers: Problems and Progress'. *No Colour Bar* (blog), 12 July 2015. <http://nocolourbar.blogspot.com/2015/07/>.
- Martin, S.I. 'Inheriting Diversity: Archiving the Past'. In *The Politics of Heritage, The Legacies of Race*, edited by Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Matera, Marc. *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century*. California: California World History Library, 2015.
- Mayor of London, Investment & Performance Board (IPB) meeting, March, 7/3/2013.
- Accessed 18 April 2016.
- <https://www.london.gov.uk/moderngov/documents/s22721/09%20Black%20Cultural%20Archives%20cover%20report.rtf?CT=2>.
- . *Delivering Shared Heritage: Mayors Commission on Asian and African Heritage*, (Greater London Authority, 2005).
- Mead, Matthew. 'Empire Windrush: The Cultural Memory of an Imaginary Arrival'. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 45, no. 2 (2009): 137–43.
- Meehan, Kevin. *People Get Ready African American and Caribbean Cultural Exchange*. Jackson: University of Mississippi, 2009.
- Modood, Tariq. 'The Rise and Fall of an Anti-Racism from Political Blackness to Ethnic Pluralism'. In *New Left, New Right and Beyond. Taking the Sixties Seriously*, edited by Geoff Andrews, Richard Cockett, Alan Hooper, and Michael Williams, 168–81. Hampshire: Palgrave, 1999.
- Moffat, Chris. 'Against "Cultures of Hiatus": History and the Archive in the Political Thought of John La Rose'. *Small Axe*, no. 55 (March 2018): 39–54. <https://doi.org/0.1215/07990537-4378912>.
- Monahan, Mark. 'Black and British: A Forgotten History Was a Sadly Topical Caution against Poisonous Notions of Racial Otherness – Review'. *The Telegraph*, 23 November 2016.

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/tv/2016/11/23/black-british-forgotten-history-revealed-fascinating-side-past/>

'More Delays for Black Cultural Archives' *The Voice*, 10/11/2012. 25 April 2016.

<http://www.voice-online.co.uk/article/more-delays-black-cultural-archive>

Muñoz, José Esteban. 'Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to Queer Acts'. *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 8, no. 2 (1996): 5–16.

'New Cross Massacre Admin history,' George Padmore Institute. Accessed 19 August 2015.

<http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/archive/collection/new-cross-massacre-campaign>.

Newman, Jon. and Demie Feyisa. *The Africans in Lambeth* (2006). Accessed 2 January

2018. https://www.lambeth.gov.uk/rsu/sites/www.lambeth.gov.uk/rsu/files/The%20Africans%20in%20Lambeth%202006_0.pdf

Norgrove, Katie. 'Taking Part: An Audit of Social Inclusion Work in Archives'. National Council on Archives, 2001.

ORAL/7: Myth of the Motherland, Black Cultural Archives. Accessed 2 August 2019.

<http://www.calmview.eu/BCA/CalmView/Overview.aspx?src=DServe.Catalog>.

Ove, Horace. *Dream to Change the World: A Tribute to John La Rose*. DVD, Documentary. Redbox, 2006.

Owusu, Kwesi, and Jacob Ross. *Behind the Masquerade: The Story of Notting Hill Carnival*. London, 1988.

Pace, Eric. 'Queen Mother Moore, 98, Harlem Rights Leader, Dies,' *New York Times*, 7 May 1997. Accessed 25 April 2016. '<http://www.nytimes.com/1997/05/07/nyregion/queen-mother-moore-98-harlem-rights-leader-dies.html>.

Palmer, Lisa Amanda. 'The Absence of Black Studies in Britain'. In *Blackness in Britain*, edited by Kehinde Andrews and Lisa Amanda Palmer, 9–24. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

'Papers of the Cultural Congress of Havana,' George Padmore Institute. 4th October 2017.

<http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/archive/collection/papers-cultural-congress-havana>

Patterson, Tiffany Ruby, and Kelley, Robin D G. 'Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World'. *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (n.d.): 11–45.

Pell, Susan. 'Radicalizing the Politics of the Archive: An Ethnographic Reading of an Activist Archive'. *Archivaria, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists*, no. 80 (Fall 2015): 33–57.

Phillips, Mike. 'Garrison, Lenford Alphonso [Len] [Known as Lenford Kwesi Garrison] (1943–2003)'. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2007. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-89844>.

Picture This,' BBC. Accessed 25 January 2016.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/pop_ups/02/uk_black_representation_in_advertising/html/1.stm

Posgrove, Carol. 'George Padmore's Use of Periodicals to Build a Movement'. In *George Padmore: Pan-African Revolutionary*, 97–104. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2009.

Prescod, Colin. 'Archives, Race, Class and Rage'. *Race & Class* 58, no. 4 (2017): 76–84.

Press, New Beacon. 'A Profile of John La Rose'. *The Black Scholar* Vol. 26, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 27–28.

'Press Release', Heritage Lottery Fund. Accessed 01 October 2015.

http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/%C2%A344million-spring-lottery-bonanza-londons-heritage_

Press Release,' Heritage Lottery Fund. Accessed 17th August 2017.

<https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/two-new-exhibitions-explore-art-and-diversity-20th-century>

Public Services Quality Group surveys. Accessed 3 August 2019.

<https://www.archives.org.uk/what-we-do/archive-surveys.html>

Pryce, Julia M, Spencer, Renée, and Walsh, Jill. "Philosophical Approaches to Qualitative Research." *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 1st ed. Oxford UP, 2014. The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research, 2014-07-01. Oxford Library of Psychology. Web. DOI:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199811755.013.027

Power to the People Film. Accessed 23 May 2017. huntleysonline.com.

'Queen Mother Moore Is Back'. *Westindian World*, 28 May 1982. Periodicals/49. Black Cultural Archives.

Rahman, Mike. 'A Dream Unfulfilled'. *Independent*, 15 December 1995. <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/a-dream-unfulfilled-1525824.html>.

Ramdin, Ron. *The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain*. Aldershot: Gower Publishing Company, 1987.

Ramirez, Mario. Being Assumed Not to Be: A Critique of Whiteness as an Archival Imperative, in *The American Archivist*, 78, no. 2 (Fall/Winter, 2015), pp. 339-356.

Reddock, Rhoda. *Elma Francois: The NWCSA and the Workers Struggle for Change in Caribbean in the 1930s*. London: New Beacon Books, 1988.

———The first Mrs Garvey and others: Pan-Africanism and feminism in the early 20th Century British colonial Caribbean, in *Feminist Africa*, 19, (2014)

Reimer, Frances Julia. 'Ethnographic Research'. In *Qualitative Research: An Introduction to Methods and Designs*, edited by Frances Julia Reimer, Marylynn T. Quartaroli, and Stephen D. Lapan, 2012. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=nlebk&AN=407814&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

'Regular Funding for Organisations,' Arts Council. 03 August 2015.

<http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/apply-funding/funding-programmes/regular-funding-for-organisations/>.

Richards, Lyn. *Handling Qualitative Data. A Practical Guide*. Sage, 2005.

Rodney, Walter. 'African History in the Service of the Black Liberation'. *History Is a Weapon* (blog), 1968. <http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/rodneyleft.html>.

- . *Walter Rodney Speaks: The Making of an African Intellectual*. New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1990.
- Scott, David. *Conscripts of Modernity*, Duke University Press, 2004.
- Scott, Joan W. 'Multiculturalism and the Politics of Identity'. *October* 61 (Summer 1992): 12–19.
- . 'The Evidence of Experience'. *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 4 (Summer 1991): 773–97.
- Sheffield, Rebecka. 'Community Archives'. In *Currents of Archival Thinking*, edited by Heather Macneil and Terry Eastwood, 2nd Edition., 351–77. California: Libraries Unlimited, 2017.
- Shelby, Tommie, and Paul Gilroy. 'Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia'. *Transition* 98 (2008): 116–35.
- Shepherd, Elizabeth. and Yeo, Geoffrey. *Managing Records: A Handbook of Principles and Practice*, 3rd Edition (London: Facet, 2003).
- Shepperson, George. 'Pan-Africanism and "Pan-Africanism": Some Historical Notes'. *Phylon* 23, no. 4 (1962): 346–58.
- Sivanandan, A. 'Challenging Racism'. In *Communities of Resistance. Writings on Black Struggles for Socialism*, 63–76. London: Verso, 1990.
- . 'From Resistance to Rebellion: Asian and Afro-Caribbean Struggles in Britain'. In *Catching History on the Wing*, 90–139, 1981.
- . 'Race, Class and the State: The Political Economy of Immigration'. In *Catching History on the Wing. Race Culture and Globalisation*, 65–90. London: Pluto Books, 2008.
- Snyder, Jeffrey Aaron. *Making Black History: The Color Line, Culture, and Race in the Age of Jim Crow*. Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2018.
- Somerville, Erin D. 'James, C. L. R.'. The Oxford Companion to Black British History. : Oxford University Press, 2007. Oxford Reference. 2007. Date Accessed 12 Sep. 2017 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192804396.001.0001/acref-9780192804396-e-201>>.

- Soyinka, Wole. 'Memory, Truth and Healing'. In *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice*, 21–37. London and New York: Zed Books, 2000.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 217–313. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988.
- St. Clair Drake, John Gibbs. 'Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles'. University of Chicago, 1954.
- Street, Joe. 'Malcolm X, Smethwick, and the Influence of the African American Freedom Struggle on British Race Relations in the 1960s'. *Journal of Black Studies* 38, no. 6 (July 2008): 932–50.
- Stoler, A. L. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- . 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance,' *Archival Science* 2, no. 1 (2002): 87-109.
- Temple, Christel N. 'The Emergence of Sankofa Practice in the United States: A Modern History'. *Journal of Black Studies* 41, no. 1 (September 2010): 127–50.
- 'The Heart of the Race,' National Archives. Accessed 25 April 2016.
- <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/the-heart-of-the-race.pdf>
- The National Archives' website. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/case-studies-and-research-reports/research-reports/>.
- . 'Transforming Archives' available at <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/opening-up-archives-evaluation-2017.pdf>.
- Thompson, Michael. *Rubbish Theory : The Creation and Destruction of Value*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- . *Rubbish Theory : The Creation and Destruction of Value*. 2nd ed. London: Pluto Press, 2017.

- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and Production in History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.
- Tulloch, Carol. 'The 'black' Curator' in Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo, eds. *The Politics of Heritage: The legacies of race* (Routledge, 2004), pp. 150-163.
- University College London, 'Urban Lab: Lambeth Council, Brixton Green and Ovalhouse theatre in south London A co-operative community-led development in inner London.' Accessed 15 April 2016. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/urbanlab/docs/case-study-5-lambeth-council>.
- Umoren, Imaobong D. *Race women internationalists: activist-intellectuals and global freedom struggles*, (University of California Press), 2018
- UK, Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878-1960. Accessed 3 August 2019. <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/search/collections/bt26/>.
- Valdés, Vanessa K. *Diasporic Blackness: The Life and Times of Arturo Alfonso Schomburg*. New York: University of New York Press, 2017.
- Valdez-Symonds, Steve. 'Yes Minister... It Is a Human Rights Issue', 16 April 2018. https://www.amnesty.org.uk/blogs/yes-minister-it-human-rights-issue/seventy-years-after-windrush?&gclid=Cj0KCQjw6J7YBRC4ARIsAJMXXsekbqWV3WM9ByDSNAXOcdolBCaHQXwntHWshusVBo_v45N1hmWknsgaAitoEALw_wcB.
- Vincent, Theodore G. *Black Power and the Garvey Movement*. New York: Ramparts Press, 1970.
- Walmsley, Anne. *The Caribbean Artists Movement 1966-1972. A Literary and Cultural History*. London and Port of Spain: New Beacon Books, 1992.
- Warmington, Paul. *Black British Intellectuals and Education: Multiculturalism's Hidden History*. Routledge, 2014.
- Waters, Rob. *Thinking Black: Britain, 1964-1985* (California: University of California, 2018).
- Weale, Sally. 'MPs Urge Government to Secure Future of Black Cultural Archives',

The Guardian, 31 October 2018. Accessed 3 May 2019.
<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/oct/31/mps-government-secure-future-black-cultural-archives-brixton-london>.

'Welcome!' *No Colour Bar* (blog), 24 June 2015. <http://nocolourbar.blogspot.com/2015/06/>.

West, Michael O. "'Unfinished Migrations": Commentary and Response'. *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (April 2000): 61–65.

White, Sarah, Roxy Harris, and Sharmilla Beezmohun, eds. *A Meeting of the Continents : The International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third World Books - Revisited : History, Memories, Organisation and Programmes 1982-1995*. London: New Beacon Books, 2005.

Wilder, Gary. *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World*. North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2015.

Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.

Wiltshire, Richard A. 'Business Archives in the Public Sector: Strategies for Promoting Collections at Guildhall Library and London Metropolitan Archives'. *Principles & Practice*, May 2009, 63–79.

'Windrush Square Opening Celebration', Black Cultural Archives, Accessed 25 April 2016.

<http://bcaheritage.org.uk/windrush-square-opening-celebration/>

Woodward, Kath, ed. *Identity and Difference*. London: Sage, 1997.

'Write On.' Accessed 25 August 2017. [Huntleyonline.com](http://huntleyonline.com).

X, Ajamu, Topher Campbell, and Mary Stevens. 'Love and Lubrication in the Archives, or Rukus!: A Black Queer Archive for the United Kingdom'. *Archivaria, The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists* 68 (Fall 2009): 271–94.

Zhana. 'Interview with Len Garisson'. In *Black Success Stories: Celebrating People of African Heritage*. Zhana Productions, 2006.