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# Producing Intellectuals:

Lagosian Books and Pamphlets between 1874 and 1922

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Submitted for the qualification of

Doctor of Philosophy in English Literature

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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

**Signature:** .....

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## Summary

This thesis explores the connections, networks and debates that characterised Lagosian intellectual life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, using books and pamphlets as its substrate. At least three hundred books were published or circulated in Lagos between 1874 and 1922. Who were writing and reading these books? Did they constitute a network of intellectuals?

It will be argued here that those responsible for Lagosian books and pamphlets formed a heterogeneous and incohesive group, not easily defined and here called the “Lagosian intellectual network”, which included not only authors but readers and other agents of book production. This study uses Arjun Appadurai’s concepts of “disjuncture” and “scapes” to analyse such a complex intellectual network and to appreciate its many dimensions and the fluidity of its relations. The thesis also argues that books should be studied as social facts in themselves: as Karin Barber suggests, more than communicating ideas, books placed their authors in the intellectual network and were sources of social capital.

The Lagosian intellectual network is here re-localised in Paul Gilroy’s “black Atlantic” context. The scope is widened from authorship to members of the publishing industry and to readers, while also crossing geographic, religious and ethnic boundaries. Following debates in print, this study contextualises Lagosian intellectual production within a broader print culture project that included West Africa, England, the United States and Brazil.

In this way, the thesis uses Lagosian books and pamphlets to discuss what produces an intellectual. In so doing, it outlines and examines the main features of the Lagosian intellectual network, analyses the factors that motivated intellectuals to write, read and debate, and enables an understanding of Lagosian print culture as part of a complex, diverse project in which Lagosian publications were inserted within a wider Atlantic network.

To *Auntie* SN, without whom this thesis would not have been possible.

To Juan Pablo and Samuel, without whom happiness would not have been possible.

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## Abbreviations

BFASS – British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society

CMS – Church Missionary Society

WNA-AN – World Newspapers Archive – African Newspapers

SBCE – Sociedade Brasileira Contra a Escravidao

UNAC – United Native African Church

## Notes on Spelling

When writing Yoruba names, titles of publications in Yoruba and untranslated Yoruba words, I have not used the tone-accents and subscript marks. This is because the software used to develop the database (in which all the information about the books such as titles, city and names of authors were stored) did not allow the insertion of any kind of accents or marks. Since not all the information regarding the Lagosian books would figure tone-accents or subscript marks, I decided to remove any accents from other words (in Yoruba, Portuguese, French or Spanish) that were not stored in the database. I have a huge admiration for the Yoruba language and regret that this thesis will not reflect the beauty of its orthography, and for that I apologise.

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## Introduction

In the summer of 1886, the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* was held in London. Around fourteen thousand people attended the opening ceremony, including Queen Victoria. In total five million people attended the exhibition, which through special lighting and other effects created an experience of the “non-Western” world.<sup>1</sup> The section for Lagos was organised in part by Mr. J. A. Otunba Payne, one of the most prolific and engaged intellectuals of the Colony at that time. The Lagosian display included two stands of photographs with “some excellent views of Lagos [...] as well as some typical forest scenes and groups of natives”,<sup>2</sup> a map of Lagos, seven tables displaying a variety of local artefacts, produce and goods, four display cases and an assortment of furniture.

The display also included a considerable collection of books and pamphlets selected to represent the city. Their presence poses several questions: Why were they relevant? Why include books and pamphlets? In what way did they “represent” Lagos? What did they represent for Payne and his fellow Lagosians? What was the role of books and pamphlets in Lagosian social history?

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<sup>1</sup> S. Mathur, “Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886,” *Cultural Anthropology* 15 (2000): 494. See also, T. Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* 4 (1994): 73–102; C. Wintle, “Model Subjects: Representations of the Andaman Islands at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886,” *History Workshop Journal* 67 (1 March 2009): 197; C. McCarthy, “Objects of Empire? Displaying Maori at International Exhibitions, 1873-1924,” *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 23 (2005): 60; Ewan Johnston, “Reinventing Fiji at 19th-century and Early 20th-century Exhibitions” 40 (2012): 23–44.

<sup>2</sup> John Augustus Otunba Payne, *Payne’s Lagos and West African Almanack* (London: T. G. Johnson, 1888), 172.



This thesis explores the connections, networks and debates that characterised Lagosian intellectual life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, using books and pamphlets as its substrate. At least 247 books and pamphlets were published in connection with the city of Lagos in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period, in addition to books and pamphlets, newspapers and magazines were also published at a growing rate in the cities of Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan.<sup>3</sup> They engaged in debates about history, culture, traditions, religions and identity, among other topics, in English and Yoruba, constituting a rich intellectual network centred in Lagos where most of these publications were produced, sold and circulated. The publications upon which this study focuses are therefore here called “Lagosian books and pamphlets”: this refers to books and pamphlets published between 1874 and 1922 in Lagos, about Lagos or written by Lagosians.

Who were writing and reading these books and pamphlets? Were they a cohesive group such as an economic class or an elite? In what ways were they connected? Did they constitute a network? If so, how far did it reach? This thesis argues that those responsible for Lagosian books and pamphlets formed a heterogeneous, incohesive, and not easily defined group, here called the “Lagosian intellectual network”.

Did the members of the Lagosian intellectual network consider themselves intellectuals? In the prefaces of books, authors often refer to themselves as compilers, writers or authors. Indeed, “intellectual” was not a denomination commonly used at the time by

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<sup>3</sup> Fred I. A. Omu, *Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937* (London: Longman, 1978); Karin Barber, “Translation, Publics and the Vernacular Press in 1920s Lagos,” in *Christianity and Social Change in Africa: Essays in Honor of JDY Peel*, ed. Toyin Falola (Durham: North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 187–208.

Lagosians to describe themselves.<sup>4</sup> There was no such thing in Lagos as the profession of being an intellectual, and all the Lagosian intellectuals referred to in this thesis had other formal professions and occupations. So what defines an intellectual? It is argued here that Lagosians became intellectuals by engaging with the Lagosian intellectual network. Every time a Lagosian discussed, lectured, read or wrote with the aim of contributing to a public debate, for the purpose of this thesis they were defining their condition of intellectuality. By so doing, they created the intellectual network in a dynamic co-constitutive process that reached beyond the political borders of Lagos.

What motivated these intellectuals to write, to publish and to read? As this study shows, there were as many reasons as there were intellectuals, but perhaps the one reason shared by all was their commitment to engage in public debates. Thus, in order to understand what motivated them and how they related to one another, it is necessary to take into consideration not only the historical but also the intellectual context of their publications. Lagosian books and pamphlets should not be studied solely in connection with their authors, but in a context that includes the following vital factors: the publisher's intellectual and financial investment in the project; the printer's piecing together by hand of hundreds of typeset pages for the press; the bookseller's choice of which titles to display on their shelves; the reader's decision to purchase, to read (maybe selectively), to lend to friends, to discuss in public or to send reviews to the newspapers; the newspaper editor's publication of readers' letters in full; the newspaper reader's discussion of issues with others; and the formation by these "others" of an

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<sup>4</sup> A search through the World Newspaper Archive-African Newspapers (WNA-AN) reveals that the word intellectual is seldom used to describe an individual or an occupation. It is more often than not used to characterise a collective such as a nation or group: "Intellectual Advancement of the Colony," *Lagos Observer* (9 September 1884), 3.

opinion and their authorship of a response, perhaps in the format of a book or a pamphlet – in other words, engaging with the Lagosian intellectual network. All these characters were more than just a part of the context of a publication. They were agents of a network which they shaped through their actions. Such agents are described in this thesis as “Lagosian intellectuals”.

Thus, Lagosian books and pamphlets are used here to discuss what produces an intellectual. In so doing, the study outlines and examines the main features of the Lagosian intellectual network, analyses the factors that motivated intellectuals to write, read and debate, and enables an understanding of Lagosian print culture as part of a complex, diverse project in which Lagosian publications were inserted within a wider network.

How should Lagosian books and pamphlets be studied? What methodologies are required for the study of Lagosian books and pamphlets? In what follows, I propose a theoretical framework that brings together the contributions of scholars from diverse disciplines, including social anthropology and cultural history, but particularly from print culture studies, using the recent work of Karin Barber on Yoruba newspapers.<sup>5</sup>

The framework articulated by Barber is complemented by Arjun Appadurai’s concept of

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<sup>5</sup> For instance, Karin Barber, *The Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Karin Barber, “I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture,” in *Recasting the Past*, ed. Derek R. Peterson and Giacomo Macola (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009); Barber, “Translation, Publics and the Vernacular Press in 1920s Lagos,” 187–208; Karin Barber, “African-language Writing,” *Research in African Literatures* 37 (2006): 1–14.

“scapes”<sup>6</sup> for the study of dynamic and international networks, and by Paul Gilroy’s ideas of shared experiences in the “black Atlantic”.<sup>7</sup>

Print culture is a field of study that has common ground with book history, the sociology of texts and the history of readerships. The understanding of print culture used here follows the general lines defined in the works of Robert Darnton and Roger Chartier.<sup>8</sup> Both scholars argue that studies of social history can only benefit from attention to print culture. Through the study of publications, according to Darnton, it is possible to understand “how ideas were transmitted through print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behaviour of [hu]mankind”.<sup>9</sup>

Lagosian print culture has been studied by academics in the areas of literature, anthropology and history. For instance, scholars such as F. I. A. Omu, Kristin Mann and Karin Barber have contributed to Lagosian, Yoruba and Nigerian studies with works that analyse West African social and political history from a rich perspective that includes discussions of print culture production, readerships, cultural encounters and

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<sup>6</sup> A. Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” in *Theorizing Diaspora*, ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 25–48.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

<sup>8</sup> Robert Darnton, *The Case for Books* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009); Robert Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?,” *Daedalus* 111 (1982): 65–83; Robert Darnton, “Toward a History of Reading,” *Media in America: The Wilson Quarterly Reader* 13 (1989): 86–102; Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1994); Roger Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> Darnton, *The Case for Books*, 176.

gender.<sup>10</sup> However, the majority of these studies focus on newspapers – which in Lagos at that time were abundant.<sup>11</sup> Newspapers are essential to this thesis, as is argued throughout, since they complement the analysis of book production to give a better understanding of Lagosian print culture. The availability, diversity and richness of newspapers has made possible their extensive use in academic studies, including this one.<sup>12</sup> However, Lagosian print culture encompasses more than newspapers: it must also include books and pamphlets.

Books and pamphlets have been used as sources in many studies of different aspects of Lagosian, Yoruba and Nigerian history and in so doing scholars have focused on individual publications. For instance, several scholars have studied Samuel Johnson's *History of the Yorubas*,<sup>13</sup> including Ade Ajayi and Ato Quayson;<sup>14</sup> Karin Barber<sup>15</sup> has

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<sup>10</sup> For instance, Omu, *Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937*; Kristin Mann, *A Social History of the New African Elite in Lagos Colony, 1880-1913* (Stanford University, 1977); Karin Barber, *Print Culture and the First Yoruba Novel* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012).

<sup>11</sup> One of the main reference works on newspapers in West Africa is Omu's *Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937*. However, scholars like Newell and Barber have also focused on newspaper print cultures. See, for instance, Stephanie Newell, "Articulating Empire: Newspaper Readerships in Colonial West Africa," *New Formations* (2011) and Barber, "Translation, Publics and the Vernacular Press in 1920s Lagos," 187–208.

<sup>12</sup> West African newspapers are reasonably widely available, in comparison with those from other parts of Africa. For instance, in the WNA-AN database, of 66 digitalised newspapers, 21 are from West Africa and 30 from South Africa, leaving only 15 from all remaining regions. And, according to Omu, there were around 42 newspapers published in Lagos between 1880 and 1937. See Omu, *Press and Politics*, 252-4.

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the British Colonization*, ed. Obadiah Johnson. (Lagos: CSS Limited, [1921] 2001).

<sup>14</sup> J. F. Ade Ajayi, "Samuel Johnson: Historian of the Yoruba," *Nigeria Magazine* 8 (1964): 141–146; Ato Quayson, "Nutritive Junctures: Rev. Samuel Johnson & Yoruba Historiography," in *Strategic Transformations in Nigerian Writing: Orality and History in the Work of Rev. Samuel Johnson*, Amos

written on Akinyele's *Iwe Itan Ibadan*;<sup>16</sup> and Toyin Falola and Michael Doortmont<sup>17</sup> have published on Adeyemi's *Iwe Itan Oyo*.<sup>18</sup> These are some examples of studies that focus on individual titles in order to access Lagosian history.

Despite the valuable insights into Lagosian print culture which they provide, these studies focus on individual publications. Unlike Lagosian newspapers, which have been treated collectively, books and pamphlets have never formed the core—or corpus—of a research project that approaches them as a group and considers them as a significant part of Lagosian print culture. Darnton suggests that there is a social history to be written around books, in which the analysis is shifted from individual titles to the complex network surrounding their production.<sup>19</sup> Darnton's suggestion is echoed by Barber, who, in her study of Akinyele, suggests that “the social history of the colonial period would be incalculably enriched by a study of the print culture that was the seedbed of [...] emerging genres”.<sup>20</sup> This thesis develops these insights and studies books and pamphlets as a group, albeit a very plural and incohesive one. On the

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*Tutuola, Wole Soyinka and Ben Okri*, ed. Ato Quayson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 20-43.

<sup>15</sup> Barber, “I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture,” 31- 49.

<sup>16</sup> I. B. Akinyele, *Iwe Itan Ibadan* (Ibadan: s. n., 1914).

<sup>17</sup> Toyin Falola and Michel R. Doortmont, “Iwe Itan Oyo: A Traditional Yoruba History and Its Author,” *The Journal of African History* 30 (1989): 301–329.

<sup>18</sup> M. C. Adeyemi, *Iwe Itan Oyo-Ile at Oyo Isisiyi abi Ago-d'Oyo* (Ibadan: s. n., 1914).

<sup>19</sup> Darnton, *The Case for Books*, 145 and 176.

<sup>20</sup> Barber, “I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture,” 45.

question of how to study Lagosian books and pamphlets, the thesis proposes that there is a space in the literature for understanding these collectively.

What are the benefits of studying Lagosian books and pamphlets collectively? This study argues that a collective perspective both recognises the plurality of authors, themes and titles, and uncovers emerging genres and publics. *Chapter 1* introduces the reader to the richness of books and pamphlets that are part of the archive of the thesis, and to their many authors, publishers, lengths, languages and topics. By examining this plurality, it is possible to see the emergence of new genres and publics. In particular, *Chapter 1* discusses the example of historical writing in order to show how Lagosian intellectuals created new ways of writing history that sought to contribute to a common pool of knowledge, and how in so doing they built new genres and defined new publics.

Contextualising books within a Lagosian intellectual network that was characterised by a plurality of authors, themes and titles allows us to observe the plurality of genres. This questions the dominant historical reading of Lagosian intellectual production, which represents Lagosian books and pamphlets through a handful of iconic publications and their authors.

*Chapter 2* analyses how Lagosian books and pamphlets have been used by historians of West Africa. Since its first use in 1958 by James S. Coleman,<sup>21</sup> the term cultural nationalism<sup>22</sup> has been applied regularly by historians of West Africa in their studies of

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<sup>21</sup> J. S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1958).

<sup>22</sup> Cultural nationalism is a term applied in scholarly studies of anticolonial manifestations in many parts of the world. For instance, there are studies of cultural nationalism in Haiti and Argentina at the

Yoruba, Nigeria and Lagos,<sup>23</sup> but its meaning has seldom been defined or questioned. This chapter argues that cultural nationalism is a concept forged by these historians of West Africa in their writings. Moreover, it shows how, through a process of sieving, these scholars chose among the variety of Lagosian publications those that reflected their own ideas of history. This practice consolidated a few titles as representative of the cultural nationalist period, and these books then formed the canon of cultural nationalism that continues to influence scholars to this day.

The necessity to revisit the use of cultural nationalism in the literature on Lagos became evident when I was in Nigeria in 2008, conducting research in the National Archives at Ibadan.<sup>24</sup> While collecting publications from the so-called cultural nationalist period, I realised that a dogmatic application of the concept would exclude a large number of

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beginning of the twentieth century. The concept is neither new nor restricted to Lagos, to Nigeria, or even to Africa. However, cultural nationalism is often used by scholars to describe a non-organised, non-institutionalised phenomenon of increased intellectual production in Lagos between the 1880s and the 1920s. Michael Largey, *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Jean Delaney, "Imagining el Ser Argentino: Cultural Nationalism and Romantic Concepts of Nationhood in Early Twentieth-century Argentina," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34 (2002): 625–658.

<sup>23</sup> J. F. A. Ajayi, *Christian Mission in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* (London: Longman, 1965); E. A. Ayandele, *The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society: University Lecture* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1974); R. C. C. Law, "The Heritage of Oduduwa: Traditional History and Political Propaganda Among the Yoruba," *The Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 207-222; Michael J. C. Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1977); Robert S. Smith, *The Lagos Consulate 1851-1861* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1978) Falola and Doortmont, "Iwe Itan Oyo: A Traditional Yoruba History and Its Author", 301-329; Michel R. Doortmont, "Recapturing the Past: Samuel Johnson and the Construction of the History of the Yoruba" (PhD diss., Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 1994).

<sup>24</sup> For details, see *Appendix I*.



books and pamphlets from my archive. And once I widened my search to include any publication related to Lagos<sup>25</sup> from the period under consideration, titles started to flood my database. In short, my materials alerted me to the insufficiency of the concept of cultural nationalism as a description of the diversity of printed materials circulating around Lagos between the 1880s and the 1920s: from astrology and calendars to land laws and poems, more than 240 pamphlets were published.

In line with Frederick Cooper's critique of the use of theoretical concepts in academic writings, this thesis does not seek to "criticize any scholarly field as a whole, or even to pin down exactly what such field labels signify, but instead to focus on key concepts themselves, to assess the work they do, the blind spots as well as insights they entail, and the difficulties of using them to examine change over time".<sup>26</sup> When discussing the concepts of identity, globalisation and modernity, Cooper explains that historical categories often cover pluralities, giving the impression that the period of time studied or referred to is homogeneous and linear, without any major divergence.<sup>27</sup>

Cultural nationalism has been applied by scholars as an umbrella term that covers around sixty years of intellectual production,<sup>28</sup> a diverse range of publications, a strong network of intellectuals, and their emerging genres. In the period focused upon here (1874 to 1922),<sup>29</sup> this intellectual production materialised in around 250 books and pamphlets, written by 180 authors and published by more than 60 editorial houses on

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<sup>25</sup> *Chapter 1* discusses in detail the criteria used for collection of sources.

<sup>26</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 12.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>28</sup> From the 1880s to the 1940s.

<sup>29</sup> The explanation of the period studied is presented in *Chapter 1*.

three continents. By examining these publications, this part of the thesis questions how and why the concept of cultural nationalism flattened a multifaceted production with diverse and shifting agendas.

*Chapter 2* also criticises definitions of authorship that led to the exclusion of many intellectuals. It argues that including the whole cycle of book production brings new agents to the history of intellectual production and improves the analysis of Lagosian books and pamphlets. Adding other agents to the analysis, however, brings complexity to the Lagosian intellectual network, and makes it harder to grasp. Here is where Appadurai's concepts of "disjuncture" and "scapes" provide an alternative approach to understanding the dynamic among Lagosians who were part of the Lagosian intellectual network.

In "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy",<sup>30</sup> Arjun Appadurai offers a methodology for studying the process of economic and cultural globalisation which would not be restricted by the opposing ideas of global homogenisation and heterogenisation. For him, "the new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models".<sup>31</sup> Appadurai suggests a new framework in which five dimensions of global cultural flows (ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape and ideoscape) work as tools for exploring the new "global cultural economy".<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> A. Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," 25–48,

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

The term “scape” is used to highlight the point that “these are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but, rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sort of actors”.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the complexity of current global dynamics should be understood through the relations established between these scapes – the “fundamental disjuncture”.<sup>34</sup> The best way to achieve this understanding is to follow the social and economic trajectories of objects – and their meanings – in the flows of global movement. For instance, in following the transnational movement of the martial arts from Asia to the Hollywood and Hong Kong film industries, the relationship between violence and a culture of masculinity can be connected to the increase in the illegal international firearms trade.<sup>35</sup>

Although far from my area of study, Appadurai’s concepts of global flows and scapes have enabled me to develop new and helpful ways of thinking about intellectual print networks in West Africa. Appadurai’s model does not involve mapping a network: instead, the focus on scapes allows us to see multiple dimensions in the relations among intellectuals. Instead of thinking of individuals as nodes, and trying to define their relations as strong or weak,<sup>36</sup> the concept of scapes makes possible the recognition that each individual intellectual could establish different kinds of relations, with different

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>36</sup> Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited,” *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983): 201–233; Ulf Hannerz, *Exploring the City: Inquiries Towards an Urban Anthropology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); Ulf Hannerz, “Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture” *Theory, Culture and Society* 7 (1990): 237–252.

intensities, of different qualities and in a variety of contexts. For instance, two educated Saro men, living in the same neighbourhood, with very similar histories of migration to Lagos, could be seen as closely affiliated in the “ethnoscape”; but when seen through an “ideoscape” they could be placed on opposite sides of a religious debate. Furthermore, if the occupation of one of these men as a printer in the CMS Bookshop is taken into consideration, rather than his address, background or religion, he could be positioned in close proximity to a Brazilian returnee.<sup>37</sup>

It is important, however, to note that Appadurai’s framework for studying the global cultural economy brings some problems if “applied” unconditionally to this project. Appadurai is clearly proposing a new method for the study of globalisation in the contemporary world and, while this thesis intends to show that Lagosian intellectuals of the nineteenth century were not geographically restricted to Lagos, we cannot consider this historical context “globalised” in a modern sense. Appadurai specifically locates his concepts, methods and analysis in the late twentieth century; he deals with globalisation as a recent phenomenon occurring a century after the processes under consideration in this project.

Following Cooper’s arguments, discussed above, shifting concepts around from one century to another cannot be done without repercussions for the analysis.<sup>38</sup> Concepts are not timeless and should not be used as such. A misapplied concept may impose on the past a straitjacket tailored in the present that limits the possibilities of analysis. With this in view, the model of scapes used in this thesis, instead of working with a small set of

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<sup>37</sup> See *Chapter 3*.

<sup>38</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 154.

possible relations, or defining their nature, opens possibilities for the inclusion of other agents and connections with the production of print culture in other networks.<sup>39</sup> While Appadurai identifies the five scapes described above in order to explain global flows, this thesis uses books and pamphlets to identify scapes and disjuncture, as discussed in *Chapters 3 and 4*.

*Chapter 3* discusses the characteristics of and the reasons for publishing that are better seen when books and pamphlets are analysed in a group. In particular, the chapter focuses on printed debates about Christian polygamy. While it would be possible to understand the debate in terms of two opposing sides—for and against Christian polygamy—the model of scapes allows us to see that there were multiple facets to the Christian polygamy polemic and many factors that drove intellectuals to engage in public discussions.

In order to observe this multiplicity of facets of and reasons for publishing, it is argued that books and pamphlets should be analysed in the context of the broader debates to which they contributed. For instance, Lagosian books on Christian polygamy should be studied in connection with other media that were addressing the same issues, notably newspapers. As this chapter shows, many of these intellectuals were engaging with one another, provoking responses and fuelling the publication of more letters, articles and pamphlets.

*Chapter 4* analyses two Lagosian intellectuals and asks how the many scapes that they navigated can be seen in their work. It shows how the meanings of Lagosian books and

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<sup>39</sup> As is explored in the later chapters of the thesis.

pamphlets shift when more scapes are taken into account besides the colonial one. For the purposes of this discussion, the Lagosian intellectual network is understood in a broader perspective that includes more than the metropolis-colony axis so often used by historians of West Africa. Through case studies of two intellectuals, J. A. O. Payne and W. T. G. Lawson, this chapter shows that colonial relations alone cannot explain the many factors that motivated Lagosians to publish in the colonial period.

This chapter proposes considering Lagosian intellectuals as brokers between scapes. The broad definition of a broker is that of a middleman, an intermediary, an interpreter.<sup>40</sup> The term broker can also be used more generally to denote a messenger, commissioner or agent. Although it does not deny the unbalanced power relations of the two sides between which mediation occurs, the notion of a broker acknowledges the agency that each side exerts over the other through the middleman. The literature on Lagosian intellectuals has often understood them as intermediaries between two sides: colonised and coloniser, Africans and Europeans, or, in the case of this study, Yorubas and British, and has thus constrained itself to a single scape.<sup>41</sup> In the literature on Lagosian intelligentsias, for example, the concept has been used by Paulo F. De Moraes Farias and Karin Barber, who refer to cultural brokerage to explain the position of the Saro people in Lagos: “[their] two-sided allegiance made [the Saro], almost despite

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<sup>40</sup> Paulo F. de Moraes Farias and Karin Barber, *Self-Assertion and Brokerage: Early Cultural Nationalism in West Africa* (Birmingham: The University of Birmingham, 1990), 1-10.

<sup>41</sup> For instance, Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos*; Patrick Cole, *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos* (New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Ayandele, *The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society*.

themselves, into brokers. They mediated in politics, trade, and in cultural activities, representing the African to the Europeans and the Europeans to the Africans”.<sup>42</sup>

According to Barber and Farias, the “two sided allegiance”<sup>43</sup> of the Saro made them mediators between Europeans and Africans, representing one side to the other not only in trade and politics but also in cultural activities. Cultural brokerage could be seen in the Saro’s clothes, their education and marriages. As Barber and Farias emphasise, however, this way of life was not without tensions and ambiguities. The Saro had to deal with the “bizarre conjunction”<sup>44</sup> of being mediators in a society that was becoming very unbalanced as consequence of new colonial policies. As Barber and Farias explain, in the 1890s racism and the devaluation of West African culture was increasing within the colonial administration of Lagos, leading to the imposition of restrictive conditions for the personal, professional and social ascension of the Saro.<sup>45</sup> The ambiguity of this two-sided allegiance was manifested in Saro intellectual production. Lagosian publications, Barber and Farias explain, “resorted to bricolage – to the synthesis of variably selected materials from African and European culture, the choice of ingredients differing from one author to another”.<sup>46</sup>

This thesis uses the concept of brokerage to understand the intellectual’s role in the creation of a Lagosian intellectual network and print culture. However, from the perspective explained above, brokers interpret and mediate between existing sets—in

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<sup>42</sup> Farias and Barber, *Self-Assertion and Brokerage*, 2.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 4.

the above case, between Africans and Europeans. This way of thinking about cultural encounters does not tackle the problematically bi-dimensional understanding that is at its core. The idea of cultural encounters entails a dichotomous approach: even the most complex theories about cultural encounters, which take into consideration the hierarchy of encounters, the agency of the groups involved and even the creation of a new culture, will be framed by the idea that encounters are always between two sides.

The dynamics of cultural encounters have been studied in great detail by Brazilian scholars in their attempts to understand the diverse religious and cultural manifestations that constitute “Afro-Brazilian” culture. For example, cultural historians Joao Jose Reis and Robert Slenes introduce the concept of cultural reinvention in order to explain the process by which African and Brazilian cultures met.<sup>47</sup> In so doing, they engage with two longstanding academic debates. The first of these is with historians and sociologists primarily of the Marxist tradition who argued that the culture of slaves in Brazil was completely subsumed by the hegemonic culture of their masters. According to this approach, the only agency slaves expressed was in the form of revolutions, revolts, attempts to escape to freedom, suicides, and even individual attacks upon masters.<sup>48</sup> Resistance was understood by the Marxist scholars only as a violent physical reaction to slavery.

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<sup>47</sup> Joao Jose Reis, *Rebeliao Escrava No Brasil* (Sao Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003); Joao Jose Reis, “Candomble in Nineteenth-century Bahia: Priests, Followers, Clients,” *Slavery and Abolition* (2001): 116–134; Robert W. Slenes, “Malungu Ngoma Vem!,” *Revista USP* 12 (1995).

<sup>48</sup> Eduardo Silva and Joao Jose Reis, *Negociacao e Conflito: a Resistencia Negra No Brasil Escravista*, (Sao Paulo: Companhia Das Letras, 1989).



Reis and Slenes also engage with a second debate that consists of anthropological discussions that use the concept of syncretism to explain how slaves managed to maintain their own religiosity by hiding their divinities within the veils of the Catholic saints. What Reis and Slenes note, however, is that this process of cultural encounter was not a superimposition of one cultural value and symbolic system over the other, but rather a total merger between the cultures that created something new. This is what they call cultural reinvention; the outcome was neither Brazilian nor African, but Afro-Brazilian. Furthermore, this cultural reinvention was the ultimate form of resistance: by incorporating other cultures, not only European but also Brazilian indigenous and African, they managed to maintain their own cultures.<sup>49</sup>

Although Reis and Slenes's idea of cultural reinvention gives agency to slaves and recognises the creation of a new culture, they still deal with previous sets of cultures that predated the Afro-Brazilian reinvention. For instance, in his study of the formation of Candomble de Accu<sup>50</sup> in the nineteenth century, Reis explains that African descendants were accepted in religious circles originally formed only by Africans, and that the regular arrival of new adepts from different origins would promote a regular reinvention of cultural symbols: "the candomble taught its adepts that the fidelity to African traditions could live with the spirit of changing of the 'New World'" (my translation).<sup>51</sup> However, while Reis focuses on the complexity of the process of reinvention that created the Candomble de Accu, he cannot avoid the understanding that

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<sup>49</sup> Robert W. Slenes, "Malungu Ngoma Vem!," 63.

<sup>50</sup> Candomble is an Afro-Brazilian religion and "de Accu" refers to the Candomble practice of one specific place in Bahia.

<sup>51</sup> Silva and Reis, *Negociacao e Conflito*, 47.

this involved the reinvention of two distinct cultural sets: one distinctly Brazilian and one essentially African.

Cultural encounters are also used by Roger Gocking to explain the construction of a distinct society on the coast of Ghana through contributions from both inland communities and European settlers.<sup>52</sup> Using the concept of appropriation, Gocking explains that, during the process of colonisation, the coastal societies dispersed new ideas and beliefs to the inland communities and borrowed customs and institutions from these. These contributions from the interior were incorporated into the colonial situation and “symbolised the beginning of a new order that represented a fusion of both African and European influences”.<sup>53</sup> This process of incorporation, according to Gocking, happened in a gradual way, following the phases of colonisation from the first missionary presence to the conformation of the Colony of the Gold Coast. “The long history of European and African cultural interaction has contributed to making this area one of the best examples in West Africa of how much absorption and adaptation there was in this transformative process”.<sup>54</sup>

Gocking’s *Facing Two Ways* takes into consideration not only the European influence in Ghanaian societies, but also the African contribution to the Afro-Europeans who lived in the coastal settlements. In addition to this interaction, both groups went through a parallel process of cultural homogenisation. On the European side, endogamy made the elite more uniform, settling nationality differences and bringing to the colonial

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<sup>52</sup> R. Gocking, *Facing Two Ways: Ghana’s Coastal Communities Under Colonial Rule* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1999).

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 27.

context the figure of the creole or Afro-European: descendants of white Europeans, born in Africa, who navigated easily through the local cultures. On the African side, there was a process of interchange among indigenous societies that resulted in a gradual “Akanization”.<sup>55</sup> Describing this situation, Gocking adds another dimension to the study of cultural encounters: there were developments *within*, as well as between, the two sides he examines, highlighting the complexity of the so-called homogenisation process. Each side was thus not only contributing to the creation of a new culture, but also going through a dynamic process of change within itself. Even in Gocking’s case, however, the process itself is still described as happening between two opposing sides which interacted and exchanged values.

A different approach to the process of cultural production as the result of cultural encounters can be found in the work of John Collins and Paul Richards,<sup>56</sup> who studied the social context in which the musical styles of Juju from Nigeria and Highlife from Ghana emerged in the first half of the twentieth century. In particular, their study highlights the hierarchical character of cultural encounters: as they explain, there is no socially neutral synthesis of alien and indigenous cultures; rather, it is better to study cultural encounters in relation to the major influences of their historical context.<sup>57</sup>

In the case of Juju and Highlife, Collins and Richards find a cultural development associated with a pre-existing network that supported the establishment of these new

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., *Introduction*.

<sup>56</sup> John Collins and Paul Richards, “Popular Music in West Africa,” in *World Music, Politics and Social Change: Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*, ed. Simon Firth (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 177-192.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 182.

musical genres: before colonisation, for example, there was already a well-structured and wide-reaching network of commerce that mobilised mercantile capital.<sup>58</sup> Thus, for Collins and Richards, colonisation was not a definitional factor in the formation of new cultures in West Africa. As they explain, the idea that new cultures were created with colonisation is born out of the same dichotomous framework that understands the history of Africa through notions of modernity and tradition. For them, culture did not develop on the basis of a conflict between tradition and modernity, with tradition being a pre-colonisation culture and modernity a Western input. This was a late-colonial and post-colonial invention. Rather, Juju and Highlife were products of pre-colonial networks of “merchant capital [that] had been a major influence over both performance contexts and the construction of musical meanings”.<sup>59</sup>

Collins and Richards provide an insight that is relevant to this thesis: despite historical contexts and the hierarchical relations that characterise cultural encounters in the colonial period, the new musical styles to emerge in colonial Nigeria and Ghana were not a direct result of these encounters. Juju and Highlife were established in pre-existing cultural networks: colonial encounters were only one of the many facets of the complex emerging process of new music styles.

Another scholar who regards the emergence of new cultures in Africa as a result of something other than the direct consequence of cultural encounters is Jane Guyer. In her book *Marginal Gains*,<sup>60</sup> Guyer uses Appadurai’s concepts of disjuncture and scapes to

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 181.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 188.

<sup>60</sup> Jane I. Guyer, *Marginal Gains: Monetary Transactions in Atlantic Africa* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

highlight the multiplicity of interactions and reject binary approaches to the origin of economic cultures in Africa. For Guyer, African cultural economy represents the multiple repertoires of trade, production and monies through which people create spaces and times of value. For her, these economies were formed in the spaces of disjuncture, along with institutions and ideologies, and cannot be traced back simply to cultural encounters that were binaries.<sup>61</sup>

In 2007, Barber published a paper about Guyer's theories in which she revisits the latter's notions of cultural encounters and intellectual production as a result of a process of bricolage. Barber explores whether the discussion of disjunction and thresholds proposed in Guyer's book as a way of understanding African economic cultures<sup>62</sup> could be applied to analysing Yoruba praise poetry. As Barber explains, "the positive vocabulary of 'appropriation' and 'recasting' of foreign elements notwithstanding, the basic model is still a bit like the old Cadbury's advertisement showing a stream of milk and a stream of molten dark chocolate pouring from either side into the familiar purple wrappers and mingling to make milk chocolate".<sup>63</sup>

In criticising the dualistic approach of theories that explain cultural encounters and the production of culture, for Barber, Guyer's work "incite[s] us to explore further".<sup>64</sup> As will be argued in *Chapter 4*, the dynamic and plural intellectual network of Lagos can be better studied through the concepts of scapes than through relational networks. In

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 20–21.

<sup>62</sup> For Guyer, African cultural economy represents the multiple repertoires of trade, production and monies through which people create spaces and times of value.

<sup>63</sup> Karin Barber, "When People Cross Thresholds," *African Studies Review* 50 (2007): 112.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

this way, adding to the ideas of Barber and Guyer, this thesis argues: first, that intellectual Lagosians acted as cultural brokers, mediating the encounters not of two cultures, but of many scapes. Moreover, their role of brokerage was neither stable nor constant. It emerged and dissolved, with the same dynamic movement as the scapes between which they were mediating. And second, since economies, institutions and ideas originated in situations of disjuncture, the role of broker positioned intellectuals in a place where culture systems were in a condition not only of encounter, but also of creation.

In this way, *Chapter 4* makes the specific contribution of looking at books and pamphlets as the products of a group, and as engaged in a debate. While studying books as a group allows an appreciation of the many scapes that configured the Lagosian intellectual network, by thinking of intellectuals as brokers this chapter gives further depth to the study of individual publications.

Building upon the idea of brokerage, *Chapter 5* examines the Lagosian intellectual network as having a wide geographical scope, bringing into the account agents and sets of relations that span West Africa and the Atlantic. This chapter introduces the figure of J. C. Hazeley, a Sierra Leonean intellectual who lived in the United States and engaged with the Lagosian intellectual network through J. A. O. Payne and W. T. G. Lawson.

Lagosian intellectual production is localised here within a distinct spatial frame that is different from the political borders of Lagos. Lagos should not be imagined as the Lagos constructed by political and legal boundaries; rather, it was a Lagos distributed across the Atlantic. Such a distributed Lagos can be captured through the concept of a

“black Atlantic”, developed by Paul Gilroy.<sup>65</sup> For Gilroy, the black Atlantic is located “in a webbed network, between the local and the global, [and it] challenges the coherence of all narrow nationalist perspectives and points to the spurious invocation of ethnic particularity to enforce them to ensure the tidy flow of cultural output into neat, symmetrical units”.<sup>66</sup>

The idea of the black Atlantic is offered by Gilroy as part of an alternative theoretical framework in order to question the “sense of England as a cohesive cultural community”.<sup>67</sup> Gilroy explains that “the contemporary black English [...] stand between two great cultural assemblages”,<sup>68</sup> that of black and of English, that were wrongly associated with concepts of race, ethnic identity and nationality: “Regardless of their affiliation to the right, left, or centre, groups have fallen back on the idea of cultural nationalism, on the over integrated conceptions of culture which present immutable, ethnic differences as an absolute break in the histories and experiences of “black” and “white” people”.<sup>69</sup>

This connection between nationality and culture, for Gilroy, is an “uncomfortable pairing”<sup>70</sup> perpetrated by some cultural historians – such as Eric Hobsbawm and E. P. Thompson – who ignored the complexity of the inside/outside (local and global) relationship. For him, Englishness and nationalisms are better understood if studied in

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<sup>65</sup> Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 14.

relation to the supra-national, while localisms should be left aside in order to open space for a more global perspective that takes into consideration the fact that cultures (and print cultures) do not respect national borders.<sup>71</sup>

In the case of Britain, according to Gilroy, cultural historians have missed the contribution of former slaves, merchants and intellectuals who brought the black Atlantic into the history of that country. An approach that follows the great cultural assemblages of nationality and culture misses everything else that does not fit into the box of nationalism and colonialism.<sup>72</sup> Gilroy's proposal for studying Britain's history is to take into consideration the history of the black Atlantic: this can also be applied to Lagosian history and works well with the arguments of this thesis.

Often, the Atlantic is seen only as the space between the two sides of the diaspora: the site of departure and the site of arrival. But, as with the negative of a photograph – a metaphor Gilroy uses in his book – instead of thinking in terms of coasts and of two separate processes, we should think in terms of what they have in common: the Atlantic Ocean itself. Gilroy proposes that, instead of seeking origins and traditions and finding influences (for instance, of Africa in the Americas), we should think of the common experience.<sup>73</sup> The black Atlantic is thus also a unit of analysis.

The subtitle of the book, *Modernity and Double Consciousness*, is related to the understanding of the black Atlantic as a counterculture of modernity, a way of avoiding a dichotomous understanding of Africa and African diaspora based on ideas of

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 13–27.



authenticity and tradition. For instance, Gilroy criticises Afrocentric theories for failing to acknowledge the influence of the Atlantic on African history, and for holding to essentialist interpretations of African culture.<sup>74</sup> In this way, the concept of the black Atlantic challenges notions of national and international, local and global, origins and diaspora, and facilitates a rethinking of relations throughout the ocean and brings into narratives (and analyses) more of the history of Africa and of Africans who crossed the Atlantic –in one direction or the other.

The concept of the black Atlantic provides three starting points for approaching Lagosian intellectual production. First, that Lagosian print culture was produced in different places besides Lagos and by different people besides Lagosians. Second, that instead of using concepts such as nationalism and diaspora to understand Lagosian intellectual production, the black Atlantic concept allows the possibility of understanding what Gilroy called the “discontinuous cultural exchange”<sup>75</sup> and the fragility of the relationship between the two sides of the Atlantic. And third, that considering the Atlantic context in relation to the analysis of Lagosian intellectual production allows for the observation and evaluation of other dimensions of print culture such as an author’s aesthetic motivations.

In relation to the first point, this thesis re-localises Lagos in a broader geographical and historical context. It shifts the analysis of the social history of Lagos from the monopolising axis of colony and metropolis to a more complex and plural environment that includes its relation to the Atlantic spaces of West Africa, Brazil and the United

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 86.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 16–17.

States. *Chapter 5* shows how certain Lagosian publications acquire different meanings when studied in an Atlantic context. This brings to the analysis not only other local historical contexts, but also other characters in these histories who would not otherwise be part of the Lagosian intellectual network.

In relation to the second point, Gilroy's concept of the black Atlantic compensates for the inadequacy of the concepts of nationalism and diaspora as applied to colonial Lagos. For Gilroy, both ideas are based on essentialist notions of culture as something that is located in a particular place. Nationalism manifests itself in local cultural production while diaspora highlights "the fundamental power of territory" over culture, even when displacement occurs.<sup>76</sup> An example of how this approach opens up a fresh vision of Lagosian intellectual networks is provided by the relationship between Lagos and Brazil (in particular, the cities of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, the main slave ports in Brazil). The concept of diaspora is often used to describe African contributions to Brazilian culture: the large numbers of slaves taken from Africa to Brazil between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, argue historians like Joao Jose Reis, took their particular local cultures to the Americas where they reinvented them in order to survive.<sup>77</sup> For instance, Reis gives us a detailed account of how the Male insurrection in Salvador in 1835 was in fact the continuation of the Islamic jihad that struck the Oyo Empire. In this case, the Islamic insurrection was reinvented in the format of an anti-slavery movement.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Paul Gilroy, *Between Camps: Nations, Cultures and the Allure of Race*. (London: Allen Lane, 2000), 123.

<sup>77</sup> Joao Jose Reis, *Rebeliao Escrava No Brasil*; Joao Jose Reis, "Candomble in Nineteenth-century Bahia," 91-115.

<sup>78</sup> Reis, *Rebeliao Escrava No Brasil*, 323.

Although diaspora and cultural reinvention can work well to explain Afro-Brazilian cultural manifestations, they still allude to cultural essentialism. While some definitions of diaspora<sup>79</sup> assume a spatially located starting point, cultural reinvention assumes the existence of a cultural substance, and both define a continuous process that started with forced displacement or events immediately preceding that. It is not a coincidence that Reis dedicates a section of his book to recounting the history of the African side of this insurgence, and localises it on a map of Yorubaland.<sup>80</sup>

Diaspora, however, cannot explain the cultural exchange between Rio de Janeiro and Lagos in the late nineteenth century. The connections were multiple and in both directions. Not only did Brazilian returnees arrive in large numbers in Porto Novo, Ouidah and Lagos,<sup>81</sup> but there were people, goods and ideas travelling between both sides of the Atlantic. These exchanges may not have been regular,<sup>82</sup> but this did not diminish their contribution to the Atlantic network. Gilroy uses the concept of (dis)continuous cultural exchange to describe this process.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, he argues that these connections, despite their inconsistency and fragility, were bound together by common experiences that define the black Atlantic.<sup>84</sup> The idea of common experiences is particularly important for this thesis since it allows for the discovery of connections

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<sup>79</sup> It is important to highlight that Gilroy's concept of diaspora, although used as part of this critique, is not the definition of diaspora used in this thesis. This is better explained in *Chapter 5*.

<sup>80</sup> Reis, *Rebeliao Escrava No Brasil*, 307-349.

<sup>81</sup> Monica Lima, "Entre Margens: o Retorno a Africa de Libertos No Brasil" (PhD diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2008).

<sup>82</sup> For a short period of time, in the 1890s, there was regular shipping between Rio and Lagos. See *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 13-27.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

between intellectuals in Lagos and in other parts of the Atlantic world who cannot be defined in terms of colonisation, nationalism or diaspora.

The third contribution of the concept of a black Atlantic to the theoretical framework of the thesis is that it allows for the appreciation of other facets of intellectual production and print culture. For Gilroy, the common experience of the black Atlantic is based on memory.<sup>85</sup> The black Atlantic is *an articulation of the past*, rooted in suffering and in the way people dealt with pain. And, for him, the best form of expression of this suffering was music.<sup>86</sup> However, music was more than just a way of transforming pain into pleasure; it was more than a reaction to oppression. It also included an intellectual message. In this sense, Gilroy argues that music should be studied without placing it within a Hegelian hierarchy in which it is seen as a pure form of expression of the soul.<sup>87</sup> On the contrary, he explains that we should not overlook the intellectuality that is part of this form of art. From the syncopated rhythm to the content of the lyrics, for him Atlantic black music was an intellectual production and should be studied as such, taking into consideration its complexity and seeking to understand its role in social history.<sup>88</sup>

The same argument can be extended to print culture. Gilroy's concern to demonstrate that music is more than a reaction to oppression provides a model for the possibility that Lagosian intellectual production may also have other dimensions, besides being an intellectual response to colonisation. As with Atlantic black music, print culture was

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., Chap. 3.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., Chap. 3.

also artistic and had aesthetic aspects. The factors that motivated intellectuals to produce this material were more complex than those explained by the idea of a colonising and oppressive historical context: they were also making art.<sup>89</sup> In addition, Lagosian intellectuals were writing books for the sake of conducting debate and being part of an intellectual network.

Gilroy's theories, while very influential, have also provoked many criticisms. For instance, Kristin Mann and R. C. C. Law point out the absence of African voices in this representation of the black Atlantic. The shared experience is described from the perspective of its intellectuals, in which "Africa figures as an object of retrospective rediscovery, rather than an agency".<sup>90</sup> A similar critique is highlighted by Lorand Matory in his book *Black Atlantic Religion*. For Matory, when Gilroy "dismiss[es] the question of the diaspora's cultural and historical connection to Africa as 'essentialist'",<sup>91</sup> he neglects not only African agency but also African cultural history, which should be given greater space for their role in the making of African diaspora culture.<sup>92</sup>

Gilroy's ideas of diaspora are also questioned by Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, whose critique focuses on another problematic facet of Gilroy's black Atlantic. Zeleza points out the tendency "to privilege the Atlantic, or rather the Anglophone, indeed the American

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<sup>89</sup> As shown in *Chapter 3*.

<sup>90</sup> R. C. C. Law and Kristin Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56 (1999): 307–334.

<sup>91</sup> J. L. Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil: On the Diasporic Roots of the Yoruba Nation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41 (1999): 39.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

branch of the African diaspora”.<sup>93</sup> For him, Gilroy omits a significant part of the Atlantic world in his discussions: the South American Lusophone Atlantic, which in fact received more African slaves than all the other destinations combined.<sup>94</sup> Zeleza believes that the pull of Gilroy’s concept resides in his anti-nationalist theoretical and ideological politics, since *The Black Atlantic* does not say much about the “political, social, cultural and economic relations among the triangular systems of Africa, the Americas, and Europe that make up the Atlantic world”.<sup>95</sup>

The multiple criticisms of *The Black Atlantic* identify holes in Gilroy’s ideas that are pertinent and should be taken into consideration in order to avoid superficial applications of the concept. Nevertheless, the existence of these gaps does not mean that they cannot be avoided or even filled in with complementary theories. To that end, the use of the concept of the black Atlantic in this thesis is complemented by Arjun Appadurai’s ideas of scapes and Jane Guyer’s understandings of cultural encounters and production, in order to understand the shared experience without neglecting Lagosian agency or cultural history.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, the thesis brings to Gilroy’s black Atlantic a study of the experience of exchange with South America, as well as with North America and Europe, which fills in some of the holes identified by Zeleza.

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<sup>93</sup> P. T. Zeleza, “Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic,” *African Affairs* 104, 414 (1 January 2005): 39.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid. See also Arani Guerra, *Failures of Gilroy’s Black Atlantic*, June 13, 2013, <http://africanwords.com/2013/06/24/failures-of-gilroys-black-atlantic-1993/>

<sup>96</sup> Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference”; Guyer, *Marginal Gains*.

Further to the critiques presented by Matory and Zeleza is the debate on how to position Gilroy's black Atlantic with respect to a broader discussion of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism, according to Pnina Werbner,<sup>97</sup> has two common definitions: a normative term that stands for a global cosmopolitan society, a space of peace, neighbourly relations, open borders and hospitality to strangers; and a cultural aesthetic term that defines a cosmopolitan space as a place of cultural differences and toleration, multiple cultural competences and shared communication across cultures. Both definitions have in common the idea that a cosmopolitan city, for instance, would have blurred boundaries.

This thesis could consider Lagos as a cosmopolitan space in which the intellectuals who lived in and frequented it maintained cosmopolitan relations, travelling to Europe or the Americas, reading what was produced in these places, and positioning themselves in distinct intellectual circles, joining societies and publishing overseas. Although the concept of cosmopolitanism could describe the idea that the cultural borders of Lagos were wider than its political ones, cosmopolitanism does not explain the Atlantic connections that brought together intellectuals from many parts of the Atlantic. While the concept of cosmopolitanism could describe Lagos, it does not include the process of (dis)continuous cultural exchange that connected different sides of the Atlantic for centuries and that gives historical depth, for example, to the case of Payne, whose story is best captured by the concept of the black Atlantic.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, a similar critique to that used against the concept of cultural nationalism could be directed against

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<sup>97</sup> Pnina Werbner, ed., *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2008).

<sup>98</sup> See *Chapter 4*.

cosmopolitanism, in the sense that it can be read as generalising, masking pluralities and historical specificities.

Theories of cosmopolitanism have been developed by scholars from diverse areas, and the concept has as a consequence acquired numerous – and sometimes conflicting – meanings. For instance, one prominent theorist of cosmopolitanism, Kwame Anthony Appiah, has complained that the term was being applied too loosely.<sup>99</sup> The inspiring story of his father uttering before dying, “Remember you are citizens of the world,”<sup>100</sup> narrated in *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, conveys Appiah’s idea of cosmopolitanism. Appiah associates the ideas of cosmopolitanism with citizenry of the world: “a citizen of the world [is] ‘cosmopolitan’, in the word’s root sense”.<sup>101</sup> In order to avoid the damage caused by a “toxic cosmopolitanism” that associates the cosmopolitan with a “liberal on safari” Appiah has set himself a mission to retrieve the “forms of cosmopolitanism worth defending”.<sup>102</sup>

Paul Gilroy, also concerned with the problematic meanings that cosmopolitanism has acquired, has decided to remove it altogether from his vocabulary. For him, cosmopolitanism is insufficient because of its non-problematisation of the tensions inherent in inter-cultural relationships, resulting in a naïve idea of an “absence of racism [and] the triumph of tolerance”.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah, *The Ethics of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 214.

<sup>100</sup> Sam Knowles, “Macrocosmopolitanism? Gilroy, Appiah, and Bhabha: The Unsettling Generality of Cosmopolitan Ideas,” *Postcolonial Text* 3 (2007): 6.

<sup>101</sup> Appiah, *The Ethics of Identity*, 213–4.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.

<sup>103</sup> Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?* (London: Routledge, 2004), xi.



However there are uses of cosmopolitanism that do contribute to the theoretical framework of this thesis. Newell's paper on local cosmopolitanism, for instance, is important for understanding Lagosian intellectuals who, unlike Payne, did not cross the Atlantic. Newell argues that in redefining colonial "mimics" as *local cosmopolitans*, the term can be understood to describe "individuals who have consciously donned bits and pieces from English culture without concern for the purity or authenticity of their sources".<sup>104</sup> Refusing the common opposition between the cosmopolitan and the local – an opposition that can be found in the work of Appiah and of Ulf Hannerz – Newell proposes that the term "local" signifies "a way to interact *within* the world of the 'local'".<sup>105</sup> Using the ideas of James Ferguson about urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt, in which cosmopolitans do not necessarily wish, or manage, to travel abroad but adopt Western models in order to manifest a "cosmopolitan style", Newell situates the cosmopolitan in a "cultural dynamic of reaching out to and signifying affinity with an 'outside', a world beyond the 'local'".<sup>106</sup> Moreover, Newell gives examples of "locals" who have added imported goods – like Western clothes – to their everyday life, and in so doing adapt the symbolism and meanings of these items "for their own cultural ends".<sup>107</sup> An example of this practice might be the use of top hats by some Soweï priestesses in Sierra Leone.<sup>108</sup> As Newell suggests, "we can regard the

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<sup>104</sup> Stephanie Newell, "Local Cosmopolitans in Colonial West Africa," *New Formations* 46, (2011): 109.

<sup>105</sup> Stephanie Newell, "Paracolonial Networks: Some Speculations on Local Readerships in Colonial West Africa," *Interventions* 3 (2001): 338.

<sup>106</sup> James Ferguson *apud* Newell, "Local Cosmopolitans in Colonial West Africa," 110.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>108</sup> This shows the use of a nineteenth century gentlemen's hat in a context that attributes a different meaning to it. For more details, see Nara Improtta and Katie Reid's post about the Soweï mask

juxtaposed odds and ends of clothing and language as a form of local cosmopolitanism which is a consequence of the colonial encounter, but is performed for specific local ends that are not necessarily intelligible to colonial authors and onlookers”.<sup>109</sup> This argument can also be used to understand some of the Lagosian intellectual production. The juxtaposition of clothing and language in the above examples can be in parallel to the building of new ideas and understandings of history and other genres in Lagos between the 1880s and 1920s.

The concept of cosmopolitanism has contributed to this study: for instance, it informs discussions of locality and globality. However, the main theoretical thrust arises from the combination of Appadurai’s concept of scapes with Gilroy’s of the black Atlantic, and from discussions about cultural encounters as proposed by Guyer, guided by Barber’s work on West African print cultures. These authors and their theoretical approaches provide a robust analytical framework for understanding Lagosian books and pamphlets. For instance, as *Chapter 6* shows, by articulating these theories it is possible to analyse the interchange of ideas between two Atlantic cities that, in the extant literature, are presented as having little intellectual connection: Lagos and Rio de Janeiro. By using the concepts of scapes, cultural encounters and the black Atlantic in the context of print culture, this chapter highlights a distinct connection between these

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exhibition at the British Museum on the *Africa in Words* blog, April 8, 2013,

<http://africanwords.com/2013/04/08/review-sowei-mask-spirit-of-sierra-leone-at-the-british-museum/>

<sup>109</sup> Newell, “Local Cosmopolitans in Colonial West Africa,” 110.

two cities through their intellectual exchange<sup>110</sup> and, in so doing, *Chapter 6* shows how, through this exchange, new ideas of Lagos were spread throughout the Atlantic by Lagosian publications.

Before moving on to discuss how Lagosian intellectuals brokered the Atlantic and in the process produced print culture, it is necessary to deal with a critical aspect of Lagosian intellectual production from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This requires an appreciation and re-evaluation of the richness and plurality of Lagosian books and pamphlets. A distinct contribution of this thesis is the fact that it gathers in one study and one archive a plurality of books and pamphlets from the Lagosian past. Indeed, as will be discussed in *Chapter 1*, diversity was a notable characteristic of the work of Lagosian intellectuals. However, such diversity poses the question of how to study the wealth of publications produced in Lagos between 1874 and 1922. *Chapter 1* explores two types of approach. First, it shows what can be gained by approaching Lagosian books and pamphlets from a quantitative perspective. For this purpose, it introduces the electronic database that is at the heart of this study. As the chapter argues, studying books from a quantitative perspective uncovers patterns that are otherwise difficult to observe. However, such an approach also places a limit on what

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<sup>110</sup> This is particularly significant in the current political context in Brazil, because this year (2013) marks the tenth anniversary of the law that made mandatory the teaching of African history in primary schools. As a result of a lack of training and also of deep prejudice, the history of Africa has been reduced to the history of slavery. In the Brazilian social imaginary, African has become a synonym for someone who in the past was a slave and in the present lives in a poor continent plagued by war, hunger and epidemics. This image has worked against the ideals of fighting racial prejudice through education that first motivated the Brazilian law. Thus, it is both pedagogically and politically important to show that there have been other connections besides slavery between Africa and Brazil. This is not to deny the weight of slavery in the history of Brazil, but rather to call for the valorising of other connections and the highlighting of alternative historical links with Africa.

we can know about books and pamphlets: for instance, a quantitative approach does not permit observation of the distinct genres that characterised Lagosian publications.

In addressing the limitations of quantitative analyses, *Chapter 1* explores a second approach to print culture, namely the importance of reading, linking and contextualising books and pamphlets in order to appreciate the formation of new genres. To this end, it presents the case of historical publications in Lagos that illustrate how a distinct genre of historical writing came to characterise Lagosian publications of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

## Chapter 1: Lagosian Books and Pamphlets

This chapter has a concrete methodological objective: to show the books and pamphlets that form the archive upon which this project is built, and in so doing to explain how these were approached by scholars from the 1960s onwards. But in showing these pamphlets and how the archive was defined, it also highlights the diversity and plurality of Lagosian intellectual production. The initial discussion concerning the definition of archives and the use of electronic databases is used as an opportunity to introduce the reader to Lagosian books and pamphlets from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While initially focused on a quantitative analysis of print culture in order to construct what Robert Darnton calls a “general picture of literary culture”,<sup>1</sup> this chapter also stresses the importance of a qualitative understanding of books and pamphlets. In particular, it shows the importance of reading, linking and contextualising books and pamphlets in order to appreciate the emergence of new intellectual genres in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Lagos. This allows showing the ways in which Lagosian intellectuals wrote their history.

In this thesis, the definition of Lagosian books and pamphlets is associated with a specific archive built with particular, yet inclusive, criteria: the archive contains books and pamphlets authored by Lagosians, or published in Lagos, or about Lagos, between 1874 and 1922. The archive contains 247 books and pamphlets, authored by 180 intellectuals, written in four languages, and printed by sixty-one publishing houses spread across thirty-five cities in Africa and Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Darnton, “Book Production in British India, 1850-1900,” *Book History* 5 (2002): 240.

The compilation of this archive started as an exercise in collecting publications from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries related to Nigerian, Yoruba or Lagosian history. Thus, originally the archive had a broad geographic and temporal scope: it encompassed *any* publication from about the mid-nineteenth century to about the 1930s pertaining to Nigeria, Yoruba or Lagos. The collected publications<sup>2</sup> were organised in an electronic database that at one point recorded almost 500 titles.

The books and pamphlets collected in this initial archive included such titles as *A Collection of Yoruba Thoughts*, published in 1931 by Nigerian Press, which contains Yoruba proverbs and an introductory essay by Julius Ojo-Cole.<sup>3</sup> In his introduction, Ojo-Cole discussed the existence of Yoruba literature, “though UNWRITTEN”,<sup>4</sup> and introduces the reader to the Owe, which “like a proverb or maxim, is an entity by itself, it is a complete work of art, like a poem, or a verse, or a couplet, without enjambment”.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> I researched institutional archives in Scotland, London, Birmingham, Lyon, Rio de Janeiro, Benin, Porto Novo, Ouidah, Oyo, Abeokuta, Abomey, Lagos, Ibadan and Ife. I also accessed the personal libraries of scholars such as J. F. Ade Ajayi, R. C. C. Law, and J. D. Y. Peel. All of this was complemented by materials found in online archives, from the digital collections of JSTOR and Archive.org to Google Books, the online catalogue of William Bascom’s collection, and the catalogue entries of numerous libraries worldwide. In parallel to this work of collecting books and pamphlets, I searched and read West African newspapers in order to identify additional titles that are no longer physically available. Advertisements and reviews of publications were also sources of new titles for my collection. See *Appendix I* for a detailed list of the archives and libraries consulted.

<sup>3</sup> Julius Ojo-Cole, *A Collection of Yoruba Thoughts* (Lagos: Nigerian Press, 1931).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



Figure 1.1 – Cover of *Iwe Kini Agboniregun* (1943)

Other examples include *Iwe Kini Agboniregun*,<sup>6</sup> a short pamphlet on Ifa divination from 1943, which contains explanations in Yoruba about the Odus and which probably formed part of a larger series; like many other pamphlets, the author of this one is not named in the text. Yet another example is a 341-page translation into Yoruba of *Zweymal zwey und fünfzig biblische Geschichten für Schulen und Familien*, the Bible stories written by the German pastor C. G. Barth, and published as *Itan Ninu Bibeli* in London by the Church Missionary Society in 1903.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Iwe Kini Agboniregun* (s.l., s.n., 1934).

<sup>7</sup> C.G. Barth, *Itan Ninu Bibeli* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1903).

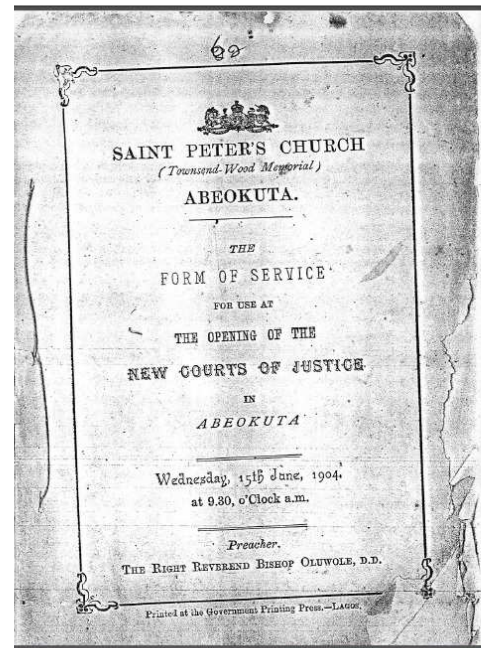
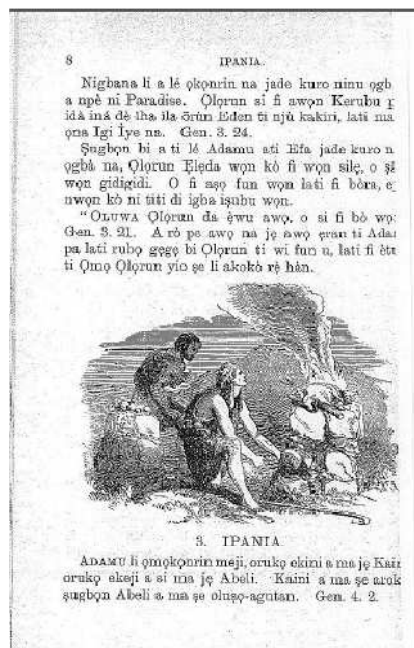


Figure 1.2 – On the left, a page of Barth's *Zweymal* translated to the Yoruba and published as *Itan Ninu Bibeli* (1903), and on the right, the cover of the pamphlet given at the opening mass for the new Courts of Justice in Abeokuta (1904). Published in a small format, the book was divided into 68 stories, which were accompanied by illustrations of some of the scenes.

The archive also contained a beautifully decorated pamphlet provided for the mass to celebrate the opening of the new Courts of Justice in Abeokuta, conducted by Bishop Oluwole in 1904, and printed by the Government Printing Press in Lagos.<sup>8</sup> Also represented was a book by C. De Ceulener, *Colonie et Protectorat de Lagos*, published in Brussels by L'Imprimerie Nouvelle, which reproduced pictures from the *West African Mail* containing detailed descriptions of the economy of Lagos — from labour relations and data about commercial activity to discussions about what should be changed in order to develop Lagos economically.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Saint Peter's Church Abeokuta, *The Form of Service for Use at the Opening of the New Courts of Justice in Abeokuta* (Lagos: Government Printing Press, 1904).

<sup>9</sup> C. De Ceulener, *Colonie et Protectorat de Lagos* (Brussels: L'Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1904).



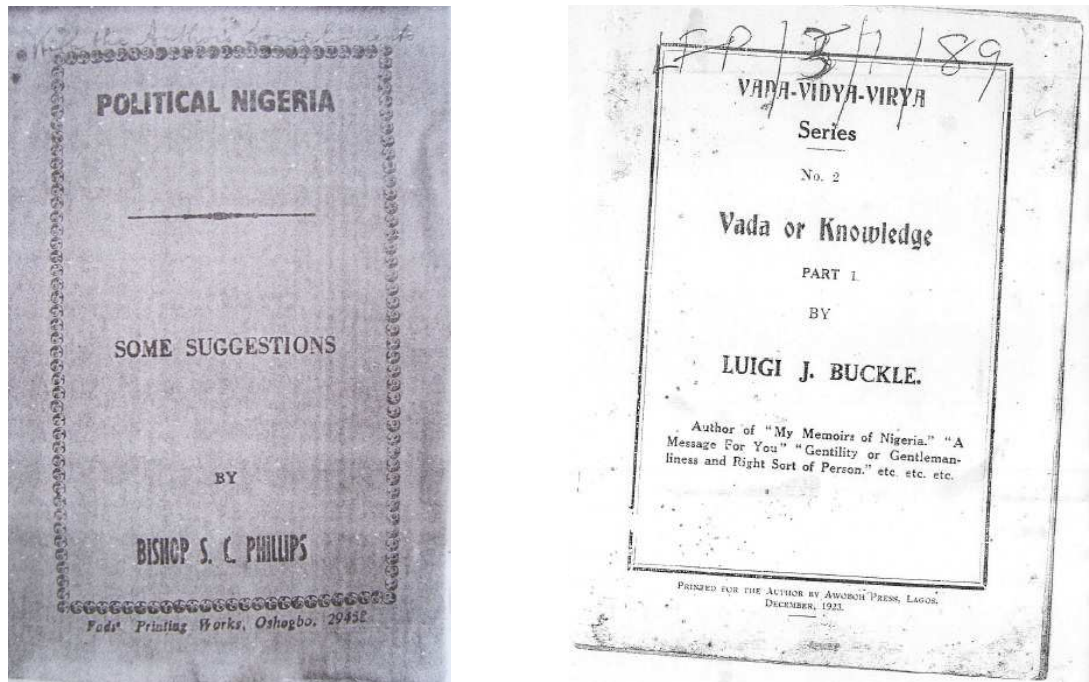


Figure 1.3 – Covers of Phillips’s *Political Nigeria* on the left and Buckle’s *Vada or Knowledge* (1923) on the right.

The archive also contained items such as an article by William MacGregor entitled “Lagos, Abeokuta and the Alake”,<sup>10</sup> published in 1904 in the *Journal of the Royal Africa Society*. While this article mentions Lagos and Abeokuta in its title, it is almost entirely an ethnographic account of the Yoruba people, describing aspects of their economic, political and social organisation. Another example is a pamphlet by Bishop S. C. Phillips entitled *Political Nigeria: Some Suggestions*,<sup>11</sup> which appears, from its highly political discussion of “the uncharted ocean of Nigerian Independence”,<sup>12</sup> to have been published after 1930. There were also some interesting curiosities, including a short pamphlet by Luigi J. Buckle, printed in 1923 by Awoboh Press, Lagos, entitled

<sup>10</sup> William MacGregor, “Lagos, Abeokuta and the Alake,” *Journal of the Royal Africa Society* 3 (1904): 464-481.

<sup>11</sup> S. C. Phillips, *Political Nigeria: Some Suggestions* (Oshogbo: Fads. Printing Works, n.d.).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

*Vada or Knowledge*.<sup>13</sup> This was the second in the series *Vada-Vidya-Virya*, which according to the author is Sanskrit for knowledge, wisdom and energy. The book contains a discussion on the nature of “right” and “wrong” knowledge, convenience and morality.

How can we make sense of all this material, understand this wealth of data, contextualise, categorise and compare these records? And how can we study and understand these publications? In order to appraise the many books and pamphlets that form the basis of this study, it is necessary first to discuss how the final archive was constituted, and how 247 were selected from the more than 500 books and pamphlets in the initial collection. This is explored in the following section.

### 1.1. Bounding the Archive

Every archive presupposes a theory-laden selection,<sup>14</sup> and the archive which forms the foundation of this thesis is no exception, since the thesis is based on three interrelated concepts: first, Lagosian books and pamphlets; second, Lagosian intellectuals; and third, the Lagosian intellectual network. These concepts have a clear recursivity: Lagosians became intellectuals by engaging with the Lagosian intellectual network, which was itself created by intellectuals through their work in producing culture. In order to capture this recursivity, the archive upon which this study is based was designed to be inclusive, flexible and open-ended. It is, however, a partial account of Lagosian print culture and as such does not claim to be the final word on Lagosian publications.

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<sup>13</sup> Luigi J. Buckle, *Vada or Knowledge* (Lagos: Awoboh Press, 1923).

<sup>14</sup> Joan M Schwartz and Terry Cook, “Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance,” *Archival Science* 2 (March 2002): 171–185;

The archive was constituted using three core selection criteria that determined which of the more than five hundred titles were included in the final version of the database. The first criterion for including a publication in the archive is authorship: if a book or pamphlet was written by a Lagosian intellectual between 1874 and 1922, regardless of the topic or the place of printing, the publication was included in the archive. This is the case for the Lagosian author J. O. George's *The Influence of Christianity on the Institutions and Customs of this Country*, published in 1888 in Baden by E. Kaufmann Lahr.<sup>15</sup> It was originally presented as a lecture at the Young Men's Christian Association on 1 November 1888 and then published as a pamphlet. Another example of a book included because of its Lagosian authorship is the thirty-page book of riddles by Mojola Agbebi, *Iwe Alo*, published in Lagos in 1895 by an unknown press.<sup>16</sup> Divided into four sections, the book contains approximately 200 riddles written in Yoruba. For books by Lagosian authors to be included in the archive, these need not have been published in Lagos. For instance, the archive includes academic studies by Lagosians published in the United Kingdom, such as the article "Native System of Government and Land Tenure in the Yoruba Country", published under the pseudonym "A Native of Yoruba" in the *Journal of the Royal Africa Society* in 1902.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> John Olawumi George, *The Influence of Christianity on the Institutions and Customs of this Country* (Baden: E. Kaufmann Lahr, 1888).

<sup>16</sup> Mojola V. D. B. Agbebi, *Iwe Alo* (Lagos: s.n., 1895).

<sup>17</sup> A Native of Yoruba, "Native System of Government and Land Tenure in the Yoruba Country", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 1 (1902): 312-315.

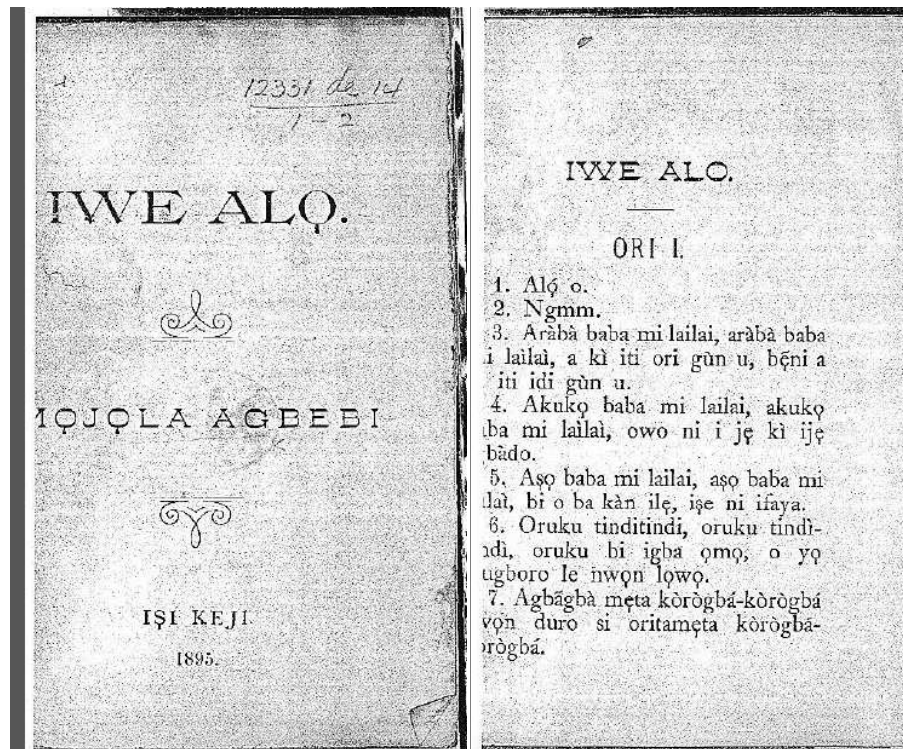


Figure 1.4 – Cover and first page of Agbebi's *Iwe Alo* (1895)

This criterion, however, poses the question of who is considered “Lagosian”. Few intellectuals who lived in Lagos and engaged in intellectual network were native Lagosians.<sup>18</sup> Most were Lagosians by virtue of the fact that they lived and worked in the city. For instance, intellectuals such as James Johnson and Obadiah Johnson, while Saro-born in Sierra Leone, were connected to Lagos not only through the intellectual

<sup>18</sup> The question of who were native Lagosians is difficult to resolve. As historians Patrick Cole, Kristin Mann and Nozomi Sawada indicate, different groups seem to have settled in particular parts of the city. For instance, while the so-called “indigenous Yoruba” settled near the palace of the oba in northwest Lagos, the Saro settled in the west, in an area known as Olowogbowo. Nozomi Sawada, “The Educated Elite and Associational Life in Early Lagos Newspapers: in Search of Unity for the Progress of Society” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2011), 5; Patrick Cole, *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 40-46; Kristin Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City, Lagos, 1760-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 186-187.

network but also because they exercised their professions in Lagos.<sup>19</sup> Thus, a book may therefore be included in the archive even if written by an intellectual who was not in fact Lagosian.

A second criterion for inclusion of works in the archive is whether or not they were published in Lagos. The archive includes books and pamphlets edited and/or printed by Lagosian publishing houses, regardless of the place of origin of the author or the topics covered in the publication. This is because, as explained in the *Introduction*, when thinking about print culture it is necessary to take into consideration the whole process of publication. The agents who contributed to the process of producing a book—from typesetters to bookshop clerks – should also be considered intellectuals.<sup>20</sup> Thus, a book published in Lagos, even if not about Lagos or written by a Lagosian, certainly benefited from the contribution of a Lagosian intellectual at some point on its journey into print.

Due to this criterion, the archive includes CMS calendars published by the CMS Bookshop of Lagos and some manuals for schools. It also includes titles such as J. Page's biographical account *Samuel Crowther, the Slave Boy who Became Bishop of the Niger*, which was published by Bosere Press in Lagos.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> There is ample evidence of this in the local newspapers which frequently located both intellectuals in Lagos. See also E. A. Ayandele, *"Holy" Johnson, Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836-1917* (London: Routledge, 1970).

<sup>20</sup> As is better argued in *Chapter 2*.

<sup>21</sup> J. Page, *Samuel Crowther, the Slave Boy who Became Bishop of the Niger* (New York, Toronto and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1889).

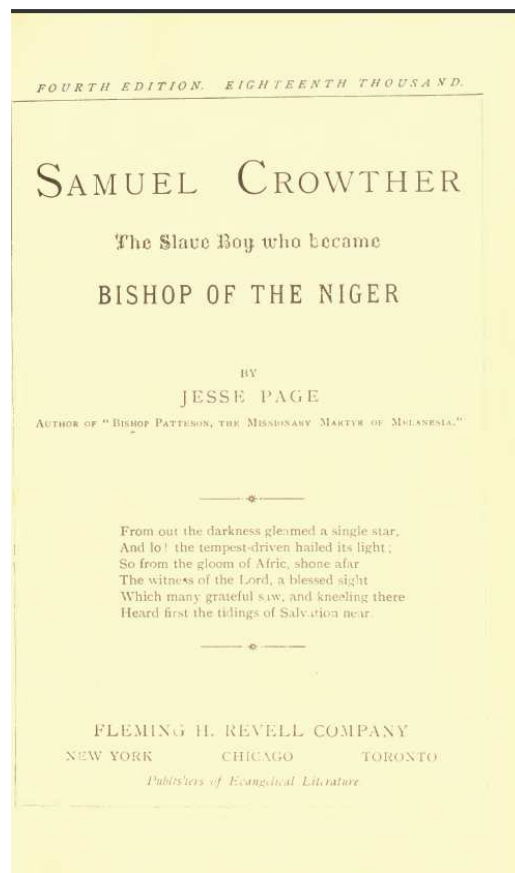


Figure 1.4 – Cover page of J. Page’s *Samuel Crowther, the Slave Boy who Became Bishop of the Niger*

Page’s is a particularly interesting case. The book seems to have been quite popular at the time, and after its initial publication in 1888 quickly travelled beyond Lagos: it went into at least five editions in less than four years. While the first edition of Page’s book was published in Lagos in 1888, it was soon reprinted, in 1889 in New York by F.H. Revell, and in 1892 in London by S.W. Partridge & Co. The 166-page book is handsomely illustrated with engravings of scenes of Crowther’s preaching and the sites of the CMS presence in West Africa.

The third core criterion in constituting the archive was the inclusion of publications that are *about* Lagos. Any book, written by a Lagosian or not, that is about Lagos could be included in the archive (if the publication fell within the relevant chronological period).

This means that the archive also includes a series of historical accounts of Lagos and West Africa, including J. B. Wood's *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa* (1878),<sup>22</sup> published by James Townsend in Exeter, and J. B. Wood's *Notes on the Construction of the Yoruba Language*, published in 1879, also in Exeter.<sup>23</sup>

Since Wood was not from Lagos, and neither were his books published in Lagos, they would seem to fall outside of the scope of the archive. However, there are several reasons for including Wood's books in the database. First, they are frequently referenced within Lagosian print culture. This is demonstrated by a mention of Wood's *Notes on the Construction* in M. T. E. Ajayi's *A Practical Yoruba Grammar*,<sup>24</sup> a book written by a Lagosian. Similarly, Wood's *Historical Notices* circulated within Lagos, and was on sale at the CMS Bookshop.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, through its citations and use, Wood's *Notes on the Construction of the Yoruba Language* must be considered part of Lagosian print culture and it is thus part of the archive.

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<sup>22</sup> J. Buckley Wood, *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa* (Exeter: James Townsend, 1878).

<sup>23</sup> J. Buckley Wood, *Notes on the Construction of the Yoruba Language* (Exeter: James Townsend, 1879).

<sup>24</sup> M. T. E. Ajayi, *A Practical Yoruba Grammar* (Exeter: James Townsend, 1896), iv.

<sup>25</sup> Wood's *Historical Notices* was frequently advertised in Lagosian newspapers, for instance in the *Lagos Observer* 1, 21 (23 November 1882), 3, where it is also mentioned that it was available at the CMS Bookshop.

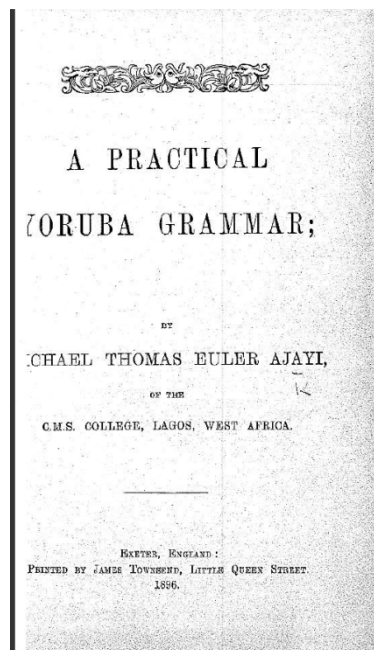


Figure 1.5 – Cover of Ajayi’s *A Practical Yoruba Grammar* (1896)

Of the three selection criteria, however, the latter is arguably the most arbitrary. There are, for instance, cases in which Lagos is not the central topic of a publication but is treated in isolated chapters, such as C. H. V. Gollmer’s biographical account of his father’s experience, *Charles A. Gollmer: His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa*, published in London by Hodder and Stoughton in 1889.<sup>26</sup> In addition to a chapter that discusses the history of Lagos, the book contains numerous engravings of the city and its inhabitants.

In other cases, having Yoruba language or history as its topic is enough for the inclusion of a book in the archive. This is because the main ethnic group in Lagos at the time was

<sup>26</sup> C. H. V. Gollmer, *Charles A. Gollmer: His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1889).



the Yoruba.<sup>27</sup> Such is the case for R. P. Baudin's *Katekismu L'ede Yoruba: Traduit du Chatechisme de Cambrai* (1884),<sup>28</sup> which has an introduction titled "Notice sur la langue et le peuple NAGO".<sup>29</sup> The ten-page introduction to Baudin's book includes a short history of the Nago country and language, its alphabet, etymology, oral literature and religion. Although not specifically about Lagos, the book is included in the archive because the Nago country, as the book explains, refers to a large area that includes Lagos. Arguably, this is also the case for *Manuel Franco-Yoruba de Conversation: Specialement a L'Usage du Medicin* by P. Gouzien (1899), published by A. Challamel in Paris.<sup>30</sup>

But there are other criteria, in addition to the core three, which shaped the contents of the archive. To be part of the archive for this study, a publication must be a book or a pamphlet. Although this may seem obvious, in the context of Lagosian print culture from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the meaning of this criterion is important. At the time, authors frequently published their manuscripts in newspapers in the format of serialised accounts.<sup>31</sup> However, the archive compiled for this study was designed not to include this type of serialised publication. The reason for this choice is

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<sup>27</sup> According to Patrick Cole, in the 1880s there were 32,594 indigenes in Lagos, of whom the majority were from the northern Yoruba states of Ijebu, Egba, Oyo, Illorin and Ijesha. In addition to these, Lagos had 3,221 Brazilians, 1,533 Serra Leonians and 111 Europeans. See Cole, *Modern and Traditional Elite*, 8-45.

<sup>28</sup> R. P. Baudin, *Katekismu L'ede Yoruba: Traduit du Chatechisme de Cambrai* (s.p.: s.n., 1884).

<sup>29</sup> According to Baudin, "Nago is the Language of the Yoruba Kingdom". Ibid., iii (my translation).

<sup>30</sup> P. Gouzien, *Manuel Franco-Yoruba de Conversation: Specialement a L'Usage du Medicin* (Paris: A. Challamel, 1899).

<sup>31</sup> For instance, A. B. C. Sibthorpe's "History of the Akus or the Yoruba" published in instalments by the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* in 1893 or Supra's "History of Lagos" in the *Lagos Standard* in 1900-1901.

that a serialised account published in a newspaper acquired a different meaning when published as a three hundred page book, bound, with hard cover. When the medium changed, this changed not only the readership and the way that readers related to the account, but also involved different techniques of production and a different range of people in the publication of the manuscript. Indeed, to publish a hardcover book implied at the time going through an altogether different process of publication. The differentiation between newspapers and books brings other questions to the fore: were books and pamphlets not distinct media? Did their production involve different people, including a different readership? If so, should books and pamphlets not be studied separately? Pamphlets were short, cheap and quick to publish. Their small number of pages and absence of hard cover made them inexpensive to produce and therefore cheap to purchase. They were light and flexible, easy to transport and to distribute. This format reflected their content, which often addressed current issues. They were quickly produced (written, printed, distributed and sold), and often printed locally by small publishing houses that frequently did not even identify themselves in the publication. While pamphlets were quick to publish, books were not only of higher material quality (better-quality paper and hard covers), but viewed by publishers as being of higher intellectual quality, i.e., something regarded as substantial, authoritative and with lasting insights, and were published with a view to longevity.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> See Stephanie Newell, "Devotion and Domesticity: The Reconfiguration of Gender in Popular Christian Pamphlets from Ghana and Nigeria," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35 (2005): 296–323; D. K. Van Kley, "New Wine in Old Wineskins: Continuity and Rupture in the Pamphlet Debate of the French Prerevolution, 1787-1789," *French Historical Studies* 17 (1991): 447–465; Cheryl Arvio and T. L. Nichols, "Ephemeral and Essential: The Pamphlet Files in the Ryerson Library Collection," *Art Institute of Chicago* 34 (2008): 45–46. Although the difference between books and pamphlets is theoretically clear, when dealing with Lagosian publications the distinction can be a fine one and easily blurred. The

Finally, the contents of the archive are bounded chronologically. In particular, it only includes books and pamphlets published between 1874 and 1922. These limits are designed to capture the publications of two Lagosian intellectuals who are central to this study. The first is Otunba Payne, who first published his *Lagos and West Africa Almanack*<sup>33</sup> in 1874; and the second is Samuel Johnson, whose *The History of the Yoruba* was published in London in 1921,<sup>34</sup> and was followed by a number of reviews in newspapers in 1922. Since Payne's and Johnson's publications are key to this study, the selection of an otherwise arbitrary "era"—the years from 1874 to 1922—is designed to include the whole cycle of production surrounding their texts: from the 1870s when Payne's first *Almanack* was published, through to the 1880s when Johnson allegedly started his major book project,<sup>35</sup> into the 1890s when Johnson finished writing the first manuscript,<sup>36</sup> up to and including readers' first responses to Johnson's *History*, published in the newspapers in 1922.<sup>37</sup>

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separation becomes artificial and may not contribute to a better understanding of Lagosian intellectual production and its role in the social history of Lagos. Therefore this thesis refrains from differentiating between the two media.

<sup>33</sup> Payne, *Payne's Lagos and West African Almanack* (1874).

<sup>34</sup> Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the British Colonization*.

<sup>35</sup> Ajayi, "Samuel Johnson: Historian of the Yoruba," 141-146.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

## 1.2. Finding and Questioning Patterns

The books and pamphlets collected for this study were used to populate an electronic database. In particular, information about each individual title was fed into the database, which I developed using Microsoft Access®. This information included the title, the name(s) of the author(s), the year of publication, the publisher, the city where it was published, and the language and length of the text.<sup>38</sup>

Why use an electronic database, and how did this contribute to the analysis conducted? Importantly, an electronic database facilitates the cross-referencing of information across various sets of data and thus opens up possibilities for answering quantitative questions that, when complemented by qualitative analysis, provide a stronger basis for understanding cultural dynamics than the single-author- and theme-focused approaches of earlier studies.<sup>39</sup> In the case of the database developed for this study, Lagosian

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<sup>38</sup> See *Appendix II* for images of the data entry forms.

<sup>39</sup> The use of methods that combine quantitative analyses of databases with qualitative analyses of publications is well established in book history and print culture studies. Rodriguez Parada, for instance, identifies quantitative approaches as what defined studies of (print) culture until the 1970s. While these approaches do not allow an understanding of the ideas contained in the books themselves, their use is encouraged in order to uncover broader patterns. As Darnton writes in *Book Production in British India*, “however flawed or distorted, the statistics provided enough material for book historians to construct a general picture of literary culture, something comparable to the early maps of the New World, which showed the contours of the continents, even though they did not correspond very well to the actual landscape”. Indeed, as Priya Joshi notes, catalogues and databases are important not only because they map a general picture of literary culture, as Darnton too would argue, but also because they “purvey an account of [...] print that is directly verifiable by literary history”. Databases allow the checking of relations between publications, and the following of comments and debates in the form of numbers, references and citations. See Concepcion Rodriguez Parada, “Los Catalogos e Inventarios en la Historia del Libro y de las Bibliotecas,” *Textos Universitarios de Biblioteconomia y Documentacion* 18 (2007): 1-11; Darnton, “Book Production,” 240; Priya Joshi, “Quantitative Method, Literary History,” *Book History* 5 (2002): 265.

intellectuals and Lagosian publications (books, pamphlets and newspapers) were recorded by title, but also by the number of times they were cited in the publications of others. The database, therefore, allows one to establish the citationality<sup>40</sup> of Lagosian publications: it recovers how many times a registered book was mentioned in other Lagosian publications and identifies the most cited books in the context of the Lagosian intellectual network in the period studied.<sup>41</sup>

This technique makes visible for the first time the fact that, of the 247 books registered in the database, no less than sixty titles<sup>42</sup> were mentioned at least once in other Lagosian publications such as books and pamphlets, and in West African newspapers.<sup>43</sup> The large number of publications cited or mentioned in newspapers<sup>44</sup> offers firm evidence of a

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<sup>40</sup> Here, I am not referring to citationality in the sense that Jacques Derrida uses the term. For Derrida, every sign, whether spoken or written, can be cited or “put in quotation marks”. Rather, I take citationality to mean both the ability to cite texts and the act of doing so. For instance, an author may refer to, or cite, the text of another author. Citations, however, can reveal the preferences of authors, and provide some information on who reads whom, or who agrees with whom. In this sense, the idea of citationality used in this study is closer to the type of analyses that characterise scientometrics and bibliometrics, which seek to understand the quantitative patterns of citations formed between authors and texts. For Derrida’s definition of citationality, see Jacques Derrida, “Signature Event Context,” in *Limited Inc*, ed. Gerald Graff, trans. Samuel Weber and Jeffrey Mehlman (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971), 1-23. On scientometrics and bibliometrics, see L. Leydesdorff, “Theories of citation?” *Scientometrics* 43 (1998): 5-25; Benoit Godin, “On the Origins of Bibliometrics,” *Scientometrics* 68 (2006): 109-133; Terrence A. Brooks, “Private Acts and Public Objects: An Investigation of Citer Motivations,” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 36 (1985): 223-229.

<sup>41</sup> This information was obtained from the WNA-AN, which I queried with the title of each book in the database in order to find specific mentions in the period under study.

<sup>42</sup> Which amounts to twenty five per cent of the total

<sup>43</sup> Between 1874 and 1922. See *Bibliography* for list of newspapers consulted.

<sup>44</sup> The fact that twenty-five per cent of books were mentioned in newspapers is very important. Consider a current example: the European Book Publishing Statistics report estimates that, in 2012 alone, 149,800

dialogue between media, and in particular between books and pamphlets and West African newspapers.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, when considering the number of times that a book was mentioned in other Lagosian publications, it is possible to identify the books that had a wider citational impact in the Lagosian intellectual network at the time: J. A. O. Payne's *Lagos and West African Almanack and Diary* (1874);<sup>46</sup> Adeoye Deniga's *African Leaders* (1919);<sup>47</sup> J. K. Coker's *Polygamy Defended* (1915);<sup>48</sup> Mojola Agbebi's *Ona Si Obirin Kan* (1895);<sup>49</sup> R.E. Dennett's *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (1906);<sup>50</sup> James Johnson's *Yoruba Heathenism* (1899);<sup>51</sup> John Olawumi George's *Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country and Its Tribes* (1897).<sup>52</sup>

This list highlights the diversity of Lagosian intellectual production: publications written in English and Yoruba, authors from Europe and Africa, books published as pamphlets or serialised almanacs, in Lagos and in the UK, in both large and slim formats. Lagosian intellectuals were engaged in a vibrant intellectual network that

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books were published in the United Kingdom. It would be impossible to have twenty-five per cent of these books reviewed by the most popular newspapers in the UK: this would require publishing around 36,000 book reviews (or about one hundred per day).

<sup>45</sup> As is explored in detail in *Chapter 3*.

<sup>46</sup> Payne, *Payne's Lagos and West African Almanack* (1874).

<sup>47</sup> Adeoye Deniga, *African Leaders* (Lagos, s.n., 1919).

<sup>48</sup> J. K. Coker, *Polygamy Defended* (Lagos, s.n., 1915).

<sup>49</sup> Mojola V. D. B. Agbebi, *Ona Si Obirin Kan* (s.l., s.n., 1895).

<sup>50</sup> R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind: or, Notes on the Kingly Office in West Africa* (London and New York: s. n., 1906).

<sup>51</sup> James Johnson, *Yoruba Heathenism* (Exeter and London: James Townsend & Son, 1899).

<sup>52</sup> John Olawumi George, *Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country and Its Tribes* (Baden: E. Kaufmann Lahr, 1897).

produced a rich and varied print culture. The strong influence of some titles in other Lagosian publications shows that books were part of wider discussions, engaging with newspapers and other books in a continuous cycle of debate.<sup>53</sup>

The database also provides interesting details about where books came from: in addition to Lagos and London, the books that circulated within the Lagosian intellectual network came from at least thirty-three cities: Oxford, Exeter, Ibadan, Paris, Bungay, Ebute Metta, Calabar, New Calabar, Baden, Ondo, Abeokuta, Nottingham, Colwyn Bay, New York, Toronto and Brussels are some of the cities where the books and pamphlets of the Lagosian intellectual network were published.<sup>54</sup> The variety of places of publication is echoed in the number of publishing houses that produced Lagosian books and pamphlets: the database indicates at least sixty-two different entities: some, like the CMS Bookshop in Lagos and James Townsend & Sons in London, published frequently (over the period studied, the former published at least forty-four texts, while the latter published eleven texts); some local presses, such as Tika Tore and Jehova, both in Lagos, were also very active.

Other interesting patterns in the dynamics of the Lagosian intellectual network can be observed with the aid of the database. It is possible, for instance, to determine how many publications were produced every year. The number of publications rose steadily throughout the years, from one or two publications per year in the 1870s and 1880s, to between four and five in the 1890s and 1900s, to between five and ten in the 1910s, and frequently more than ten per year towards the 1920s and after.

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<sup>53</sup> *Chapter 3* discusses in further detail the understanding of books as part of a wider intellectual debate.

<sup>54</sup> This wide geographical reach is discussed in *Chapters 4, 5 and 6*.

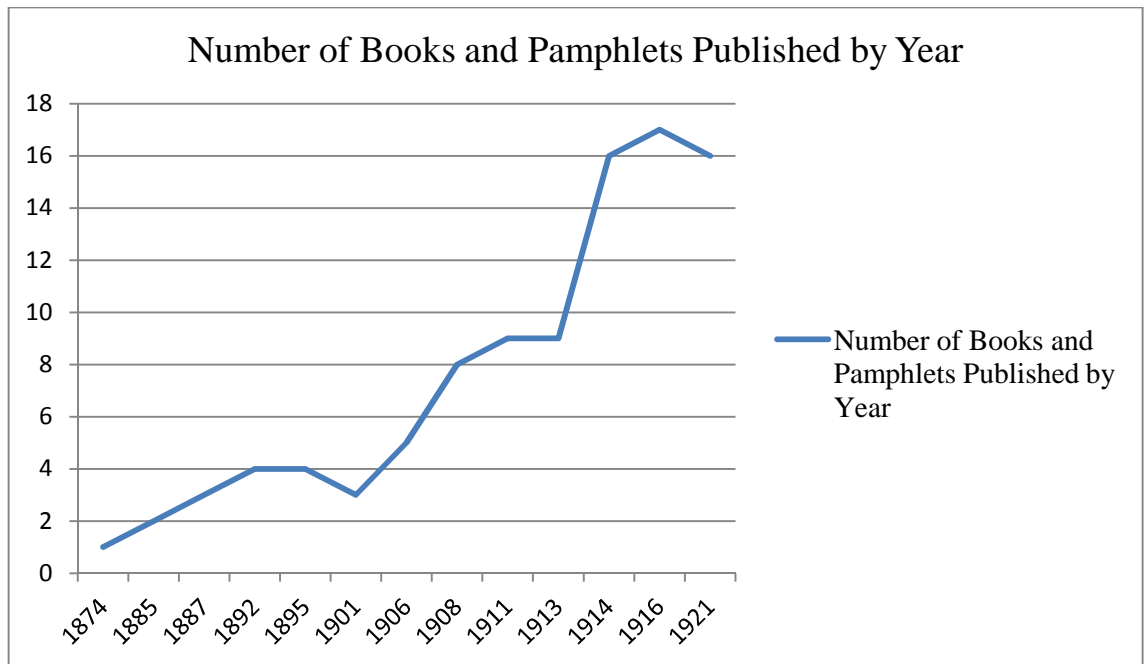


Table 1.1 – Number of books and pamphlets published by year.

This pattern can be explained by a combination of factors, such as the growth of the Lagosian population, the establishment and expansion of the colonial education system and the development of printing technology. Even during the First World War, when the costs of printing increased significantly,<sup>55</sup> Lagosian book production was not halted.<sup>56</sup> But perhaps the most important element in the growth of Lagosian intellectual production was a broader process of social transformation, namely, the development and consolidation of a print culture in West Africa that had at its core a rich variety of

<sup>55</sup> In 1918, *In Leisure Hours* noted that “At a meeting of the London Master Printers, held at Stationers’ Hall in October, it was reported that the total increase in charges for printing (i.e. composing, maching, etc.) since the outbreak of the war has amounted to 60 per cent.” For the complete article, see “Increased Cost of Printing,” *In Leisure Hours* 9, 95 (March 1918).

<sup>56</sup> The database registered a significant rise in the numbers of books published between 1914 and 1918, from less than ten books per year before 1913 to more than fifteen per year in 1914 and 1916.



publications, debates and agents.<sup>57</sup> Yet, to appreciate this print culture, it is necessary to go beyond numbers and to study, in particular, the qualitative relations that emerge within the archive and that characterised Lagosian intellectual production at the time.

### 1.3. History, Literature and Genre

This chapter has so far focused on the quantitative approaches to Lagosian books and pamphlets that are made possible by the use of an electronic database. However, this type of analysis has limits. As Roger Chartier notes, reliance on numbers alone may lead one to “characterize [past] cultural configurations on the basis of [present] categories of texts that were supposed to be specific to those [past] configurations. This operation [is] reductive”.<sup>58</sup> In a similar manner to Cooper’s critique of the use of contemporary analytical concepts to study the past,<sup>59</sup> Chartier points to the problems of taking for granted the categories implicit in the production of quantitative data. The illusion of objectivity that transpires from patterns derived from numbers may reinforce present categories rather than helping to understand the past.<sup>60</sup>

Chartier highlights the importance of seeking the meaning of texts for readers at the time. In order to do this, he suggests that it is necessary to take into consideration reading practices “that were common long ago” as well as the “specific structure of

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<sup>57</sup> As argued by scholars, including Karin Barber. See Barber, “I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture,” 31-49.

<sup>58</sup> Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 68.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

texts composed for uses that are not the uses of today's readers of those same texts."<sup>61</sup>

What a quantitative analysis does not permit is a better understanding of the structures and uses of Lagosian books and pamphlets. While finding quantitative patterns of Lagosian print culture through the electronic database can add to the understanding of the dynamics of the intellectual network and support some of the arguments of this study, there are many aspects of this intellectual production of which an understanding can only be gleaned through qualitative analysis. This is the case for an appreciation of the genres that emerged in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Lagos, along with the constitution of their respective publics.<sup>62</sup>

Genre, for Karin Barber, "is a concept by which we group texts into categories or families".<sup>63</sup> For instance, we may look for Lagosian publications that reflect categories or genres that make sense to a modern reader: these may include science or politics, education, literature or even history. Finding genres would thus imply looking for publications that fit with a particular idea of what a scientific, political, educational, literary or historical text is in the present day. Following Chartier's and Barber's ideas, however, whilst the classification of Lagosian books and pamphlets into genres would be a rich way to study print culture production, the categories and criteria used for such classification should derive from the period in which they were produced, rather than from present ideas about how to organise texts.

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<sup>61</sup> Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 9.

<sup>62</sup> Barber, *Print Culture and the First Yoruba Novel*, 37.

<sup>63</sup> Barber, *The Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics*, 32.

How should we identify these emerging genres in the case of Lagosian books and pamphlets? Historical writing provides, for two reasons, a good place for exploring emerging genres. First, a large number of publications were of a “historical”<sup>64</sup> nature: within the database, thirteen books contain the words “history” or “historical” in the title, and a further sixteen refer to *itan* (history in Yoruba). In sum, more than ten per cent of Lagosian books and pamphlets were “historical” writings of some type. Second, this type of publication is exceptionally relevant to subsequent scholarly production on Lagos, Yoruba and Nigeria, especially from 1950 onwards.<sup>65</sup> As *Chapter 2* discusses in more detail, scholars writing after the 1950s understand this historical production as a prelude to the academic literature of the second half of the twentieth century. They are unable to see the differences between what we understand as “history” today, and what Lagosian authors and readers understood as their histories or *itan*. Indeed, to appreciate this context it is necessary to rethink the category of history itself and how it changed through time.

From the time that J. B. Wood’s *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa* was published in 1878 to “the barest outline of modern West African history”<sup>66</sup> with which P. Zachernuk starts his analysis of Lagosian intellectual production, the idea of history has acquired many meanings. In the 1960s and 1970s, the increased interest of historians in the colonial world triggered a redefinition of their own historical practices.<sup>67</sup> At the

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<sup>64</sup> This concept will be problematised in *Chapter 2*.

<sup>65</sup> A topic which is discussed in detail in *Chapter 2*.

<sup>66</sup> Philip S. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 1.

<sup>67</sup> Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff*, R. J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta Books, 1997), Chap. 1; Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

same time that the discipline of history was trying to reconstitute itself in order to study Africa and Asia, it faced major challenges that prompted historians to rethink their episteme, theoretical frameworks and methodologies.<sup>68</sup> Eurocentric analytical frameworks were not sufficient to make sense of the complexity stressed by studies of Africa and Asia. Historians questioned their own understandings of the discipline and sought resources from other fields: literature, anthropology and sociology complemented and reshaped the limits and definitions of academic history.<sup>69</sup>

One of the challenges faced by historians came from the literary field. In questioning the role of the historian as an objective commentator, some scholars exposed the similarities between history and literature.<sup>70</sup> Some authors even affirmed that there was no difference between historical and fictional discourse, particularly when scholarly authority and objectivity were asserted from a position of colonial or postcolonial power: Chinua Achebe's landmark novel, *Things Fall Apart* (1958), starkly exposes this colonial myth of objectivity through the figure of the District Commissioner, whose anthropological investigations are replete with racist stereotypes of Africans.<sup>71</sup> According to this critique, history will always be a narrative that expresses the

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<sup>68</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*; Steven Feierman, "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History," in *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions Research in Africa*, eds. Robert H. Bates, V. Y. Mudimbe and Jean O'Barr (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 167–212; Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

<sup>69</sup> Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff*; Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*; V. Y. Mudimbe, Robert H. Bates, and Jean F. O'Barr, eds., *Africa and the Disciplines* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

<sup>70</sup> Such as Certeau, *The Writing of History*; Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff*.

<sup>71</sup> Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (New York: Anchor Books, [1958]1994).

experience of the author and derives, in the same way as literary production, from subjective patterns.

In *History between Narrative and Knowledge* (1994),<sup>72</sup> Chartier discusses this challenge and highlights the differences between history and literature. Chartier explains that history as a discipline is moved by a common intention to contribute to public knowledge. Although there are many possible methodologies that could be used in the production of historical knowledge, they all aim to preserve and enrich public knowledge.<sup>73</sup> In order to build public knowledge, the discipline counts on tools for avoiding the production of *false histories*. Archival references and peer reviewing, for instance, are implemented in order to guarantee that sources are not forged or historical facts invented: “the compilation, organization, and treatment of data, the production of hypotheses, the critique and verification of results, the validation of the adequacy of historical discourse to its object”<sup>74</sup> are some of the methods of preservation and quality control in the discipline. The set of criteria that a manuscript has to follow in order to acquire the disciplinary seal of “history” is not essential for non-academic, fictional accounts of the past; and for Chartier, this constitutes a key difference between making history and narrating historical events – in other words, the difference between academic history and literature, or even “professional” and “amateur” history.

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<sup>72</sup> This paper was originally published as “L’Histoire entre Recit et Connaissance,” *Modern Language Notes* 109 (1994): 583-600, and later translated to the English to form the first chapter of Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff*.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

This challenge is especially interesting in the context of this thesis. The concept of history as defined in the 1960s simply should not be applied to Lagosian intellectual production between the 1880s and the 1920s. Avoiding the use of this definition of history allows for a more adequate analysis of the primary material, and prompts novel theoretical questions. For instance, it allows the question: what was the definition of history for Lagosian intellectuals? Was there a consensus among Lagosians in this period about what constituted history? When they wrote about the *past*, were they making history or narrating history, or both? Were these intellectuals creating historical knowledge or producing a narrative genre, or both? In other words, should Lagosian publications be treated as history or literature? Or both?

As examined in more detail in *Chapter 2*, the academic literature on Lagos from after 1950 has often sought a certain type of history within the Lagosian publications of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In principle, there are good reasons for thinking that Lagosians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries wrote history using criteria very similar to those used by more recent scholars in the academic discipline of history, and therefore that Lagosians produced texts that could be used as secondary sources. As mentioned above, for instance, several Lagosian books had the word *history* in their titles and seemed to follow a clear historical methodology that is similar to the one used by contemporary academia, as laid out by Chartier. For instance, in the preface to *History of Lagos*, John B. O. Losi showed concerns about having collected “sufficient data to enable it to merit the name of ‘history of Lagos’”.<sup>75</sup> He was also aware of his sources of information, and clarified that, besides having “approached

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<sup>75</sup> J. B. O. Losi, Preface to *History of Lagos*, (Lagos: African and Education Press, 1914).

the aged,” he also made use of other published histories in order “to obtain some authenticated facts”.<sup>76</sup>

J. O. George’s *Historical Notes* (1897) also seems to follow this model. For example, he mentioned his written sources, which included Payne’s *Table* and the local newspaper, the *Lagos Weekly Record*. He also pointed out that his publication was submitted to a form of review: “the author [...] hopes that the historical and other statements in this little work will be serviceable in some respects and while humbly submitting it to the indulgent criticism of the public begs to tender his sincere thanks to the friends who were kind enough to furnish him with valuable information and other services”.<sup>77</sup>

In fact, the system of peer review was widely used in the 1880s and 1890s. Publishers, for instance, used the peer review system to select manuscripts for publication: the minutes of the CMS Bookshop Publication Committee mention several books that were not approved for printing, such as Jesse Page’s *The Yorubas of West Africa* and Ajisafe’s *Laws and Customs of Yoruba People*. Losi’s *The Yoruba History of Abeokuta*, however, was considered to meet the standards of the Committee and was accepted for publication.<sup>78</sup>

These similarities explain, to some extent, the fact that contemporary scholars writing from the 1950s onwards have sought to extract historical knowledge from what they consider as this early Lagosian historiographic production. Indeed, the similarities are

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> George, Introduction to *Historical Notes*

<sup>78</sup> Doortmont, “Recapturing the Past: Samuel Johnson and the Construction of the History of the Yoruba,” 44–45.

such that it is not uncommon to find scholars evaluating Lagosian publications by the standards of the contemporary genres of academic history. However, from this perspective, publications like Losi's *History* and George's *Historical Notes* often fall short of accomplishing what contemporary historians look for: while many Lagosians were writing accounts of the past, among these only some were writing "history" as defined by contemporary academia.

Consider the case of Toyin Falola and Michel Doortmont's analysis of the work of M. C. Adeyemi. In 1989, Falola and Doortmont published an article that illustrates what happens when Lagosian intellectual production is read and evaluated through contemporary historical genres. "Iwe Itan Oyo: A Traditional Yoruba History and its Author" is a translation with subsequent analysis of the book *Iwe Itan Oyo-Ile at Oyo Isisiyi abi Ago-d'Oyo*, written by M. C. Adeyemi and originally published in 1914.<sup>79</sup> The paper is a clear attempt to make Adeyemi's book accessible to a contemporary academic audience. Indeed, the article was part of the *Journal of African History*'s concern to publish a "series of pieces using specific documents or other texts to illustrate the problems of methodology and interpretation encountered by historians of Africa in the use of sources".<sup>80</sup>

The paper starts with an analytical contextualisation of the book and its author; the second part consists of the translation into English from the original Yoruba text, in which Falola's and Doortmont's comments appear in the form of footnotes. In providing a textual translation of the original, the authors show a concern with

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<sup>79</sup> Falola and Doortmont, "Iwe Itan Oyo," 321-329.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 321.



preservation that is usually accorded to primary sources. However, there is a clear aim to provide readers with a framework for using this text as a source of accurate historical information, that is, of evaluating its contents and style in terms of a contemporary historical genre. By providing an analysis of the book and a biography of its author, Falola and Doortmont seek to “assist other scholars in the *use* of this hitherto untranslated text”.<sup>81</sup>

This agenda is visible in two features of their analysis: first, the preoccupation with verifying the origin of Adeyemi’s sources, indicating where some sources are not feasible while speculating about when Adeyemi most probably “had an opportunity to collect his accounts”; this is also clear when they notify the reader that the book gives “no clue as to whom his informants actually were”.<sup>82</sup> Second, they are also concerned with the veracity of the information provided in the text. For that reason, they compare the information provided by Adeyemi with the narrative in Johnson’s *History of the Yorubas*. Indeed, Adeyemi’s text is considered by the authors to be a valuable contribution since, according to them, it is “useful as a complement and cross-reference [for Johnson’s *History of the Yorubas*] where both describe the same events”.<sup>83</sup>

In this way, although Falola and Doortmont clearly consider Adeyemi’s text as a primary source, their introduction implies that this “hitherto untranslated text” can also be used as historiography. The difference is subtle but important, since it implies that the analysis of the book focuses upon pointing out its limitations as historical writing

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid. Emphasis added.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 324–325.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 324.

rather than understanding it as part of a broader project of Lagosian print culture. By identifying, chapter by chapter, the gaps, omissions and mistakes and the sections of Adeyemi's *Itan* that were better narrated in Johnson's *History*, they are implicitly locating the text within a hierarchy that is defined on the basis of modern historical practices and a contemporary understanding of (academic) history. In their reading, "Adeyemi's *Iwe itan Oyo* is a very useful text for the historian of Oyo" despite the "shortcomings [they] have identified" and "limitations of chronicles of this nature".<sup>84</sup>

So, how should we distinguish Lagosian history from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from contemporary standards of academic history? In addition to recognising that the idea of history in itself has changed through time, an appreciation of the emerging genres in Lagosian publications requires that we study in more detail the ways in which Lagosian books and pamphlets were meant to contribute to a distinct cultural project.

In 1901, Dr. Obadiah Johnson read before the Lagos Institute the paper *Lagos Past*, later published in the format of a pamphlet.<sup>85</sup> Along with Johnson's lecture, the pamphlet reproduced in a separate section headed "Discussion" the comments made by members of the public after the presentation. The format is similar to that of notes taken in a meeting: it has the name of the commenter, followed by his comments, supposedly written down word-for-word as they were made. This section shows that Johnson's paper was not well received among many intellectuals in the audience. Most of those who stood up to make a comment openly criticised the Oyo-centred version of Lagos

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 331.

<sup>85</sup> Obadiah Johnson, *Lagos Past* (Lagos: s.n., 1901).

history presented by Obadiah Johnson: “I regret to have to say that [Johnson] seems to me to especially have been too partial to one tribe, the Yoruba tribe properly so called, especially to the Ibadans,” said Bishop Oluwole. Otunba Payne endorsed this remark and A. Haastrup “suggested a correction”.<sup>86</sup>

Sapara Williams, one of the intellectuals in the audience, was very emphatic: “I deny that Oyo is the capital city of Yoruba land. [...] The honourable Doctor has certainly gone into debatable ground in his enquiry into some of the causes that have led to the disruption of the Yorubas kingdom”.<sup>87</sup> While Williams was categorical in his opposition to Johnson’s Oyo-centred account, he was also looking forward to resuming the debate about Yoruba history: “I shall sit down feeling that at some future time we shall have the opportunity of discussing the several points raised in the paper”.<sup>88</sup> This is an interesting example that shows listeners providing feedback on the spot; moreover, the fact that the discussion section was published in the pamphlet along with the lecture can be read as sign of the value that these comments have. It was considered that it was part of the presentation and should therefore be published with it as part of the same intellectual product.<sup>89</sup> Forming part of the same intellectual product – or being published in the same pamphlet – did not mean having similar ideas or opinions. It was not Johnson’s version of the history that was the main product being sold in the pamphlet, but the discussion it provoked.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> The contribution of the readership to the Lagosian intellectual production is better analysed in *Chapter 3*.

The discussion of Johnson's paper provides a good example of how Lagosian intellectual production can be approached for both its historical and literary narrative values. Reflecting Chartier's definition of history and how it differs from literature, this episode shows a concern among intellectuals to avoid "false histories". A "correction" was necessary and an "opportunity of discussing" called for. Similarly, the process was transparent, public, noted down and published. O. Johnson's version of *Lagos Past* was not passing as proper history for his audience, and this was made very clear to the reader. So, how can we understand this and other Lagosian texts? Is there a middle ground between seeing them as narratives with no historiographic value and treating them as *almost* academic historiography?

The middle ground is to understand Lagosian historical writings as a distinct genre. There are at least four dimensions that allow us to identify Lagosian histories as an emerging genre in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (two of which are addressed in this section, and two of which are dealt with in the following one). First, a common set of conventions is negotiated, agreed and replicated across texts of the same genre. As discussed above, many of the histories follow a coherent set of criteria, including a concern for peer review, for the quality of sources of information, and for the intention to contribute to a distinct pool of knowledge. In fact, this is probably the main source of confusion in understanding these texts as scholarly production: they are similar in many respects to the practices of modern academic history, but contribute to a notably different pool of knowledge.

Second, the conventions of a genre arise from new experiences. This is an important theme in Karin Barber's *Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics*, in which she

addresses the complexity of using texts as sources for scholarly study.<sup>90</sup> Texts are reflexive, she explains:<sup>91</sup> they reflect *upon* reality, but are also a *part* of that reality. This double feature should be taken into consideration for the study of Lagosian publications, in which authors wrote about their own experience – in many cases, their own history – but this also constituted a social fact insofar as they engaged and played a role in the social and intellectual history of Lagos. They were, thus, part of the intellectual experience of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

However, it is not only the role of publications in Lagosian history that is relevant for this thesis. Their reflection upon their own reality and experiences is also important: “If you look closely at *how* texts are reflexive, you will get a sense of how a society or community understands itself”.<sup>92</sup> In the case of Lagosian books and pamphlets, if we look more closely, as Barber suggests, we can see how these intellectuals were producing history as a reflection of their own experiences.

An example of how Barber puts this into practice is provided by her analysis of I. B. Akinyele’s *Iwe Itan Ibadan* (1914), in which she seeks to understand the meaning of history for the author.<sup>93</sup> She argues that, for Akinyele, history could be understood as culture: it “was embodied in a rich heritage of language and textual forms of oriki” and “by writing it down, it could not only be preserved, it could also be regenerated”.<sup>94</sup> As

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<sup>90</sup> Barber, *The Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics*.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Barber, “I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture.”

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

Barber explains, this understanding of history accounts for the presence of ethnographic accounts in books of the period.

However, for her, Akinyele's contribution should not be reduced to "writing down oral traditions".<sup>95</sup> Barber identifies in his book an innovative way of making history: he combined in the same text two modes of remembrance, two types of experience – *Oriki* and *Itan*<sup>96</sup> – that were "usually performed and remembered by two distinct sets of people".<sup>97</sup> This not only created a new way of preserving history, but also brought to the public sphere an experience that had previously been seen as an exclusive practice: "This could not have happened within the oral context, where townspeople declined to narrate even their own town's history".<sup>98</sup>

This process of transforming history from a "segregated knowledge, inaccessible to most people"<sup>99</sup> into "a public text, a text projected to a public imagined as having equal rights of access to the past"<sup>100</sup> was a defining feature of a broader intellectual project that had print culture at its core. Barber describes this project as a "pervasive, long-lasting project of Yoruba cultural consolidation in which language, culture, and history were one and were recuperated in order to be edited and developed toward an envisaged

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<sup>95</sup> Barber, "I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture," 36.

<sup>96</sup> As Barber notes, *Oriki* are a form of praise poetry or appellations that "are usually performed by *obinrin-ile* (women of the household) or by professional bards.[...] *Oriki* are usually allusive and obscure. [...] The meaning of these obscure formulations is not implicit within the text but is carried in a parallel narrative tradition called *Itan* [that are] told by male lineage elders." Barber, *I Could Speak Until Tomorrow*, 36.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>99</sup> Barber, "I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture," 36.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

future civilization”.<sup>101</sup> In this way, in the creation of this public knowledge, the project of print culture involved more than the preservation of traditions, or the reduction of oral history to written knowledge before it was lost: it involved a complete change in the way of making, transmitting and preserving history. Such a transformation should not, however, be conflated with a modern, professional, academic form of history.

#### 1.4. History: the Emergence of a New Genre and its Publics

“Texts [...] are not windows”, Barber argues: “They are, rather, themselves the terrain to be studied”.<sup>102</sup> Lagosian books and pamphlets are more than just a way of accessing the Lagosian past. They *are* the past. Studying these publications, we may learn about Lagosian history, but, more than that, we may also learn what history could have meant to these intellectuals as a genre, as a concept, as a way of looking backwards and forwards.

When Chartier defined history, he highlighted the fact that the intention to contribute to a pool of knowledge was crucial: “We need to recall that the aim of knowledge is what constitutes historical intentionality”.<sup>103</sup> Lagosian authors had a clear intentionality of adding to a pool of knowledge, but this was a rather different pool from what scholars writing since 1950 have had in mind. It was not defined or bounded by modern professional academic standards and it had its own criteria for defining history and distinct standards for publishing.

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., Conclusion.

<sup>102</sup> Barber, *The Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics*, 9.

<sup>103</sup> Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff*, 25.

This section argues that Lagosian publications show a clear intention to make a new pool of knowledge. Here, we observe a third characteristic that identifies Lagosian historical production as a distinct genre, namely, its mode of addressivity. Using Bakhtin's work, Barber argues that genres are defined by their addressivity and, therefore, that in the creation of new genres "cultural producers deliberately experiment with imagined and addressed audiences".<sup>104</sup> In the case of Lagosian publications, the addressivity of the historical genre was implied in its intention to contribute to a common pool of knowledge, much in the same way that, as Nozomi Sawada argues, newspapers were an integral part in the construction of community in colonial Lagos.<sup>105</sup> Through their aim of contributing to a common yet distinctly West African pool of knowledge, Lagosian intellectuals helped to constitute a new public and, therefore, a new and unique genre for narrating history.

Among the books and pamphlets identified as my archive, many show that Lagosian writers understood their publications as part of a group effort to contribute to a wider pool of knowledge. This is the case in John B. O. Losi's *History of Lagos* (1914),<sup>106</sup> published by Tika-Tore in Lagos, first in Yoruba in 1913, and later translated into English after a "request made by certain classes of men who could not read Yoruba, and yet are anxious to know the history of Lagos".<sup>107</sup> Losi was the headmaster of the Catholic School of St. John Evangelist in Lagos and wrote the 95-page book "to

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<sup>104</sup> Rebecca Jones, "The 5<sup>th</sup> European Conference on African Studies, Lisbon-review," *Africa in Words* blog, July 4, 2010, <http://africainwords.com/2013/07/04/the-5th-european-conference-on-african-studies-lisbon-review/>

<sup>105</sup> Sawada, "The Educated Elite and Associational Life in Early Lagos Newspapers".

<sup>106</sup> Losi, *History of Lagos*.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., Preface.



compile a short history of Lagos [...] for the use of schools and also for those who desire to know the history of Lagos”.<sup>108</sup>

This is also the case in J. B. Wood’s *Historical Notices of Lagos* published in 1878. In his preface, Wood says that his book is a “contribution towards a history of Lagos,” although “a very slight one”.<sup>109</sup> However, the size does not appear to interfere with its value: “though small, it will prove of some value if it serves to increase knowledge of [...] Lagos and its neighbourhood”.<sup>110</sup> J. O. George’s *Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country and its Tribes* is another example. The 65-page book was written from a lecture delivered in 1884 in the YMCA and St Paul’s Church Breadfruit in Lagos and published three years later in Baden, Switzerland. In the introduction, the author states that “the subject of this paper is purely historical”<sup>111</sup> and that his “efforts should however be viewed in the light of a stepping-stone towards the formation of a proper Yoruba history, which he hopes will be at no distant date”.<sup>112</sup>

Compiled by Rev. E. E. Collins Tella, *Awon Orin Mimo* was a collection of twenty-five Christian hymns in Yoruba published in Lagos in 1904.<sup>113</sup> In the preface, Collins expressed the intention to contribute to a common pool of knowledge, highlighting another feature of this collective pool: its public character. Collins was collecting “these few hymns together [...] in use in this community [in order] to put [them] within the

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Wood, *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa*, iv.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>112</sup> George, *Historical Notes*, Introduction.

<sup>113</sup> E. E. Collins Tella, *Awon Orin Mimo - Ati Ti Iwa Rere* (Baden: C. Schweickhardt, 1901).

reach of every Christian”.<sup>114</sup> He understood his compilation as a necessary first step, “as this effort would be encouraged”.<sup>115</sup> Collins believed that up to a thousand hymns could be gathered in a common and public effort.

This understanding that a common project also meant a public one can be seen in other cases. Barber showed that I. B. Akinyele’s ideas of history included making public segregated knowledge by bringing it together in a published format. In his book, Akinyele published *oriki* and *itan* side by side, juxtaposing two distinct forms of remembrance that were not usually memorised by the same person in a household.<sup>116</sup> J. O. George also juxtaposes *oriki* and *itan* in his book. In the final part of his *Historical Notes* he reproduced a full *oriki*, followed by explanations and notes on how to understand it.<sup>117</sup>

Making this knowledge public represented not only a change in the way of making and remembering history, but also a social transformation and it was met with resistance by some people. The foreword to the second edition of *Iwosan* (1895)<sup>118</sup> – a manual of traditional Yoruba medicine – explained the kind of rejection that Joseph Odumosu experienced for making public this kind of knowledge: “These publications earned for him the undying praise and thanks of all who speak the Yoruba language, but he incurred the greatest displeasure of many native herbalists who considered that the

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., Preface.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Barber, “I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture,” 36.

<sup>117</sup> George, *Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country and its Tribes*.

<sup>118</sup> Joseph Odumosu, *Iwosan*, (Ikeja: John West Printing Division, 1895).

secrets of their trade were thereby placed in the hands and within the easy reach of all people”.<sup>119</sup>

The difficulties faced by Odumosu were mirrored in the reluctance of some informants to be named. For instance, Wood, in his *Preface*, mentioned that “several friends who very kindly gave their assistance would prefer that their names should not be mentioned; indeed, in one instance – in the case of a very intelligent and capable informant – a promise had to be given that what he might say should be so used as that it could never be traced to him as the source whence it was obtained”.<sup>120</sup>

Similarly, in Losi’s preface, the author expressed his gratitude “to those who so kindly furnished me with many important facts and events, though many of them preferred that their names should not be mentioned in this paper”.<sup>121</sup> Fear of making knowledge public – shown in the fact that many informants asked for their identities to be kept secret – indicates, perhaps, just how revolutionary this process of publication was.

Another way of making knowledge public was through bureaucratic publications. Organisational reports sometimes had a role outside their institutions. This is the case with the *Annual Report for 1884-1885*.<sup>122</sup> Published in 1886 by Omolayo Standard Press of Nigeria, in Ado Ekiti, this report was delivered in the format of a lecture in connection with a debate on imperialism organised by the Breadfruit Young Men’s Christian Association. In 1890, Alfred Moloney published through the Royal

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., Introduction.

<sup>120</sup> Wood, *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa*, v.

<sup>121</sup> Losi, *History of Lagos*, ii.

<sup>122</sup> *Annual Report for 1884-1885* (Ado Ekiti: Omolayo Standard Press of Nigeria, 1885).

Geographic Society his *Notes on Yoruba and the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos, West Africa*.<sup>123</sup> It was originally published in the proceedings of the Society and later printed as a separate pamphlet. *Report of Rev. J. H. Harris to the Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society*, published in 1911, is the result of an investigation regarding the maintenance of domestic slavery in West Africa by colonial authorities.<sup>124</sup> This report discusses the history of slavery, its relation to “native customs” and proposes reforms that would tackle the problem. Other reports were available to readers in Lagos, such as A. Haastrup’s *Report of the Recent Visit of His Excellency Sir Gilbert Carter, KMCG to Jebu Remo*, published in 1894 in Paris,<sup>125</sup> and *The Eighteenth Report of Yoruba Auxiliary Association of the British and Foreign Bible Society with its Rules and Account of Contributions*, published in Exeter in 1896.<sup>126</sup>

Publications were a way not only of making knowledge public, but of highlighting the activities of public figures. For instance, a number of memoirs and biographies were made available in this period, such as the *Memoir of Reverend Henry Townsend*, written by his son G. Townsend and published in 1887 in Exeter.<sup>127</sup> A biography of Samuel Crowther was also published: *Samuel Crowther, the Slave Boy who Became Bishop of*

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<sup>123</sup> Alfred Moloney, *Notes on Yoruba and the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos, West Africa* (London: Royal Geographic Society, 1890).

<sup>124</sup> J. H. Harris, *Report of Rev. J. H. Harris to the Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society* (s.l., s.n., 1911).

<sup>125</sup> A. Haastrup, *Report of the Recent Visit of His Excellency Sir Gilbert Carter, KMCG to Jebu Remo* (Paris: A. Challamel, 1894).

<sup>126</sup> British and Foreign Bible Society, *The Eighteenth Report of Yoruba Auxiliary Association of the British and Foreign Bible Society with its Rules and Account of Contributions* (Exeter: James Townsend, 1896).

<sup>127</sup> G. Townsend, *Memoir of Reverend Henry Townsend* (Exeter, James Townsend, 1887).

*the Niger*, written by J. Page and published in 1889 in Lagos.<sup>128</sup> Another example is C. H. V. Gollmer's biography of his father, *Charles A. Gollmer: His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa*, published in 1889 in London.<sup>129</sup>

Besides memoirs and biographies, often people would write about their own experiences of travelling in West Africa or Yorubaland. This was not new, for many explorers became famous by publishing accounts of their trips around Africa.<sup>130</sup> This genre still attracted many readers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; examples include *An Account of Dr. Mojola Agbebi's Work in West Africa, Comprising Yorubaland, Fantiland, the Ekiti Country, Central Nigeria, Southern Nigeria and the Cameroons*, published in 1904 in New Calabar.<sup>131</sup>

There were other ways of making knowledge public and contributing to the common project of Lagosian print culture. Almanacs, for instance, aimed to provide the reader with plenty of organised and indexed objective information, updated every year. However, some of these almanacs also intended to inform their readers about the past, through sections on historical events, thus bringing different genres into the same

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<sup>128</sup> Page, *Samuel Crowther, the Slave Boy who Became Bishop of the Niger*.

<sup>129</sup> Gollmer, *Charles A. Gollmer: His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa*.

<sup>130</sup> Such as the famous David Livingstone and Henry M. Stanley. See David Livingstone, *Journeys in South Africa, or Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: The Amalgamated Press Ltd, [1857] 1905); Henry M. Stanley, *The Autobiography of Henry M. Stanley* (New York: s.n., [1909] 1969); Patrick Brantlinger, "Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent," *Critical Enquiry* 12 (2013): 166–203; Robert Thornton, "Narrative Ethnography in Africa, 1850-1920: The Creation and Capture of an Appropriate Domain for Anthropology," *Man* 18 (1983): 502–520.

<sup>131</sup> Mojola V. D. B. Agbebi, *An Account of Dr. Mojola V. D. B. Agbebi's Work in West Africa, Comprising Yorubaland, Fantiland, the Ekiti Country, Central Nigeria, Southern Nigeria and the Cameroons* (New Calabar: s.n., 1904).

publication. This was the case of Mojola's *Almanac*, published for the first time in 1893 and written in Yoruba.<sup>132</sup> According to its advertisement in the *Lagos Weekly Record* of 1892, the almanac was "expected to contain a brief history of the Egba People, a short sketch of the life of Bishop Crowther".<sup>133</sup>

This is also the case of the most famous almanac, *Payne's Lagos and West African Almanack and Diary*, first published in 1874 by W. J. Johnson in London.<sup>134</sup> Every number of his almanac had a section called "Remarkable Occurrences", in which he would present in chronological order the main news published in newspapers and other ephemerides. This was another way of making history. Every year, with a new version of his *Almanack*, Payne would provide readers with his version of what it was important to remember and register.

Additions to this pool of knowledge were not only made by "histories". Many intellectuals also contributed works in other genres such as ethnographies, language handbooks, medical manuals and religious texts. Many publications focused on specific people or regions, without mentioning history in their titles. These books were usually aimed not at narrating the history of the people or region in question, but at giving as much information as possible about them. This is also the case of *British Nigeria* by A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, published in 1902, in which the author followed the structure of

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<sup>132</sup> Mojola V. D. B. Agbebi, *Yoruba Illustrated Sheet Almanack* (s.l., s.n., 1893).

<sup>133</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record* (23 July 1892).

<sup>134</sup> Payne, *Payne's Lagos and West African Almanack* (1874). Otunba Payne's publications are analysed in detail in *Chapter 4*.

an ethnography in describing the geography of the place, followed by a short history and a description of how the society was organised, its main cities and characteristics.<sup>135</sup>

This is also the case of “Lagos, Abeokuta and the Alake”, published in 1904 in the *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* and written by William MacGregor.<sup>136</sup> The paper argued that the experiment of native government in Abeokuta had had positive results and should be extended to Lagos “before long”.<sup>137</sup> In order to defend his position, MacGregor divided his paper into sections in which he provided ethnographic descriptions of Lagos and Abeokuta. Other publications by the Royal African Society followed a similar pattern: besides the ethnographic facet, these publications usually included a short historical account.

A historical perspective was also present in *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave-Coast of West Africa* by A. B. Ellis, published in 1894.<sup>138</sup> While the book consisted mainly of proverbs and “Folk-lore” tales, in the foreword and conclusion the author provided us with glimpses of his understanding of history. But what was more interesting about Ellis’s publication was his understanding of how history could be studied. In the preface he stated that, “of the early history of the Yoruba-speaking people nothing is known”, and followed this by explaining that myths could be considered as recollections of historical facts, which was why they were important.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, “British Nigeria,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 1 (1902).

<sup>136</sup> MacGregor, “Lagos, Abeokuta and the Alake,” 464-481.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 481.

<sup>138</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave-coast of West Africa* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1894).

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

While he did not use the category of history to name his work, Ellis believed that he was contributing to a pool of historical knowledge: “in collecting information concerning the religions of the cognate tribes dealt with, my chief purpose was to endeavour to ascertain to what extent different conditions of culture led to the modifications of religious conceptions.[...] we here have an opportunity of observing how the evolution of religion may proceed”.<sup>140</sup>

Ellis’s understanding that history could be studied through myths was followed by J. Parkinson in his paper “Yoruba Folk-lore”, published in the *Journal of the Royal African Society*.<sup>141</sup> Although the author did not mention Ellis’s work in his article, he did mention Ellis’s publication many times in his footnotes. He also – as with Ellis’s books – compared individual narrated tales with other versions, showing the discrepancies, as if he were looking for the final version of each story.

Parkinson introduced his article with a striking sentence: “The following tales, told me for the most part by natives of Oyo, have been left as far as possible in the phrases of the interpreter, himself a Yoruba”.<sup>142</sup> In quoting Parkinson’s opening words, this chapter comes full circle: having started with a demonstration of the richness of Lagosian publications, it closes showing the plurality found within a single genre of Lagosian books and pamphlets. The discovery of plurality in this historical genre was made possible, in part, by studying Lagosian books and pamphlets as a group, initially captured in an electronic database which identified quantitative patterns but also posed

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., Conclusions.

<sup>141</sup> John Parkinson, “Yoruba Folk-lore,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 8, 30 (1909): 165-186.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 165.



qualitative questions that required a rethinking of the constitution of genres in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Lagos. But, as the next chapter will show, this plurality is barely recognised today. Over eight decades, the number of Lagosian books and pamphlets known to scholars has decreased from hundreds to a handful. This process of selection — and its consequences for understanding Lagosian intellectuals — is the subject matter of the next chapter.

## Chapter 2: Sieving Books and Pamphlets

“How can one study colonial societies, keeping in mind – but without being paralyzed by – the fact that the *tools of analysis* we use emerged from the history we are trying to examine?” Frederick Cooper <sup>1</sup>

There are at least 247 books and pamphlets that were published in Lagos and/or by a Lagosian author and/or about Lagos between 1874 and 1922.<sup>2</sup> Given this wealth, why is it that only a handful of these books are regularly referenced in studies about Lagos, Nigeria or Yoruba history? Historians of West Africa from 1958 onwards used the concept of cultural nationalism to describe publications from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Instead of working as an appropriate “tool of analysis”, however, the concept of cultural nationalism brought with it a narrow selection of criteria for Lagosian books and pamphlets.

This chapter argues that the positive emphasis placed on cultural nationalism by historians of West Africa from the 1960s to the 2000s<sup>3</sup> overshadowed other emerging genres of intellectual production in Lagos prior to the 1920s. To support this argument, two interrelated processes are examined. First, the way in which cultural nationalism was consolidated as a category through the manner in which historians of West Africa read, analysed and selected Lagosian publications from the 1870s to the 1920s. This analysis is important because scholarly production from the immediate post-independence period in Nigeria firmly established a nationalist framework for the study

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<sup>1</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 4. Emphasis added.

<sup>2</sup> According to my own research – see *Chapter 1*, section on database.

<sup>3</sup> The term historians of West Africa refers here to scholars who published between 1958 and 2000. Some of these authors are not historians by training, but their scholarship is historical. The list of scholars referred to in this chapter is presented in the following section.

of Lagosian intellectual production, which set the tone for future studies: as late as the 2000s, academic books still reproduced interpretations conceived in the 1960s.<sup>4</sup> As this chapter shows, historians of West Africa used less than ten per cent of Lagosian books and pamphlets in their scholarly research. In their selection of relevant titles, these historians employed an anti-colonial and nationalist understanding of history that, although relevant in the political context of Nigerian independence, has restricted the appreciation and further analysis of Lagosian print culture and its role in the social history of Lagos.

Second, the use of cultural nationalism as a dominant paradigm by historians of West Africa meant that they regarded only a handful of authors as “representative” of Lagosian intellectual culture. In doing so, these historians constrained their definition of intellectuality within a narrow criterion: that of Africans writing a particular form of local history.

This chapter argues that in the decades following Nigerian independence, historians of West Africa tended to filter the large and plural collection of Lagosian intellectuals examined in *Chapter 1* through a sieve structured around a particular concept of cultural nationalism. In so doing, these historians defined a canon of titles that are treated as representative of the period. The result is that the remainder of intellectuals and their publications have been either “oblivioned” or ignored. While the emergence of cultural nationalism is an important ongoing field for research, such a sieving process has cast a shadow on the vast majority of publications by local intellectuals, creating significant distortions in the historiography of colonial Lagos.

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<sup>4</sup> Listed and discussed below.

## 2.1 Sieving Books

The sieving of Lagosian titles by historians of West Africa is powerfully illustrated through numbers. By conducting a survey that examined academic texts produced from 1958 to 2000 and written by historians of West Africa, it was possible to ascertain the ways in which Lagosian books and pamphlets are clustered in particular ways.<sup>5</sup> The pattern shows that less than ten titles of the 247 Lagosian books and pamphlets have been frequently cited since 1958.

The survey used twenty-six academic texts concerning Lagosian, Nigerian or Yoruba history that mentioned the increasing number of publications in Lagos in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of the twenty-six academic texts used, thirteen were published in the 1960s and 1970s and many are still considered *classics* for the study of Lagosian, Yoruba or Nigerian history. These include titles by J. S. Coleman, J. F. Ade Ajayi and E. A. Ayandele.<sup>6</sup> The remaining thirteen were published in the 1980s and 1990s, and include titles by K. Mann, M. R. Doortmont, R. C. C. Law, J. D. Y. Peel and P. S. Zachernuk.<sup>7</sup> The full list is presented in Table 2.1 below.

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<sup>5</sup> This pattern of referencing was determined by the title of the Lagosian book being mentioned in the corpus of the text, and/or in a footnote, and/or in the bibliography. The number of times that a title is mentioned was not taken into consideration. No differentiation was made between a reference in the corpus of the text, in a footnote or in the bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*; J. F. Ade Ajayi, "Nineteenth Century Origins of Nigerian Nationalism," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2 (1961); J. F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Mission in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* (London: Longman, 1965); E. A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact in Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914* (London: Longman, 1966); Ayandele, *The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society*.

<sup>7</sup> Michel R. Doortmont, "The Roots of Yoruba Historiography: Classicism, Traditionalism and Pragmatism," in *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*, ed. Toyin Falola

Year	Author	Title
1958	J. S. Coleman	Nigeria: A Background to Nationalism
1961	J. F. A. Ajayi	Nineteenth Century Origins to Nigerian Nationalism
1964	J. B. Webster	The African Church among Yoruba
1965	J. F. A. Ajayi	Christian Missions in Nigeria
1966	A. E. Ayandele	The Missionary Impact in Modern Nigeria
1967	R. W. July	The Origin of Modern African Thought
1968	J. D. Y. Peel	Aladura: a Religious Movement Among the Yoruba
1974	A. E. Ayandele	The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society
1975	P. Cole	Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos
1976	R. C. C. Law	Early Yoruba Historiography
1977	M. J. Echeruo	Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life
1978	F. I. A. Omu	Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937
1978	R. S. Smith	The Lagos Consulate 1851-1861
1983	A. Olosun	The Nineteenth Century Wars in Yorubaland
1985	R. C. C. Law	How Many Times Can History Repeat Itself?

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(Harlow: Longman, 1991), 52-63; Michel R. Doortmont, "Samuel Johnson and The History of the Yorubas: a Study in Historiography" (MA diss., University of Birmingham, 1985); J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000); Philip S. Zachernuk, "Of Origins and Colonial Order: Southern Nigerian Historians and the 'Hamitic Hypothesis' c. 1870-1970," *The Journal of African History* 35 (1994): 427-455; Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*; R. C. C. Law, "How Many Times Can History Repeat Itself? Some Problems in the Traditional History of Oyo," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 18 (1985): 33-51; R. C. C. Law, "Local Amateur Scholarship in the Construction of Yoruba Ethnicity, 1880-1914," in *Ethnicity in Africa: Roots, Meanings and Implications*, ed. Centre of African Studies (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh Press, 1996), 55-90.

1985	K. Mann	Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change among Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos
1990	R. C. C. Law	Constructing 'a Real National History': A Comparison of Edward Blyden and Samuel Johnson
1990	M. R. Doortmont	The Invention of the Yorubas: Regional and Pan-African Nationalism Versus Ethnic Provincialism
1991	M. R. Doortmont	The Roots of Yoruba Historiography: Classicism, Traditionalism and Pragmatism
1993	J. D. Y. Peel	Yoruba Ethnogenesis
1994	M. R. Doortmont	Recapturing the Past: Samuel Johnson and the Construction of the History of the Yoruba
1994	P. S. Zachernuk	Of Origins and Colonial Order: Southern Nigerian Historians and the 'Hamitic Hypothesis' c. 1870–1970
1996	R. C. C. Law	Local Amateur Scholarship
1999	L. Matory	The Black Atlantic Religion
2000	J. D. Y. Peel	Religious Encounter and The Making of the Yoruba
2000	P. S. Zachernuk	Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas

Table 2.1 – List of 26 academic publications used in the illustrative survey

The survey found that, of the 247 books and pamphlets identified in the archive of Lagosian publications from 1874 to 1922, eighty were never mentioned; 120 were mentioned only once; twenty-four were mentioned twice; and twelve books were mentioned between five and fifteen times. Only one book was referenced systematically in twenty-five of the twenty-six texts used in the survey: *The History of the Yorubas* by Samuel Johnson, published in 1921.<sup>8</sup> This pattern is presented graphically in Figure 2.2.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*.

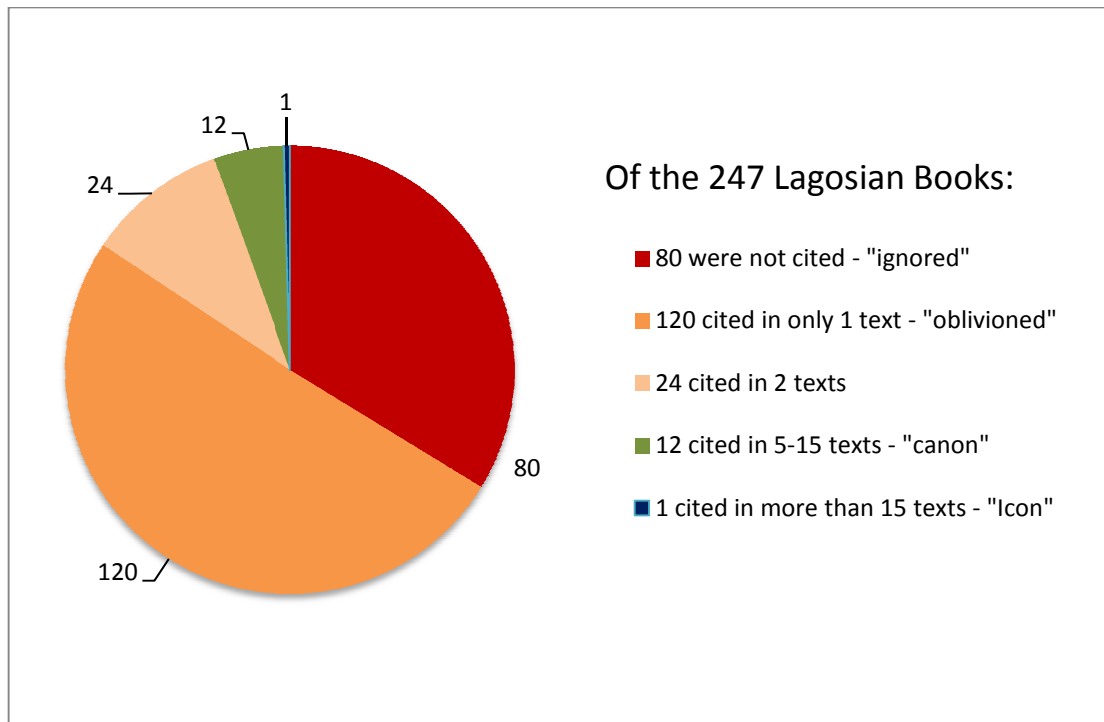


Figure 2.1 – Frequency of citations of Lagosian books within the 26 texts in the survey

The prominence of Johnson's *History* is undeniable. As Figure 2.2 clearly illustrates, the *History of the Yorubas* is cited more than twice as often as the second and third most cited Lagosian titles. How should we understand the process by which so many Lagosian publications are left aside and only one is systematically used by the academic texts analysed in this survey and, indeed, in wider scholarship?

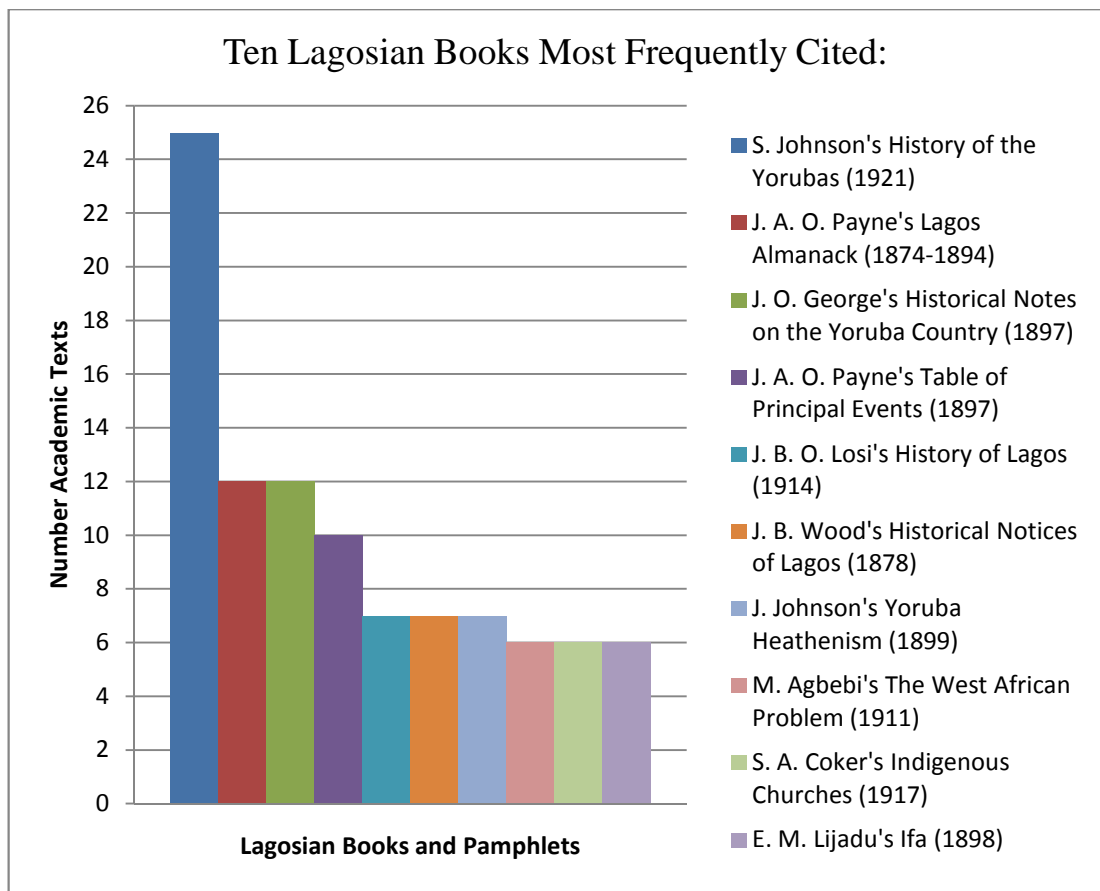


Figure 2.2 – Ten Lagosian books and pamphlets most frequently cited within the 26 texts in the survey

Of the 247 Lagosian books and pamphlets published between 1874 and 1922, eighty titles are never mentioned in the twenty-six academic texts. These books are here called the *ignored* publications. Their absence from the work of historians of West Africa can be explained by two external constraints that were not under the control of scholars, namely, difficulties in finding the original publications and the (in)ability to read them.

The majority of the *ignored* publications are not available in libraries and archives.<sup>9</sup> The existence of these titles is known only by references to them in other contemporaneous

<sup>9</sup>These include J. Buckley Wood, *The Inhabitants of Lagos: their Characters, Pursuits and Languages* (s.l., s.n., n.d.), mentioned in the introduction to his other book, *Historical Notices*; W. T. G. Lawson, *Lagos Past, Present and Future* (Exeter: J. Townsend & Sons, 1885), advertised in the *Lagos Observer*



Lagosian books or local newspapers, but they are no longer available. This is the case of *The Hamites Political Economy* (1878),<sup>10</sup> which is mentioned in an article published in the *Gold Coast Times*.<sup>11</sup> A hard copy of this pamphlet was not available in any of the archives researched for this thesis.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, this title is not mentioned in any of the twenty-six studies by historians of West Africa, including Mann's *Marrying Well* (1985),<sup>13</sup> for which it might have been particularly relevant given its focus on Christian monogamy.<sup>14</sup> Difficulties of access to copies of Lagosian publications are quite common: as mentioned in *Chapter 1*, of the 247 titles in the database, only 117 were available in the archives. Yet (un)availability alone has not prevented some historians of West Africa from citing Lagosian texts. For instance, in ““*Early Yoruba Historiography*””, R. C. C. Law mentions a text by E. M. Lijadu to which, as he indicates in a footnote, he had no access.<sup>15</sup>

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of the same year; George, *The influence of Christianity on the Institutions and Customs of this Country*), presented at the YMCA Lagos on the 1st of November 1888 and advertised in the *Lagos Observer*; and Olu Blaize, *The Intellectual Soldiery* (s.l., s.n., 1922), advertised in *In Leisure Hours* 13, 141 (January 1922), 12.

<sup>10</sup> A Descendant of Ham, *The Hamites Political Economy* (Lagos: s.n., 1878).

<sup>11</sup> *Gold Coast Times* (10 September 1878).

<sup>12</sup> For the list of archives and libraries researched for this thesis, see *Appendix 1*.

<sup>13</sup> Kristin Mann, *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change Among Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>14</sup> *The Hamites Political Economy*, according to the *Gold Coast Times*, was about the discussion around Christian polygamy, a subject that Mann covers in her monograph.

<sup>15</sup> R. C. C. Law, “Early Yoruba Historiography,” *History in Africa* 3 (1976): 71.

Other failures to reference could be explained by the shortcomings of some authors in reading material published in Yoruba.<sup>16</sup> Among the eighty books and pamphlets never mentioned in scholarly studies, thirty-nine are in Yoruba. Beyond the linguistic limitations of some scholars, however, these publications do not seem either to have attracted the attention of Yoruba-speaking historians.<sup>17</sup> Authors who are not Yoruba speakers have, for obvious reasons, ignored Yoruba-language publications; they have, however, also ignored Lagosian publications written in English for an English-speaking readership, such as John Wyndham's *Myths of Ife* (1921), S. G. Brounger's *Nigeria Past and Present: Some Reminiscences* (1913) and John Parkinson's *Yoruba Folk-lore* (1909).<sup>18</sup> In this way, the availability of publications does not explain all the cases of *ignored* titles, as in the examples given above. There must be other reasons behind the absence of these one hundred Lagosian titles from the post-1958 historiography of Lagos.

The most powerful illustration of the selection of Lagosian publications by scholars is represented by the 120 Lagosian publications mentioned only once in the twenty-six texts of the survey — here called the *oblivioned* publications. These include such titles as M. Agbebi's *Secret Societies* (1899); A. Deniga's *Church and Politics* (1922) and his *Notes on Lagos Street* (1921); E. Lijadu's *Yoruba Mythology* (1896) and his *The Effects*

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<sup>16</sup> Although this explanation would not work for Yoruba scholars such as J. F. A. Ajayi and A. E. Ayandele, who read Yoruba.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, *Ranti, Ma Gbagbe* (Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1916); Barth, *Itan Ninu Bibeli* and J. B. O. Losi, *Iwe Itan Eko* (Lagos: Tika Tore Printing Works, 1913) are available, but not mentioned by historians of West Africa.

<sup>18</sup> John Wyndham, *Myths of Ife* (London: Erskine MacDonald, 1921); S. G. Brounger, "Nigeria Past and Present: Some Reminiscences," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 12, 47 (1913): 249-255; Parkinson, "Yoruba Folk-lore".

*of Foreign Literature and Science upon the Natives of the Yoruba Country* (1887); J. A. Abayomi-Cole's *Astrological Geomancy in Africa* (1898); and O. Johnson's *Essay on West African Therapeutics* (1914), to mention just a few.<sup>19</sup> Although available in the archives and libraries, these titles were each cited once, but were not referred to again. Such a pattern indicates that they were acquired by or accessible to scholars, but for some reason were deemed irrelevant to studies of Lagos, Yoruba or Nigeria. Their passing, spectral presence in the literature demonstrates that, where attention – or otherwise – to particular books and pamphlets was concerned, more complex reasons were at play than accessibility alone.

The sieving of Lagosian books and pamphlets by historians of West Africa was a two-stage process. The first stage occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, when scholars prioritised the (re)discovery of historical writings by Lagosian intellectuals from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the second stage, which took place between the 1980s and the 2000s, historians of West Africa evaluated these historical writings of Lagosians in terms of the historical practices of the present, separating what they considered “proper”<sup>20</sup> histories from “unconnected”<sup>21</sup> accounts.

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<sup>19</sup> Mojola V. D. B. Agbebi, *Secret Societies* (Lagos: s.n., 1899); Adeoye Deniga, *Church and Politics* (s.l.: s.n., 1922); Adeoye Deniga, *Notes on Lagos Street* (Lagos: Tika Tore Press, n.d. [1921]); E. M. Lijadu, *Yoruba Mythology* (Lagos: s.n., 1896); E. M. Lijadu, *The Effects of Foreign Literature and Science upon the Natives of the Yoruba Country* (Lagos: s.n., 1887); J. A. Abayomi-Cole, *Astrological Geomancy in Africa* (Lagos, s.n., 1898); Obadiah Johnson, *Essay on West African Therapeutics* (Edinburgh: s.n., 1914).

<sup>20</sup> Philip S. Zachernuk, “African History and Imperial Culture in Colonial Nigerian Schools,” *Africa* 68 (1998): 490.

<sup>21</sup> Law, “Early Yoruba Historiography,” 80.

These two broad periods can be observed in the different citational patterns. Of the ten most cited publications overall (here identified as the *canon*), seven were first cited by scholars writing during the first period (between 1958 and the 1970s), but by the second period had become central references. In other words, it was in this first period that a core list of Lagosian books and pamphlets was defined. This first selection of texts, or first sieving, was critical: it took place in parallel to the formation and consolidation of the concept of cultural nationalism that shaped much of the scholarly production of the 1980s and 1990s.

#### a. First Sieve: Cultural Nationalism and its Canon

Charting the use of cultural nationalism as a concept by historians of West Africa in a chronological manner, we can see how each scholar adds certain features to the concept in each application. These features are reproduced in subsequent academic publications without being questioned or re-discussed, leading to the consolidation of the term as a concept with the following characteristics: a phenomenon or movement that happened in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with racial consciousness at its core; a manifestation of cultural self-assertion in a prior and/or separate process to the development of political nationalism; a movement carried out by a culturally conflicted educated elite.

One of the main features of cultural nationalism, according to this scholarship, was its separation from political nationalism. This has been clear since the first usage of the

term in 1958, by James S. Coleman in *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*.<sup>22</sup> In the appendix, “A Note on Concepts and Terms”, Coleman provides us with a definition of cultural nationalism:

A consciousness, on the part of Africans, of the distinctive culture of their own group, or of Africa in general, and activity directed toward developing, glorifying, and generalizing an appreciation of that culture. *Conceptually this phenomenon should be distinguished from predominantly political nationalism* referred to above, although concretely cultural nationalism and political nationalism are but two aspects of a single phenomenon.<sup>23</sup>

The distinction between political and cultural nationalism mentioned by Coleman was not only conceptual, but also temporal. Coleman is among those intellectuals who believe that before political organisation some cultural manifestation is necessary in order to mobilise the political agents for their organisation as a movement: “Nationalism requires considerable gestation”.<sup>24</sup> He is in line with Frantz Fanon’s idea that among the colonised there is a nation, even if not yet politically established, deeply ingrained in the feeling of intellectuals, merely awaiting the right circumstances to surface.<sup>25</sup> This political spirit, as Fanon calls it, lives in cultural manifestations such as literature; it seeks a common agenda of independence and/or reaffirmation of traditional values: “For culture is first the expression of a nation, the expression of its preferences, of its taboos and of its patterns. A national culture is the sum total of all these

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<sup>22</sup> Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 426. Emphasis added.

<sup>24</sup> J. S. Coleman, “Nationalism in Tropical Africa”.

<sup>25</sup> F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 169.

appraisals; it is the result of internal and external extensions exerted over society as a whole and also at every level of that society”.<sup>26</sup>

For historians of the post-independence era, Nigerian or otherwise in affiliation, finding an intellectual past for Nigeria was important. They were driven by the idea that finding evidence of intellectual production before the British occupation would show that Nigeria had culture, values, identity and history.<sup>27</sup> Deliberately or otherwise, their work was designed to rescue the culture that existed before the establishment of colonial Nigeria in order to rebuild a better country in accordance with its own supposedly Nigerian ways. There was a necessity to construct an identity, to show that the new nation already had a pre-existing national culture and a feeling of identity before the European political imposition. These historians were acting on the basis of such a sentiment and of the assumption that culture preceded political self-empowerment. In order for the new political structure to be credible, to have a base and precedents, it required a “real” cultural base. This idea assumes that culture has a clear essence and boundaries that can be lost or preserved through political action manifested in nationalism. This essentialisation of culture – and by consequence of nationalism – is one of the main features of cultural nationalism. In the case of Nigeria, the period of intense intellectual production just after the 1880s was interpreted as the justification for the organised political movement that followed it in the 1930s. This conceptual and

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 177.

<sup>27</sup> Stephanie Newell, *West African Literatures*, 65–73; Zachernuk, “African History and Imperial Culture in Colonial Nigerian Schools”; Gilroy, *After Empire*; Andrew Barnes, *Making Headway: The Introduction of Western Civilization in Colonial Northern Nigeria* (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2009); Homi Bhabha, *The Place of Culture* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1994); Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond ‘Culture’: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference,” *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992): 6–23.

temporal dichotomy between the cultural and the political is one of the characteristics of the concept of cultural nationalism.

Coleman's *Nigeria* is important because it was the first study to contextualise four Lagosian books under the umbrella of cultural nationalism. In his chapter "The Beginnings of Nationalist Thought and Activity",<sup>28</sup> in a section on "Early Thoughts and Influences", Coleman mentions "a small but growing number of publications, written by educated Africans".<sup>29</sup> He cites four publications: Samuel Johnson's *History of the Yoruba* (1921), John Augustus Otunba Payne's *Lagos and West African Almanack* (1874)<sup>30</sup> and his *Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History* (1893), and Mojola Agbebi's *The West African Problem*, published in the proceedings of the First Universal Races Congress in London, which he attended, along with other prominent intellectuals such as W. E. B. DuBois and Edward Blyden, in 1911.<sup>31</sup> Coleman describes these publications as "the first of many tribal histories written by educated Africans during the succeeding 60 years".<sup>32</sup> For him, "these tribal histories were a crucial strand in the development of both African and tribal cultural nationalism".<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, 186.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Coleman does not mention that this is the first issue of an annually serialised publication of twenty issues.

<sup>31</sup> Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*; Payne, *Lagos and West African Almanack* (1874); John Augustus Otunba Payne, *Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History* (London: T. G. Johnson, 1893); Mojola V. D. B. Agbebi, "The West African Problem," in G. Spiller, ed. *Papers on Interracial Problems Contributed to the First International Races Congress* (s.l., s.n., 1911).

<sup>32</sup> Coleman, *Nigeria*, 186.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 187.

From the way Coleman describes these titles, it is possible to speculate that he selected these books for several reasons besides that of their authors being “early founders of modern Nigerian nationalism”.<sup>34</sup> Payne is mentioned because he was “one of the first”<sup>35</sup> Lagosians to have been published; Johnson, “perhaps the best known”,<sup>36</sup> because he was author of the widely recognised *The History of the Yorubas*; and M. Agbebi to illustrate the fact that a “small but growing number of West African intellectuals” were “either participating or influenced by certain developments abroad”.<sup>37</sup> It is perhaps not a coincidence that these four books are amongst the most cited in West African scholarship.<sup>38</sup>

In the paper “Nineteenth Century Origins of Nigerian Nationalism”<sup>39</sup> published in 1961, J. F. Ade Ajayi dialogues with Coleman’s *Nigeria*.<sup>40</sup> Although he agrees with Coleman that it was Christian missionaries who established ideas of modern nation-building in Nigeria in the second half of the nineteenth century, Ajayi argues that by the end of the century Nigerian nationalism was different: it was a nationalism driven by racial consciousness, a response to the racist traits of the new colonial policies towards Africa in the 1890s.<sup>41</sup> Racial consciousness is another feature of cultural nationalism that was carried into the subsequent literature.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> According to the survey carried out for this thesis, as described at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>39</sup> Ajayi, “Nineteenth Century Origins of Nigerian Nationalism.”

<sup>40</sup> Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*.

<sup>41</sup> Ajayi, “Nineteenth Century Origins of Nigerian Nationalism,” 199.



This differentiated nationalism was manifested in what Ade Ajayi calls a “minor cultural renaissance”.<sup>42</sup> In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Lagos saw European clothes and English names being changed in order to reflect indigenous traditions. In the religious field, some African reverends refused to baptise children with European names, while others demanded more indigenous features in their regular worship, such as singing in Yoruba and dancing during liturgies.<sup>43</sup> But, of all these manifestations, Ajayi considers the intellectual the most important: “above all, the educated Africans began to take interest in the politics and the history of the indigenous peoples. They read the accounts of the various explorers intimately and constructed their own theories of African history”.<sup>44</sup> It is in this context that he mentions Johnson’s *History of the Yorubas* and Payne’s *Table of Principal Events* – also mentioned by Coleman.<sup>45</sup> It is also in this paper that John Olawumi George’s *Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country and Its Tribes* (1897),<sup>46</sup> another title that features in the list of ten most cited Lagosian publications,<sup>47</sup> appears for the first time in any of the sample of 26 texts from West African historical scholarship.

After mentioning the works of Johnson, Payne and George, Ajayi uses the term cultural nationalism for the first time: “But in spite of this *cultural nationalism* and of so much talk of schism, the attachment of these educated Africans to Europe remained very

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 203.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 208.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.; Coleman, *Nigeria*.

<sup>46</sup> George, *Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country and Its Tribes*.

<sup>47</sup> Ajayi, “Nineteenth Century Origins of Nigerian Nationalism,” 208.

strong”.<sup>48</sup> Ajayi’s two subsequent publications – a paper about Samuel Johnson’s life (1964)<sup>49</sup> and his book *Christian Missions in Nigeria* (1965)<sup>50</sup> – both use the terms “cultural renaissance” and “minor renaissance”, but never mention the term cultural nationalism, which indicates that the concept was still to be consolidated.<sup>51</sup>

Robert July’s 500-page book, *The Origins of Modern African Thought*,<sup>52</sup> published in 1967, mentions around twenty titles<sup>53</sup> and dedicates a chapter to some Lagosian authors and their intellectual contribution. Chapter 13 of July’s book is specifically about the contribution of African historians to West African thinking. In this chapter, July introduces “Early Historical Writing in West Africa”<sup>54</sup> in a section which he opens with the statement that, “It is a characteristic of growing national self-consciousness that a people requires a sense of its past”.<sup>55</sup> He explains that “Nineteenth century Africans [...], though they were not professional historians in the modern sense, attempted systematic histories of Africa designed to instruct their countrymen concerning the shape of their past. [...] They foreshadowed, both as to objective and technique, the

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid. Emphasis added.

<sup>49</sup> Ajayi, “Samuel Johnson: Historian of the Yoruba,” 1964. This publication, together with some others that focus solely on Samuel Johnson’s life and/or work, was not included in the survey in order to avoid further bias towards the strong presence of Johnson’s *History* in the overall citations of Lagosian publications by historians of West Africa. The academic texts concerning Johnson are addressed in the *Conclusion* of this thesis.

<sup>50</sup> Ajayi, *Christian Mission in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* (London: Longman, 1965).

<sup>51</sup> Ajayi, “Nineteenth Century Origins of Nigerian Nationalism,” 207.

<sup>52</sup> Robert W. July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought* (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1967).

<sup>53</sup> Of the period studied in this thesis, between 1874 and 1922.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 254.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

work of contemporary African historians”.<sup>56</sup> He refers to the historians of the 1960s (his contemporaries) as the “present generation”<sup>57</sup> of historians, while the intellectuals of the late nineteenth century are described as “past generations”<sup>58</sup> of historians.

In the same part of the book, another feature of cultural nationalism is clearly defined: the understanding that both Lagosian intellectuals from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and historians of West Africa from the 1960s onwards had the intention of contributing to the same goal: unveiling the past.<sup>59</sup> In this line of thinking, the history produced in the 1960s is positioned as a continuation of the “early” history that had started to be written in the previous century. July calls Lagosian intellectuals “forerunners of modern African historiography”<sup>60</sup> and explains that “they anticipate Africa’s historians of the mid-twentieth century who were also to be concerned with the idea of African identity and national progress”.<sup>61</sup> The interpretation that both sets of intellectuals (from the late nineteenth century *and* from the 1960s onwards) were concerned with the same issues of nationalism and were seeking to contribute to the same process of history-writing is the core of the second sieving process to be examined below, a process that has strongly influenced more recent scholarly production.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 276.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 278.

July selects three “pioneers of history”<sup>62</sup> who, for him, “stand out in particular”.<sup>63</sup> These are A. B. C. Sibthorpe, Samuel Johnson and Carl C. Reindorf.<sup>64</sup> He proceeds to dedicate a section of the chapter to each of these intellectuals, analysing their contributions to West African thinking. In sum, he describes Reindorf as a “purposeful historian who wrote to fill an informational gap”, an author of an “African history written for and about Africans”.<sup>65</sup> Sibthorpe he describes as a “historian with a weakness for versifying”, who was motivated in part by his “needs for adequate materials”<sup>66</sup> for teaching, but also “by his feeling that the reader might be both entertained and instructed”.<sup>67</sup> Finally, July also writes about Samuel Johnson, “The Moralist as Historian”, as he entitled the subsection.<sup>68</sup> He describes the author as gentle and modest, two qualities that also confer on Johnson’s narrative the objectivity expected in an academic text: “Johnson managed in the main to submerge his opinions beneath the surface of his narrative”.<sup>69</sup>

As with Coleman and Ajayi, the selection of Johnson’s book from so many Lagosian publications is related to the nationalist framework used to contextualise and analyse these titles. However, in July’s account, a concern with Johnson’s methodology – which became stronger in the academic publications of the late 1970s onwards – is already

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> These same intellectuals are also mentioned in his subsequent paper, Robert W. July, “Historians of West Africa of the Nineteenth Century,” *Tarikh* 2 (1968): 19–21.

<sup>65</sup> July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought*, 256.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 262.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 266.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 270.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 273.

discernible, for July is the first of the historians of West Africa to give a prominence to Johnson's *History* based on the quality of the work. *The Origins of Modern African Thought* is thus an important milestone towards the consolidation of the cultural nationalist canon.

In *Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*, published in 1968, J. D. Y. Peel does not use the term cultural nationalism.<sup>70</sup> He does, however, mention a period of “considerable intellectual ferment of these years, 1890-1910, [that] occurs in their writings”.<sup>71</sup> In spite of its absence as a term, many of the main features of the concept of cultural nationalism are defined in this book. What Coleman called a “phenomenon” and Ajayi a “minor cultural renaissance” is defined for the first time by Peel as a “movement”:

intellectually *the movement* was the creation of Yoruba Creoles, with their unique position, both Yorubas and Victorian Christians, with a love-hate relationship towards the British administrations and missions, which slighted them but whose basic values they accepted. [...] Written investigations into Ifa divination, native medicine, Yoruba customs and local history come largely from the pens of African churchmen.<sup>72</sup>

Besides naming the creators of the movement as Yoruba Creoles and thus reinforcing the idea that it was led by a homogeneous if diasporic people, Peel's study also suggests that these people were living a conflict between their two allegiances – Yoruba and Victorian Christian. These conflicted intellectuals wrote about specific themes: “Ifa

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<sup>70</sup> J. D. Y. Peel, *Aladura, a Religious Movement Among the Yoruba* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 56.

divination, native medicine, Yoruba customs and local history”.<sup>73</sup> Although the term cultural nationalism was not yet an established part of historiographic terminology, some key characteristics of the concept were taking form and in use: namely, the idea of a generalising agency that dealt with an identity conflict caused by the awakening of a racial consciousness; and a movement in which cultural manifestations provided support for the organised political manifestations that followed.

E. A. Ayandele’s *The Missionary Impact in Modern Nigeria*, published in 1966, dedicates a chapter to the relation between the awakening of Nigerian cultural nationalism and the missionary enterprise.<sup>74</sup> With a different approach from other nationalist scholars of the 1960s and 1970s, who sought in the intellectual production of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries evidence for the existence of a complex culture prior to colonisation, Ayandele places on these early authors the blame for later Nigerian problems: “it is astonishing that none of them [...] observed that outside economic forces were already contributing to the undermining of Nigerian culture and the upsetting of the society”.<sup>75</sup> In his subsequent book, *The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society*,<sup>76</sup> he refers to the educated elite as “self-appointed representatives”, who had lost touch with the “uncontaminated mass”,<sup>77</sup> holders of the traditional Yoruba

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., Chap. 3.

<sup>74</sup> E. A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact in Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914*, 241.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>76</sup> Ayandele, *The Educated Elite*.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 9–52.

culture: “on this point the nineteenth century educated elite must be regarded as among the most self deluding people in the history of our country”.<sup>78</sup>

Ayandele also criticises contemporary historians of West Africa. He argues that when scholars focus their studies on the educated elite they miss what the masses had to say about their own history, which shows that he was aware of the problems with studies that focus on certain intellectuals, generalising their experience to the history of the country. However he also reinforces generalising ideas about this intellectual production, for instance, when he refers to the educated elite as “Mojolas” and “Johnsons”,<sup>79</sup> or calls them “deluded hybrids”,<sup>80</sup> which gives the impression that they were living a conflicted existence and that their production reflected these contradictions, as Peel also argues.

Ayandele thinks that the cultural renaissance had an internal cause: the appreciation by Lagosian intellectuals of their own cultural heritage.<sup>81</sup> For him, this period of intense intellectual production arose from the “beginnings of independent thinking which made them assess and criticise more strongly than before missionary enterprise, British administration and the trading pattern of the country”.<sup>82</sup> His anger towards the educated elite, their conversion to Christianity and their alleged support for colonisation limits Ayandele’s appreciation of Lagosian intellectual production; for instance, he calls

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 9–52.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. This is how he titled Chap. 1.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 251.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 246.

Mojola's pamphlet *Africa and the Gospel* "pathetic".<sup>83</sup> Ayandele believes that these intellectuals did not mean what they wrote, and did not apply in their lives the nationalism they preached in their writings. For him, "too much credit cannot be given to [...] James Johnson" since his convictions were not translated "into practice" beyond his books.<sup>84</sup>

Following this critique, Ayandele mentions a large number of titles, in contrast to other historians of West Africa.<sup>85</sup> In a similar manner to Coleman, Ajayi, July and Peel, Ayandele also mentions Payne's *Lagos Almanack* and Johnson's *History*, but he cites for the first time in the historical literature published after 1958 James Johnson's *Yoruba Heathenism* (1899).<sup>86</sup>

Along with Coleman and Ajayi, Ayandele helped to consolidate some of the main features of the concept of cultural nationalism. For instance, he attributes the authorship of the Lagosian intellectual production, without further discussion, to Christians educated in missions.<sup>87</sup> However, his main contribution to the concept is his recurrent use of the term "cultural nationalism"<sup>88</sup> to refer to the period between the 1880s and the 1930s, and of the term "cultural nationalists"<sup>89</sup> to refer to the authors of this intellectual production.

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 254.

<sup>85</sup> Twenty-seven titles are referenced in the book, of which twelve are mentioned in the body of the text.

<sup>86</sup> James Johnson, *Yoruba Heathenism*.

<sup>87</sup> Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact in Modern Nigeria*, 246–250.

<sup>88</sup> See, for instance, Ibid., 257.

<sup>89</sup> As in Ibid., 259.



Ayandele also reinforces the idea that cultural nationalism was mainly a response to a change of policies by the British government. He explains that “cultural nationalism was at the root of the opposition of all Africans to the attempts of the Lagos Government to provide electric light and ‘pure water supply’ for Lagos”.<sup>90</sup> However, Ayandele believes that cultural nationalism was effective in some ways: “the rise of cultural nationalism showed educated Africans seizing leadership in the cultural as in the political and economic activities”.<sup>91</sup>

By the mid-1970s, cultural nationalism had acquired many of its features and was being used as a synonym for the Lagosian intellectual production of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was strengthened in the second half of the 1970s, when several authors started to cite Ajayi and Ayandele as the main references for their descriptions of cultural nationalism. For instance, in a paper about Moses Lijadu published in 1976, R. C. C. Law mentions Ajayi and Ayandele as responsible for naming this intellectual phenomenon cultural nationalism.<sup>92</sup> Analysing the contributions to the historical field in the 1880s by E. M. Lijadu, Law explains that Lijadu “grew to maturity [...] when missionary Christian Yoruba were beginning to develop an interest in indigenous Yoruba culture – the phenomenon *dubbed ‘cultural nationalism’* by *modern historians*”.<sup>93</sup> In his “Notes and References” he suggests that “for ‘*cultural nationalism*’, [we should] see esp. J. F. A. Ajayi *Nineteenth Century Origins of*

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 278.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 279.

<sup>92</sup> Law, R. C. C. “A Pioneer of Yoruba Studies: Moses Lijadu,” in *Studies in Yoruba History and Culture: Essays in Honour of Professor S. O. Biobaku*, ed. Gabriel Olakunle Olusanya (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1976), 108-115.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 108. Emphasis added.

*Nigerian Nationalism* [and] E. A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria*".<sup>94</sup>

In "Early Yoruba Historiography",<sup>95</sup> Law mentions fifteen Lagosian publications from the period studied in this thesis, five of which are among the ten most cited Lagosian publications.<sup>96</sup> In addition to the works by Johnson, Payne and George – also cited by Coleman, Ajayi, Peel and Ayandele – Law introduces two further texts to the canon: John B. Losi's *History of Lagos* (1914)<sup>97</sup> and J. B. Wood's *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa* (1878).<sup>98</sup> Losi's *History* is identified by Law as part of "a remarkable flowering of historical writing among the Yoruba".<sup>99</sup> Whilst it was only in Law's "Early Yoruba Historiography" that Losi's *History* was mentioned for the first time in the body of a text, the pamphlet/book became the fifth most cited Lagosian publication by West African historians.<sup>100</sup>

Unlike with Losi's *History*, Law does not make clear whether he considers Wood's *Historical Notices* to be an example of a cultural nationalist text. However, he connects it to a broader "desire to ensure that educated Yoruba retained or recovered an

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 114. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>95</sup> Law, "Early Yoruba Historiography".

<sup>96</sup> According to the survey carried out for this thesis.

<sup>97</sup> Losi, *History of Lagos*.

<sup>98</sup> Wood, *Historical Notices*.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. This also brings attention to the influence of Law's work on subsequent academic production. His papers concerning what he called Yoruba historiography are systematically cited in almost all scholarly publications included in the survey.

identification with an indigenous society”.<sup>101</sup> In particular, he notes that Wood’s *Historical Notices* was used in the first attempts to teach local history in Lagosian schools.<sup>102</sup> Whilst it is unclear whether Wood’s *Historical Notices* is, for Law, representative of cultural nationalism, the book features as one of the ten Lagosian publications most cited by scholars after 1958. However, it only enters the list after the second half of the 1970s when, in a second process of sieving, scholars began to recategorise Lagosian publications on the basis of their perceived historiographic quality. This is also notable in the case of E. M. Lijadu’s *Ifa* (1897).<sup>103</sup> This pamphlet was first mentioned in 1964 in the bibliography by J. B. Webster<sup>104</sup> and remained uncited until the 1990s, when it reappeared in Michael Doortmont’s bibliography in 1994.<sup>105</sup> It was in Law’s article “Local Amateur Scholarship”, published in 1996, that Lijadu’s *Ifa* appeared in the body of the text as one of the examples of “books and pamphlets of local authorship [...] published on aspects of Yoruba history”.<sup>106</sup>

In this way, the scholarly literature of the 1960s and 1970s consolidated a list of selected authors who were considered representative of what historians of West Africa refer to as the cultural nationalist period. This list was not an official document, but it became a tacit reference point for future scholars, a canon of cultural nationalist writing. The next section shows how, after the second half of the 1970s, historians of West

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>103</sup> E. M. Lijadu, *Ifa: Imole re - Ti Ise Ipile Isin ni Ile Yoruba* (Ekitu: Omolayo Standard Press of Nigeria, 1898).

<sup>104</sup> J. B. Webster, *The African Churches Among the Yoruba, 1891-1922* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

<sup>105</sup> Doortmont, “Recapturing the Past”.

<sup>106</sup> Law, “Local Amateur Scholarship,” 55.

Africa changed their criteria to privilege their predecessors' selected canon of Lagosian publications.

#### b. Second Sieve: Consolidating Historiography

The canon of cultural nationalism changed notably from the mid-1970s onwards. In the 1960s and 1970s the ten most cited Lagosian publications showed a wider variety of genre and authorship. For instance, non-African names such as Mary H. Kingsley<sup>107</sup> were among the most cited authors. However, these authors were no longer among the ten most cited in the 1980s and 1990s. In their place, titles by African authors such as A. Ajisafe's *History of Abeokuta* (1916), E. M. Lijadu's *Ifa* (1898) and J. Johnson's *Yoruba Heathenism* (1899) came to feature among the most cited books.<sup>108</sup> Even though there is insufficient evidence for stating that the origin of the authors determined the selection of titles, examining the ten publications most cited between 1958 and 2000 we find that only one title was not written by an African: Rev J. B. Wood's *Historical Notices* (1878).<sup>109</sup>

There is perhaps another explanation for why certain books reached the top of the list. The understanding of "the cultural" preceding "the political" mentioned in the previous section was translated in the specialised literature as a perceived need to find history in pre-colonial times. As discussed above, historians of West Africa sought in the decades

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<sup>107</sup> Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, (London: MacMillan, 1899).

<sup>108</sup> A. K. Ajisafe, *History of Abeokuta* (London & Bungay: Richard Clay & Sons, 1916); Lijadu, *Ifa: Imole re.*; James Johnson, *Yoruba Heathenism*.

<sup>109</sup> Wood, *Historical Notices*.

after colonisation (1960s and 1970s) to show that there was a production of historical knowledge before the days of European political control. When Ajayi said that colonisation was just one night in the history of Africa,<sup>110</sup> he was not only seeking to minimise the impact of the European encounter, but also to show that Africans had a history before it.<sup>111</sup> Of the ten most cited Lagosian books and pamphlets published between 1874 and 1922, six had the words “history” or “historical” in the title; of the top five, four had one of these words.<sup>112</sup> As shown in the previous section, these were called “early historiography”<sup>113</sup> or “early historical writing”<sup>114</sup> by historians of West Africa and seemed to constitute the core publications of cultural nationalism.

In order to analyse the second process of sieving, it is important to consider not only how many times historians of West Africa cited Lagosian books, but how they evaluated these texts. When analysing the context in which these publications were cited, it becomes evident that the production of history was not the only criterion. Historians of West Africa were also preoccupied with finding histories and historians that followed certain academic methodologies.<sup>115</sup> As a result, they analysed the quality and credibility of the histories produced by Lagosian intellectuals, verified the methodologies of the so-called “early historians”, and explained the reasons that

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<sup>110</sup> J. F. Ade Ajayi, “Colonialism: An Episode in African History,” in *Tradition and Change in Africa: The Essays of J. F. Ade Ajayi*, ed. Toyin Falola (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2000): 165-174.

<sup>111</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 40.

<sup>112</sup> For list of ten most cited publications see Figure 2.1 in this chapter.

<sup>113</sup> Law, “Early Yoruba Historiography.”

<sup>114</sup> July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought*, 254.

<sup>115</sup> This is discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

motivated these intellectuals to write. It was in this second phase of sieving that a cultural nationalist historiography was consolidated.

Law's "Early Yoruba Historiography" aims to present a complete survey of the historical writing in Yorubaland and to "make some contribution towards assessment of the value of the Yoruba local histories as sources".<sup>116</sup> During this exercise, Law not only lists the authors worthy of the title of "traditional historians"<sup>117</sup> and the publications that could be called "early historiography", but also defines an informal hierarchy of authors based on the quality of their work. For instance, when presenting Johnson's *History*, Law asserts that it "far exceeds the earlier works of J. O. George, Otunba Payne, and Sibthorpe (and, indeed, also subsequent works by Yoruba historians) in sheer volume, in literary quality, and (if less decisively) in scholarly merit".<sup>118</sup>

Within this hierarchy, J. O. George is considered "the most important pioneer"<sup>119</sup> among the "earliest historians".<sup>120</sup> Payne, on the other hand, is portrayed as "the pioneer chronologist of Yoruba history".<sup>121</sup> Both, however, produced "unconnected"<sup>122</sup> histories, according to Law, since their work "achieved this broader geographical scope through a series of essentially unconnected sections on the different areas of

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<sup>116</sup> Law, "Early Yoruba Historiography," 69.

<sup>117</sup> Law, "The Heritage of Oduduwa".

<sup>118</sup> Law, "Early Yoruba Historiography," 72.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

Yorubaland”.<sup>123</sup> Indeed, Payne’s publications, which figure prominently in the work of scholars such as Coleman, Ajayi and Ayandele, were no longer considered examples of cultural nationalism. As Law explains, Payne’s *Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History*, “which is customarily cited as one of the publications of cultural nationalism, was [...] written for a practical and professional purpose: to enable the Lagos courts to assign exact dates to events mentioned by illiterate witnesses”.<sup>124</sup> The example of Payne shows that some Lagosian publications lost value as they passed through the second sieve and, in some cases, were then regarded by historians of West Africa as flawed.

In 1985, another important step towards the consolidation of the “early historiography” was taken by Law in his paper “How Many Times Can History Repeat Itself?”.<sup>125</sup> In this article, Law problematises the traditional History of Oyo as presented in Samuel Johnson’s *The History of the Yorubas* (1921), drawing his analysis through a comparison with the works of Michael Adeyemi (1914),<sup>126</sup> among other Lagosian intellectuals. He argues that “research by modern academic historians has likewise accepted the framework established by Johnson, filling it out with extra detail rather than offering any serious challenge to it”.<sup>127</sup> In order to criticise this framework, Law scrutinises Johnson’s account of the Oyo invasions and concludes that “this story does not represent an ancient Oyo tradition, but rather a borrowing from Islamic sources”.<sup>128</sup> However, this does not mean that the history narrated by Johnson was “wholly without

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>125</sup> Law, “How Many Times Can History Repeat Itself?”

<sup>126</sup> M. Adeyemi, *Iwe Itan Oyo-Ile*.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 40.

historical value”,<sup>129</sup> Law warns his readers, and in the final section of the paper he seeks to “identify which aspects of the traditions [could] reasonably be accepted as telling us something of the early history of Oyo Kingdom”.<sup>130</sup>

A similar line of reasoning had been used by Doortmont and Zachernuk. In the 1990s, Doortmont published two papers and finished his doctoral dissertation on Lagosian intellectual production. In “The Invention of the Yorubas”,<sup>131</sup> Doortmont argues that “Yoruba early ethnic and national identities” were the result of a “partly conscious process”,<sup>132</sup> in which intellectuals engaged in order to “emancipate their social group”.<sup>133</sup> He presents the works of J. O. George, Samuel Johnson, I. B. Akinyele and J. B. Losi, classifying these as “ethnic provincialist”<sup>134</sup> or “regional nationalist”.<sup>135</sup> Doortmont’s work is mainly concerned with what kind of framework (methodological and theoretical) each of these Lagosian intellectuals used in order to achieve their aims of “forming identities”.<sup>136</sup> In a subsequent paper, Doortmont keeps the same concerns in place, although his line of argumentation is more complex. In “The Roots of Yoruba Historiography: Classicism, Traditionalism and Pragmatism”,<sup>137</sup> he argues that Yoruba

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Michel R. Doortmont, “The Invention of the Yorubas: Regional and pan-African Nationalism Versus Ethnic Provincialism,” in *Self-Assertion and Brokerage: Early Cultural Nationalism in West Africa*, ed. P. F. de Moraes Farias and K. Barber (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press: 1990), 101–108.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 101.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 101.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>137</sup> Doortmont, “The Roots of Yoruba Historiography”.



intellectuals used clear parameters to write their histories: “the source materials consisted of oral traditions, [...] the methodology was that of nineteenth-century European historiography [...] and the goal was to inform the British government about their newly acquired possessions”.<sup>138</sup> And in this paper he focuses on describing the three European traditions that composed the methodology used: the principles of classicism, traditionalism and pragmatism, as the title of the paper makes clear.

The paper is reproduced in its entirety in Doortmont’s doctoral dissertation, “Recapturing the Past”,<sup>139</sup> about Samuel Johnson and the construction of Yoruba history. Here Doortmont analyses the lives and work of other Lagosian intellectuals besides Johnson, such as A. K. Ajisafe, described as “a larger-than-life example of a cultural nationalist”.<sup>140</sup> Doortmont’s analysis is framed by his understanding that this intellectual production, although inventive, was restricted by colonial dynamics. Thus, authors wrote in response to racism and used European ideas in order to invent a wider national identity with which to defend themselves. For him, their production not only used European ideas but also became the “bedrock of modern Yoruba historiography”.<sup>141</sup>

Another relevant scholar who focuses on the intellectual production in Lagos is P. S. Zachernuk. In *Colonial Subjects*,<sup>142</sup> Zachernuk argues that, instead of developing their own ideological tools, Nigerian intellectuals used those provided by Europe in order to

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>139</sup> Doortmont, “Recapturing the Past”.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>142</sup> Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*.

defend themselves from the ascendant racism: “Instead of using African criteria to assess European ones in defining their new society, they defined African values largely by contrasting themselves to Europe”.<sup>143</sup> In writing their own history, these intellectuals were trying to prove that they were not inferior to Europeans. “The Sphinx’s riddle remained not only unsolved but insoluble,”<sup>144</sup> states Zachernuk, using Mojola Agbebi’s words concerning the differences between Africans and Europeans. Intellectuals, he argues, remained trapped in categories that were not defined by them,<sup>145</sup> which weakened the efficacy of their work to respond to the growth of racism in Europe: “They remained embedded in the dominant pattern of colonial intellectual life, a pattern based on stark oppositions”.<sup>146</sup> For him, it seems, only four intellectuals, succeeded in producing work that represented a relevant attack on racist theories: Edward Blyden, James Johnson, Mojola Agbebi and John Payne Jackson.<sup>147</sup> And even these four “[Nigerian intellectuals’] arguments were not always clear or consistent”.<sup>148</sup> Zachernuk’s analysis of intellectual production in Lagos draws upon ideas of Law and Doortmont, such as the suggestion that African intellectuals used European ideas in their writings, including racist discourses. However, while Law and Doortmont question the quality of these publications on the basis of criteria related to historical writing, Zachernuk seems to understand Lagosian print culture as a failed attempt by an educated elite to produce substantial intellectual work.

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 67-70.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 69.

What is the problem with assessing the quality of the history produced by Lagosian intellectuals? First, this practice leaves aside a large number of publications. As mentioned previously, the process of sieving meant in reality that less than ten per cent of Lagosian books and pamphlets were effectively studied by scholars. Second, and perhaps more importantly, this practice illustrates what Cooper calls “doing history backward”.<sup>149</sup> Throughout the selection process, scholars projected their own categories onto the past in order to justify their present. Seeking titles that can be read as history – although questionable – is not in itself a problem: every historical investigation leads to definitions of the archive that are frequently arbitrary.<sup>150</sup> However, using a contemporary definition of history to qualify past production is inadequate. “Good historical practices”, as Cooper writes, “should be sensitive to the disjuncture between the frameworks of past actors and present interpreters”.<sup>151</sup>

In sum, while historians of West Africa argued that the “early [Lagosian] historians” rebuilt or created their traditions in order to establish a Yoruba identity, they were themselves establishing a tradition of how to read Lagosian intellectual production from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>152</sup> We can even argue that historians of West Africa were dealing with Lagosian intellectual production as if it could be

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<sup>149</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 18.

<sup>150</sup> For instance, the period studied in this thesis (1874-1922), although explicable, is arbitrary.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> This idea is largely consistent with the literature on the invention of traditions. Consider, for instance, the numerous essays in *The Invention of Tradition*, the now classic collection edited by Ranger and Hobsbawm. Although the contributors to Ranger and Hobsbawm’s volume are mostly concerned with the work invested in creating the traditions upon which modern nations and national identities were built, it echoes the process observed in Nigeria, whereby historians of West Africa sought to establish the “true” traditions of the region. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

described as belonging to a single genre<sup>153</sup> – cultural nationalism. However, not only is this an example of doing history backwards, but, as shown in the previous chapter, it overshadows the new genres that were emerging within Lagosian print culture at the turn of the twentieth century.

## 2.2. Sieving Intellectuals

In Lagos, the printed word proliferated through the most creative solutions: pamphlets were published in Brazilian houses; Brazilians were writing articles in English; immigrants from Sierra Leone were telling their own history; African-authored histories were reviewed in England; and English people were writing pamphlets about Lagos. The production of Lagosian books and pamphlets involved many agents from a wide social and geographic area.

This section discusses the processes by which a Lagosian became an intellectual by engaging with the Lagosian intellectual network. It argues that Lagosian print culture should be studied in connection not only with its authors, but also with all the other agents who were involved in the whole process of publication; for instance, editors, printers and booksellers. In order to better understand the plurality of the Lagosian intellectual network it is necessary to widen the definition of intellectuality beyond authorship.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Barber, *The Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics*, 32.

<sup>154</sup> Karin Barber, "Preliminary Notes on Audiences in Africa," *Africa* 67 (1997): 347–362.

### a. Who Was Authoring Lagosian Books and Pamphlets?

Lagosian intellectuals have been described in the scholarship concerning their production through the use of a variety of concepts: “cultural nationalists,”<sup>155</sup> “educated elite,”<sup>156</sup> “intelligentsia,”<sup>157</sup> “local amateur historians,”<sup>158</sup> “African churchman,”<sup>159</sup> “educated African elite”<sup>160</sup> and “Victorian Lagosians”.<sup>161</sup>

The concept of the educated elite is central to Kristin Mann’s book *Marrying Well*,<sup>162</sup> in which she defines the Lagosian elite as a group delineated by Western education and familiarity with British institutions. In this, Mann seeks to move away from Marxist definitions that understand an elite as an oppressive social class.<sup>163</sup> And although she acknowledges that the economic transformation caused by the growth of international trade and the presence of the colonial state allowed the emergence of such an elite, she explains that members of this elite derived their status not exclusively from their economic position or wealth, but partly from their skills in navigating the colonial system.<sup>164</sup> In this way, Mann defines the elite as:

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<sup>155</sup> Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*.

<sup>156</sup> Mann, *Marrying Well*.

<sup>157</sup> Toyin Falola, *Yoruba Gurus. Indigenous Production of Knowledge in Africa* (New Jersey: African World Press, 1999); Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*.

<sup>158</sup> Law, “Early Yoruba Historiography.”

<sup>159</sup> Peel, *Aladura: a Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*.

<sup>160</sup> Sawada, “The Educated Elite.”

<sup>161</sup> Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos*, 44.

<sup>162</sup> Mann, *Marrying Well*.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

males [...] including all professionals (doctors, lawyers, ministers, headmasters, surveyors, and engineers), colonial servants of the rank of First Class Clerk or above, and western-educated import-export merchants who lived or regularly worked in the colony between 1880 and 1915. Also included are a few other occupational groups such as newspapers publishers and planters, who clearly belonged to the elite but did not fit neatly into one of the three major occupational categories.<sup>165</sup>

Following these specifications, Mann identifies 200 elite men who constitute a “clearly defined list”. Mann’s book is about marriage customs among the Lagosian elite, and her definition of elite was originally not intended to encompass all the Lagosian intellectuals. However, when she asserts that Lagosian cultural production from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was motivated by the increasing racial discrimination faced by the elite in the 1890s, Mann includes the Lagosian authors in her definition of elite.<sup>166</sup> Thus, Lagosian authors were writing in order to defend themselves from racist challenges to their status as an elite.

However, what Mann calls the elite, and sometimes the educated elite, does not match the group of intellectuals who were publishing the majority of books and pamphlets at that time. In fact, when she defines the occupational roles that would position these men on the “elite list” and excludes the many teachers, catechists and low-ranking colonial servants of Lagos, she is probably barring from the list the majority of the contributors to Lagosian print culture.

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<sup>165</sup> Mann, *Marrying Well*, 5.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

Of 170 authors who published at least one book or pamphlet between 1874 and 1922, only twenty-one names are included in Kristin Mann's list.<sup>167</sup> How do we explain the 150 authors unaccounted for? Not all members of the elite were intellectuals and not all the intellectuals were part of the Lagosian elite. This is an important difference between this thesis and that of Nozomi Sawada, who explores the associational lives of "educated Africans". For Sawada, a focus on the educated elite allows a re-evaluation of the role of the early Lagosian press.<sup>168</sup> However, much like Mann, Sawada differentiates between an educated elite, whom she sees as responsible for publishing Lagosian newspapers, and other sections of Lagosian society who did not replicate the Victorian framework of the colonial administration. Yet a more inclusive differentiation is necessary to better understand where authors stood within Lagosian society. Not acknowledging this differentiation could lead to the misconception that ideas were generated from within the elite and communicated to the elite and, therefore, that the authors were read only amongst themselves, creating an endogamic intellectual environment. This was not the case in Lagos. The members of the Lagosian elite were not the only ones writing, and therefore the elite should not be used as a synonym for authorship, since this would exclude all the other intellectuals who cannot be considered part of an elite.

Philip Zachernuk offers a different perspective from Mann. For him, the intelligentsia "were an elite in the sense that they possessed certain advantages not available to the unlettered. They could communicate directly to the British and were well-placed to

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<sup>167</sup> This data was extracted from the database compiled for this thesis. See *Chapter 1*.

<sup>168</sup> Sawada, "The Educated Elite," Chap. 1.

adapt to the new opportunities of the colonial era”.<sup>169</sup> There is a strong parallel between Mann’s notion of the educated elite and Zachernuk’s definition of the intelligentsia in the sense that both scholars construct their definition around access to Western education and knowledge of the colonial system, and not in terms of economic control. However, Zachernuk’s definition of the intelligentsia allows for a wider membership than Mann’s elite:

The intelligentsia are defined as those men and women born in Nigeria or of African descent who concern themselves with the past, present, and future problems of Nigeria as an appendage first of the Atlantic economy and latterly of the British Empire. [...] The bulk of the intelligentsia were those who followed the questions of the day, occasionally criticising or endorsing the leading figures, without being primarily occupied with the intellectual life.<sup>170</sup>

These boundaries may be too open to be applied analytically to print culture, since anyone living in Lagos in the period studied could have had these concerns. Also, one of the few strict aspects of Zachernuk’s definition, “born in Nigeria or of African descent”, excludes some of the authors, such as J. B. Wood and R. E. Dennett, who were part of the Lagosian intellectual network, but who were not Africans.

European writers were authoring books and pamphlets that also contributed to the Lagosian intellectual network. This is the case of J. B. Wood’s *Historical Notices*<sup>171</sup> – already mentioned –, which was among the five most cited Lagosian publications. Reverend James Buckley Wood published through the CMS Bookshop his *Historical Notices of Lagos*, which was used to teach in schools in the 1880s. Also, Wood was the

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<sup>169</sup> Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*, 12.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>171</sup> Wood, *Historical Notices*.



patron of the Abeokuta Patriotic Association, which published a serialised “Fragments of Egba National History” and included Lagosian intellectuals such as J. O. George.<sup>172</sup> Excluding authors such as Wood from the Lagosian intellectual network imposes artificial divisions that do not reflect the network’s dynamics. If he was writing about Lagos, being published by the CMS Bookshop, his book being used to teach history, and he was in contact with other intellectuals, why is he not considered part of this network?

Another example is the paper “Practical Notes on the Yoruba Country and its Development”, authored by “White Ant” and published in 1902 by the *Journal of the Royal African Society*.<sup>173</sup> This paper is a criticism of the colonial system in Nigeria. The author alternated explanations of the Yoruba country, its culture, land and political system with sarcastic comments and suggestions on how to handle problems that the authorities themselves created by acting without knowledge of the Yoruba region: “None of the Chiefs from the interior are on the Native Council in Lagos, this advisory board being composed of people who have no knowledge whatever of the feelings of the people living in the Hinterland, hence the great dissatisfaction shewn [sic] by the natives with the new Forestry and Native Council laws”.<sup>174</sup> And his criticisms did not stop there:

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<sup>172</sup> Law, “Early Yoruba Historiography,” 77.

<sup>173</sup> White Ant, “Practical Notes on the Yoruba Country and its Development”, *Journal of the Royal African Society* 1, 3 (1902): 316-324. The author, although he used the pseudonym “White Ant”, made it clear throughout the text that he was British, using “our” and “we” when referring to Britain and “they” or “them” when referring to the Yoruba.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 318.

There is a growing idea among young, energetic European officials that they must do something as soon as they arrive in a District, that something often takes the form of upsetting all native boundaries and making others, they rarely visit the places where the boundary is suppose to be. After a few months in the country, these people write a history of the country and people, these histories are most interesting though scarcely accurate.<sup>175</sup>

While pointing fingers – probably within the Royal African Society – White Ant's paper shows us that there was Lagosian intellectual production by European authors, and that among these authors there were also debates to be explored. European authors, even when publishing in Europe, were also integrated into this intellectual network, not only because their papers had Lagos, Yoruba or Nigeria as their main subject, but also because they were in regular contact with Lagosian intellectuals, and thus integrated into many debates.<sup>176</sup>

This is the case with R. E. Dennett, an author of European origin, who published numerous books and articles in the UK about Yoruba culture and history. He travelled frequently between Lagos and London, and used references from both sides of the Atlantic in his books. Dennett's publications were also mentioned by many authors, such as R. G. Bury, in different media from both cities,<sup>177</sup> which shows his impact

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> The international side of the Lagosian intellectual network is discussed more fully in *Chapter 6* of this thesis.

<sup>177</sup> For instance, Dennett's *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* was mentioned in James Thayer Addison's article "Ancestor Worship in Africa," *The Harvard Theological Review* 17, 2 (1924): 157; reviewed in the *Lagos Weekly Record* 18, 7 (23 February 1907), 5, and reference was made to it in an article entitled "The Aborigines' Memorial Service," published in the *Gold Coast Leader* 9, 436 (17 December 1910), 3. Dennett's *Nigerian Studies, The Religious and Political System of the Yoruba* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1910) was mentioned in four Lagosian newspapers articles.

within this transatlantic intellectual network. Cases like these show how excluding authors who were not “born in Nigeria” or “of African descent”<sup>178</sup> could miss an important part of the intellectual and cultural debate. In this way, constricting Lagosian authorship by social or geographic origins excludes from the group a large number of intellectuals and their production.

Parallel to the definitions of elite – not least if the concept is taken to include the authors of books and pamphlets – there are other misconceptions that should be addressed. Categories such as educated elite, Western-educated elite and intelligentsia are centred on the English literacy of the intellectuals. For instance, Zachernuk and Mann both assume that English literacy was a key aspect of the definition of elite, since it was “the language of colonial order”.<sup>179</sup> However, as has already been pointed out by Karin Barber, in the case of Lagos the Yoruba language had not only been widely used for the printed word, but also reached further than the English texts were able to.<sup>180</sup>

The first newspaper published in Yoruba was the bilingual *Iwe Irohin fun awon ara Egba ati Yoruba*, written mainly in English by the CMS missionary Henry Townsend, but translated to the Yoruba by Saro missionaries.<sup>181</sup> Its publication ran from 1859 to 1867 and, although published in Abeokuta, *Iwe Irohin* had an eager readership in Lagos; In 1888, another newspaper in Yoruba was launched: *Iwe Irohin Eko* was published fortnightly until 1892. Although obviously Christian, it had the objective of divulging equally the affairs of Muslims, pagans and Christians. It was mostly written in Yoruba

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<sup>178</sup> Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*, 12.

<sup>179</sup> Mann, *Marrying Well*, 10.

<sup>180</sup> Barber, “Translation, Publics and the Vernacular Press in 1920s Lagos,” 187–208,

<sup>181</sup> Omu, *Press and Politics*, 7; Doortmont, “Recapturing the Past”.

and had a back cover with text in English. The public aim was to reach a readership of “the whole country [or, all the countries] of us black people who speak the Yoruba language in order to gather the news of our land together”.<sup>182</sup> Barber explains that emphasis on the Yoruba language was part of the “cultural work of Yoruba ethnogenesis”.<sup>183</sup> According to her, “the newspapers were, in the first instance, calling on the Lagos Saro to unite amongst themselves, and thus to promote peace in the interior”.<sup>184</sup>

Although written in Yoruba, the paper was also looking for an audience among those who could only read English. Bilingual newspapers did not necessarily have the same content written twice in the two languages. Quite often, the Yoruba section focused on a different subject from the English section and, although this was supposedly just a translation, many different cultural references were made. It was not the same newspaper; therefore, it was not addressed to the same public.<sup>185</sup>

The English-centred definition of elite excludes all Yoruba-language readers of the bilingual newspapers and Yoruba books. Pamphlets, too, are examples already mentioned in the thesis. For instance, the English translation of Akinyele’s *Iwe Itan Ibadan*<sup>186</sup> is smaller and introduces certain data, such as the list of Ibadan chiefs, in a

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<sup>182</sup> Barber, “Translation,” 196.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> I. B. Akinyele, *Iwe Itan Ibadan*.

different way from the Yoruba version, showing that the author expected a different readership.<sup>187</sup>

As the next chapter illustrates more fully in the context of a debate, the Lagosian intellectual network was not limited by literacy – either in English or in Yoruba. Publications frequently circulated through families and social circles, or even in the streets, and were frequently read aloud to non-readers, giving them access to the printed word.<sup>188</sup> This practice was institutionalised in the form of common rooms opened in churches and the headquarters of societies,<sup>189</sup> and it was not the only way of disseminating news and knowledge. Public readings frequently became public debates, and feedback sent to the newspapers was not necessarily exclusive to the author: frequently, it reflected the opinions and ideas mentioned in these public forums. In this way, the dialogue was not restricted to one person or medium, written or oral.

Karin Barber explains how early Yoruba print culture was more than just a work of transferring knowledge from the oral to the printed media: “Even the earliest Yoruba writers of history cannot be seen simply as scribes, ‘writing down’ authentic oral traditions. [...] They consciously and explicitly interpreted their findings, proposing readings of the past and its relation to the present that were forged in new circumstances and required new genres to articulate them”.<sup>190</sup> As already argued in the first chapter of

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<sup>187</sup> Another book that Barber identifies, with a translation into English that is quite distinct from the Yoruba version, is Losi’s *History of Lagos* (1914). See Barber, “I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture.”

<sup>188</sup> Omu, *Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937*.

<sup>189</sup> Sawada, “The Educated”.

<sup>190</sup> Barber, “Translation”.

this thesis, the proliferation of books, pamphlets and newspapers from the 1880s onwards should be contextualised as part of a wider project of creation and consolidation of the Lagosian print culture. In this context, oral and written productions were used in a complementary way.

Whilst the oral production of the late nineteenth century is outside the scope of this study, printed texts from the period often captured the integrated dynamics between the two media. An example is given by a passage from *Sibthorpe's History of the Aku or Yoruba*, published in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* between March and May of 1893, as one of a series of histories. In the General Introduction to the series, Sibthorpe wrote: "Mr. Editor, motion to me rise and stand upon your press and *read* to your West Coast African *hearers* my manuscript, the first famous history of Dahomey, of Akus and of Fantees, as Sophocles did to Herodotus at the Grecian Festival with the first famous Grecian History".<sup>191</sup> Speeches given at events and conferences were regularly transcribed and published. *Chapter 1* of this thesis gave the example of a paper which reproduced the feedback from the public at the event: Dr. Obadiah Johnson's *Lagos Past* (1901),<sup>192</sup> which he read at the Lagos Institute and the printed copy of which also contains comments from some of his audience.

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<sup>191</sup> Sibthorpe, "History of the Aku or Yorubas," published in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* in six instalments between March and May 1893. Emphasis added.

<sup>192</sup> Obadiah Johnson, *Lagos Past*.

### b. The Complete Cycle: Expanding Agency

The main problem with the descriptions of intellectual production mentioned above is that they confine discussion of cultural production to the author, neglecting all other agents. The reduction of intellectuality to authorship is rooted in the antagonism between cultural production and consumption. In this model, authors are considered the sole producers of culture. For instance, a book would be seen as reflecting only the style and motivations of its author.

In her study of West African newspapers, Stephanie Newell argues that readerships also participated in cultural production, and to ignore their contribution is to confine history to “the literate elites who had passed through the missionary and colonial school system”.<sup>193</sup> The active contribution of readers to debates in the format of letters, articles and reviews published in newspapers created new cultural networks and broadened the intellectual field. But it also makes it harder to separate authors from readers, and hence to define who was an intellectual in West Africa.

When does a reader become an author? How many letters does a reader have to send to a newspaper to be considered an author? Does a publication have to be in the format of a book or pamphlet, or is a series of articles in a newspaper enough to define an author? Is the question, perhaps, one of who is writing? Does intellectuality make an author or does authorship define the Lagosian intellectual? What produces an intellectual?

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<sup>193</sup> Newell, “Articulating Empire,” 112.

Robert Darnton argues for the importance of taking into account the whole process of publication for gaining a better understanding of the history of print.<sup>194</sup> Darnton questions the use of statistics about writing in the study of print culture. He explains that scholars have used quantitative methods to gather an enormous amount of information about publications, in an attempt to better understand reading habits in eighteenth-century France. However, for Darnton, these numbers have very much focused on authorship and cannot yield knowledge about readers; scholars have thus failed to develop a theory that could explain the full spectrum of participants in the phenomenon of print in France. He argues that there are other dimensions besides authorship in the social life of a book, and that these dimensions should be given the same consideration as authorship.<sup>195</sup>

Widening the focus from authorship means including not only the readership, but also agents from the many stages of production. Darnton's suggestions, made in 1971, can be readily applied to the core archive of this thesis: books and pamphlets. Lagosian social history has much to gain from a consideration of all aspects of publishing, from authoring to reading, including also those people who are bound to a book through its process of publication, such as through printing, distributing and selling. Darnton's diagram of what he terms "the communications circuit" depicts the main players in the publishing process.

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<sup>194</sup> R. Darnton, "Reading, Writing, and Publishing in Eighteenth-Century France: A Case Study in the Sociology of Literature," *Daedalus* 100 (1971): 214-256.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.



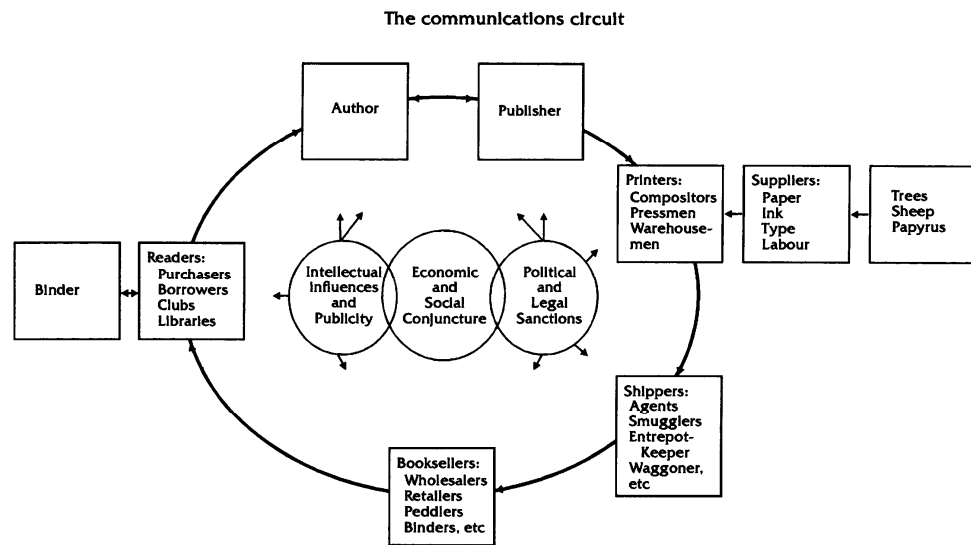


Figure 2.3 – Darnton’s communications circuit<sup>196</sup>

Author and Publisher are connected at the top of the circuit and the arrow indicates the movement to the printers (also connected to suppliers) and then to shippers, booksellers and finally readers, whom he connects through the circuit to the authors. Darnton’s diagram clearly demonstrates that every reader is a potential author, and that every author is also a reader. Including each of these stages in the history of print culture – whether in eighteenth-century France or in late nineteenth-century Lagos – is to bring to the analysis a number of people who are not usually visible in the scholarly literature concerning print cultures. As applied to Lagos, Darnton’s model highlights not only some of the other agents who are often overlooked, but also their material and intellectual contributions to the Lagosian intellectual network.

The first printing press in Lagos was inaugurated in 1863 by Robert Campbell. Originally from Jamaica, Campbell worked in the United States as an apprentice printer

<sup>196</sup> Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?,” 68.

compositor and mastered the work of compositor, assembling pages of type.<sup>197</sup> In 1859, Campbell joined the “Back to Africa”<sup>198</sup> movement and, after a tour around Yorubaland, established himself in Lagos in 1862. A year later, aspiring to launch a local newspaper, he opened the printing school and founded the *Anglo-African*, a title that circulated for two years.<sup>199</sup>

In the 1870s, several printing houses opened: Caxton Printing Press, for instance, was inaugurated in 1875. By the end of the 1880s, there were around five printing establishments in Lagos.<sup>200</sup> In the 1890s several additional private houses opened for business: Andrew Thomas’s General Printing Office and John Payne Jackson’s Samadu Press, for instance, were running by 1900. But the printing industry consolidated its activities when, in 1910, Akintunde Adeshigbin left the Shamadu Press and founded the Tika-Tore Press. As Omu points out, “Tika Tore Press came to exemplify the enterprising genius of pioneer Nigerian entrepreneurs. It became a proud monument to African industry and resourcefulness, and was a great source of inspiration to contemporary and prospective printing proprietors”.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Omu, *Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937*, 27.

<sup>198</sup> N. A. Blyden, “‘Back to Africa:’ The Migration of New World Blacks to Sierra Leone and Liberia,” *OAH Magazine of History* (2004).

<sup>199</sup> G. Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: a History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942* (London: SCM Press, 1971); O. Okoro Innocent, *Bookselling Practice in Nigeria* (London: University of London Press, 2006).

<sup>200</sup> Omu, *Press and Politics*.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

Newspaper editors are often understood as agents in the intellectual context.<sup>202</sup> This is the case of John Payne Jackson, the Editor of the *Lagos Weekly Times*. His contributions to Lagosian intellectual networks of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are often acknowledged by historians of West Africa in their analyses.<sup>203</sup> This is probably because newspaper editors could define the political positions of their newspapers.<sup>204</sup> In this way their role in the social history of Lagos is easier to identify. On the other hand, publishers, although responsible for the selection and often also for the editing of books and pamphlets, are seldom mentioned as intellectuals in the Lagosian intellectual network.

According to the archive that forms the basis for this thesis, more than sixty publishers were responsible for the publication of the 247 Lagosian books and pamphlets. To disregard the contribution of publishers is, therefore, to fail to acknowledge a large number of intellectuals who were responsible for choosing, editing and producing publications. They acted directly on material, defining what would be available to readers, and when. Publishers could thus project and promote individual Lagosian intellectuals to a wider readership network, for instance to European readers, as in the case of Otunba Payne, whose almanacs were published in London. Or they could deny a dedicated writer the engagement through authorship with the Lagosian intellectual network, as happened to Samuel Johnson.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> For instance, Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*, 77.

<sup>203</sup> Zachernuk, for instance, names John Payne Jackson as one the four intellectuals responsible for an effective intellectual production. See *Chapter 1*.

<sup>204</sup> Omu, *Press and Politics*.

<sup>205</sup> Samuel Johnson's case is analysed in further detail in the conclusion of this thesis.

The contribution of print workers such as binders and typesetters is also commonly neglected. Roger Chartier reminds us that “authors do not write books”.<sup>206</sup> Rather, in his view, they write texts that, through the work of other people, become the bound volumes that we know as books.<sup>207</sup> However, it is easy to forget the contribution of print workers in the making of books. An editorial published in 1919 in *In Leisure Hours* clearly illustrates how unknown the work of printers could be: “Quite a number of friends have approached us with reference to a strange story [...] that an angel has marked all Yoruba Bibles on page 928 [...]. The marks in question are made not by angels, but by those who fold the pages, to show the bookbinders where to paste on an odd leaf”.<sup>208</sup>

However, although some readers might have ignored the role of printers in the production of books, printers were aware of the importance of their own contribution. In 1920, the *Times of Nigeria* published a letter from printing staff to readers: “An Apology to the Readers – The Printing staff of this office owes the Readers of ‘The Times of Nigeria’ an apology for failure to get the past issues out in time”.<sup>209</sup> According to the letter, their difficulties in keeping to the schedule were related to the amount of work they were dealing with and also to “certain reforms introduced into this office”.<sup>210</sup> The letter is signed by A. E. Babamuboni, Head of the Printing Staff. This letter shows

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<sup>206</sup> Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 9.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> The rest of the article reads: “A careful examination of any Yoruba Bible will show that pages 929 and 930 are not sewn like the rest of the book, but are pasted to the previous page, and it is to prevent any mistake in this work that these marks are made”. From Editorial, *In Leisure Hours* 10 (May 1919).

<sup>209</sup> *Times of Nigeria* (12 and 19 April 1920).

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

the commitment of the printing staff to readers: they knew the relevance of their work, and that their inconsistency in bringing out the issues was breaking this bond. Their work was important to the process of publishing, and its absence affected the final result as much as an author who did not deliver his/her piece on time, or a distributor who failed to reach the newspaper stands.

Babamuboni was proud of his team and their work, and wanted to protect his integrity as head printer. He had an important role in the Lagosian intellectual network, and he knew it, for he was also a Lagosian intellectual.

The above examples show how the agency of the Lagosian intellectual network is expanded when the material side of print culture is taken in consideration, and when all stages of the process of publishing are included in the analysis. This is more than a question of involving other individual agents: it has consequences for the broad understanding of Lagosian social history. The example of the role of Brazilians in the city's printing industry can serve to illustrate this, for the definition of Lagosian intellectuals should not be restricted to a small set of educated Lagosians, but opened up to include the plurality of agents and publications that formed Lagosian print culture.

A glance through the list of the publications oblivioned by historians of West Africa shows the plurality of themes covered by Lagosian intellectuals: politics, theology, poetry, mythology, literature, science, medicine and astrology are some of topics that appear in the titles. A careful analysis of these titles reveals more than plurality: as explored in *Chapter 1*, emerging genres can also be identified in Lagosian intellectual production. The multiplicity of themes and genres was, however, partly lost in the

process of sieving through which, as the last chapter argued, a small corpus of publications was promoted to exemplary status in the academic production of history in the second half of the twentieth century. Thus, to the question of why it is that only a handful of Lagosian books and pamphlets is known to modern readers, this chapter answers: because of the analytical concept of cultural nationalism and the historiographic framework on which it is based, which worked as a sieve that selected only those publications that matched a certain criterion. The sieve and the practice it implies led both to a narrow selection of books and pamphlets considered worthy of being studied, and to an inadequate appreciation of the plurality of Lagosian publications.

An important feature lost in this process was all the interconnections between different publications. As *Chapter 3* will show, books and pamphlets were not isolated entities but rather formed part of dialogues that cut across different forms of print media. Indeed, the numerous agents involved in the process of publishing explored in this chapter would come together to configure broader debates that were enabled by, and manifested in, Lagosian print culture. To give a sense of these debates, *Chapter 3* concentrates on the debate about polygamy and explores how public discussions of this topic wove books and pamphlets together with West African newspapers and their complex readerships. By exploring debates, furthermore, the next chapter demonstrates something hitherto unacknowledged by historians of West Africa: that is the richness and fluidity of Lagosian intellectuals' motivations for participating in print debates.

### Chapter 3: Following Printed Debates

What were the characteristics of, and reasons for producing, Lagosian print culture? This chapter answers this question by following printed debates about Christian polygamy in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Lagos. By showing how Lagosian intellectuals engaged in printed debates about Christian polygamy, this chapter highlights the plurality and dynamism of their intellectual production.

Polygamy was a common institution among Nigerians, but its practice among Christians was officially opposed by all Christian missions established in Lagos and Abeokuta in the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The majority of new converts had more than one wife, and missionaries often did not know how to deal with this situation. Should they refuse to baptise these men? Or should they accept the first wife as the legitimate one and close their eyes to the others? Different missionaries had a variety of opinions and it was in this context of controversy that the debate about Christian polygamy started.<sup>2</sup>

The debate about polygamy is particularly relevant because it shows the importance of studying books in their print culture context. Of the 247 books registered in my database, only eight are specifically about polygamy. In comparison with other recurring themes, such as language, if only books are taken in consideration then polygamy does not seem to have had much importance at the time. However, if we place these eight books and pamphlets in the context of a debate that included other

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<sup>1</sup> Mann, *Marrying Well*; Kristin Mann, "The Dangers of Dependence: Christian Marriage Among Elite Women in Lagos Colony, 1880–1915," *Journal of African History* 24 (1983): 37–56.

<sup>2</sup> Webster, *The African Churches Among the Yoruba, 1891–1922*, Chap. 1.

media, such as newspapers, the relevance of the discussion about polygamy becomes evident. In addition to these books and pamphlets there are at least 300 newspaper articles published in Lagos between 1880 and 1921 that were part of this debate.<sup>3</sup> A large number of people wrote letters to newspapers about polygamy, and the discussion reached not only West Africa, but also the UK. Indeed, a wider electronic search in the World Newspaper Archives database<sup>4</sup> found 723 articles in West African newspapers that mentioned the word “polygamy”.

Thus, although the polygamy debate featured in only a few books, it illustrates the need to include other forms of print culture – in particular, newspapers – in the study of Lagosian books and pamphlets. Moreover, this serves as an opportunity to observe some of the characteristics of Lagosian books and pamphlets which cannot be appreciated by studying publications in isolation. For instance, reading the different printed debates on polygamy allows one to see the plurality of arguments, how they covered a variety of agendas, and how they evolved during the dynamic of the debate.

The polygamy debate also shows a large number of people involved in the discussion, as well as how, in response to one another, they changed their lines of reasoning and agendas. Tracking the discussion not only brings historical and social contexts to a consideration of a publication, but also shows the dynamics of a network in which

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<sup>3</sup> It is also important to observe that the three pamphlets about polygamy were among the publications that had most repercussions in local newspapers. See *Chapter 2*.

<sup>4</sup> This recovers information from twenty West African newspapers: *Gold Coast Aborigines*, *Gold Coast Chronicle*, *Gold Coast Independent*, *Gold Coast Leader*, *Gold Coast Nation*, *Gold Coast Times*, *Lagos Observer*, *Lagos Standard*, *Lagos Weekly Record*, *Nigerian Chronicle*, *Nigerian Pioneer*, *Times of Nigeria*, *African Interpreter and Advocate*, *Colony and Provincial Reporter*, *Independent*, *Sierra Leone Times*, *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, *Liberia Recorder*, and *Observer*.



intellectuals were not restricted to one line of thinking or a single ideology. Rather, following the polygamy debate reveals people's complexity and how they changed their minds, outlining a network constituted by individuals from many backgrounds, social classes and literacy levels.

In this chapter, public debates are thus understood as an important way of approaching Lagosian print culture. Following Barber's suggestions, these debates must be thought of as a space that "belongs neither to the speaker [writer] nor to the hearer [reader]: rather it inhabits the zone between them".<sup>5</sup> To approach debates as extended through time, through audiences and through media therefore avoids thinking of publications as broadcasts from producers of texts to receivers or readers: as Barber rightly indicates, "'production' and 'reception' appear as moments in a cycle, rather than two poles at opposite ends of a process. What is production is also reception; the act of reception is an act of production".<sup>6</sup> By engaging with public debates, intellectuals "were lay[ing] claim to membership of a social world defined precisely by [a] culture of literacy"<sup>7</sup> in the Lagosian intellectual network. Indeed, intellectuals were not addressing "an anonymous and undifferentiated [audience]",<sup>8</sup> but saw their interlocutors as "a sea of potential [sources] of social power",<sup>9</sup> where every person from the audience could, in a given situation, be a source of help.

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<sup>5</sup> Barber, "Preliminary Notes on Audiences in Africa."

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Karin Barber, "Introduction: Hidden Innovators in Africa," in *Africa's Hidden Histories, Everyday Literacy and Making the Self*, ed. Karin Barber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 5.

<sup>8</sup> Barber, "Preliminary Notes on Audiences in Africa."

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Applying this theory to the Christian polygamy debate, the following section focuses on James Johnson and his intellectual activities, and studies how this particular Lagosian intellectual was plural and changed his ideological positions through time. Keeping to a chronological narrative, this chapter explores how the discussion unfolded, argument after argument, and also how different media, languages, people and opinions engaged with one another in the debate. Through this, the characteristics of Lagosian intellectual production are explored, along with the plurality of arguments and agendas that motivated intellectuals to engage in debates.

### 3.1. Characteristics of Lagosian print culture

In 1894, a meeting of the Board of Education took place in Lagos. Reverend James Johnson used the opportunity to take his opposition to polygamy from lectures, articles and intellectual debates onto a more effective level.<sup>10</sup> At the Board meeting, Johnson introduced a motion opposing the licensing of a primary school linked to the African Church. According to him “the moral education of a child is as important as, nay, more important than his intellectual education; that the morality of a school cannot properly be expected to rise above that of a Church with which it is connected and which owns it”.<sup>11</sup> Johnson’s problem with the morality of the African Church was related to the fact that it accepted polygamous individuals among its adepts.

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<sup>10</sup> Ayandele, *The Educated Elite*; Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos*; P. D. Cole, “Lagos Society in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Lagos: The Development of an African City*, ed. A. B. Aderibigbe (Lagos: Longman Nigeria, 1975), 27–57.

<sup>11</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record* (13 January 1894).

Johnson's intention to harden the policies against polygamous Christians was in line with the policies of the Church Missionary Society.<sup>12</sup> However, this is not what the decision of the Board reflected. His proposition that the Board of Education deny a licence to the African Church school on moral grounds was met with firm rejection. Although an ally of the Anglican mission and therefore a supporter of monogamy among Christians, the Board foresaw the extent of the conflict this would cause with the Muslim community – who were polygamous and played important social and economic roles in Lagos. There were more than two sides to this discussion.<sup>13</sup> Although the motion was eventually defeated, the controversy around polygamy reactivated the discussion in the local press, as illustrated by the debate between two West African newspapers, the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* and the *Lagos Weekly Record*.

The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* was founded in 1884 by J. Claudius May with the support of Edward Blyden, and had a strong circulation in Gambia, Gold Coast and Nigeria. It was published until 1951. Although its opinion was clearly in favour of the practice of polygamy among Christians, the editor was also open to different opinions. The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* quite often published articles and letters both for and against Christian polygamy.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Webster, *The African Churches*.

<sup>13</sup> Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*.

<sup>14</sup> Jean Herskovits, "The Sierra Leoneans of Yorubaland," in *Africa and the West: Intellectual Responses to European Culture*, ed. Philip D. Curtin (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), 75–98; Odile Goerg, "La Presse de Sierra Leone: Texte et Intertexte," in *Litteratures et Societes Africaines: Regards Comparatistes et Perspectives Interculturelles*, ed. Papa Samba Diop and Hans-Jurgen Lusebrink (Tubingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2001), 301–318; July, "West African Historians of the Nineteenth Century."

The *Lagos Weekly Record* started circulating in January 1891. It was owned and edited by J. P. Jackson until 1913, when his son T. H. Jackson took over the business, which he managed until 1930 when the newspaper ceased circulation.<sup>15</sup> Although the *Lagos Weekly Record* was not specifically linked to any church or religious movement, the polygamy debate seemed from the frequency with which it published editorials on the topic to have great importance for the newspaper. F. I. A. Omu asserted in his *Press and Politics in Nigeria*<sup>16</sup> that the *Lagos Weekly Record* was originally, in 1894, an anti-polygamy newspaper, but that a couple of years later it shifted its opinion in favour of Christian polygamy.<sup>17</sup>

One might, however, understand the *Lagos Weekly Record's* position regarding the polygamy debate in a different manner. As demonstrated below, the *Lagos Weekly Record* published articles both in favour of and against Christian polygamy, sometimes within the same issue. The publication of different points of view in the debate shows that, at least in some cases, what mattered to editors was the debate itself, rather than particular positions on the spectrum of opinion and ideology. Because the limits of a printed discussion were not straightforward or clearly defined, within the different sides of a debate it is possible to see a plurality of arguments and positions. This plurality of arguments within and between each side of a debate is apparent in the discussions about polygamy that took place in the Lambeth Conference of 1888.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Omu, *Press and Politics*, 253.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>18</sup> Webster, *The African Churches*; J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*.

In the 1890s the process of shifting the status of polygamy from a tolerated to a forbidden practice was already far advanced<sup>19</sup> and these changes had reached a few institutional milestones before the 1890s. In 1884, a new Marriage Ordinance reaffirmed Christian Marriage as a union of two individuals and ordered that polygamy among members of the church should not be accepted in any circumstance.<sup>20</sup> In 1886, in a deliberately restrictive act, only eleven Christian churches in Lagos were licensed for the solemnisation of marriage, besides the Court Registrar.<sup>21</sup> In 1887, the Diocesan Conference held in Lagos voted against Christian polygamy<sup>22</sup> and this result was taken to the Third Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops in 1888 in London.<sup>23</sup> This was the first Lambeth Conference to have the topic of polygamy on its agenda, and was also the one that finally gave support to a position critical of Christian polygamy: it was decided by 83 votes to 21 that “persons living in polygamy be not admitted to baptism, but that they be accepted as candidates and kept under Christian instruction until such time as they shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ”.<sup>24</sup>

Besides rejecting Christian polygamy, the Lambeth conference also decided against the division of the Diocese of Sierra Leone and therefore rejected the creation of a Yoruba Bishopric:

That, as regards newly constituted Churches, especially in non-Christian lands, it should be a condition of the recognition of *them* as in complete intercommunion

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<sup>19</sup> Webster, *The African Churches*.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. See also Mann, *A Social History of the New African Elite*.

<sup>21</sup> Seven from the Church Missionary Society, two Wesleyans, one Baptist and the Catholic Cathedral. See *Lagos Observer* (6 February 1886).

<sup>22</sup> Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*.

<sup>23</sup> Webster, *The African Churches*.

<sup>24</sup> *Lambeth Conference Resolutions Archive*, 1888. Resolution 5, Paragraph A.

with *us*, as especially of *their* receiving *from us Episcopal succession*, that *we* should first receive *from them* satisfactory evidence that *they* hold substantially the same doctrine as *our own*, and that *their* clergy subscribe articles in accordance with the express statements of *our own* standards of doctrine and worship.<sup>25</sup>

In the final report of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, two groups – “us” and “them” – were the subjects of the discussion, yet neither was clearly defined. Who, for the Lambeth Conference, were “they”? Africans? Yorubas? Missionaries? Christians?

Historians of West Africa often repeat this dichotomy, and reduce the debate around the issue of polygamy to one between two clearly defined sides: colonisers and colonised. Thus, Ade Ajayi opposes “the European missionary from an individualist society [who] found the African system not only odd, but a negation of some of the things he considered most vital in life”<sup>26</sup> and nationalists. Furthermore, according to E. A. Ayandele, there was no debate at all, for all voices were in unison: “all the delegates to the Anglican conference in Lagos in April 1887 falsified history by declaring that polygamy was never indigenous to the Yoruba”.<sup>27</sup> As he explained, it was not until after 1895 that educated Africans “began to have pride in African customs and institutions”.<sup>28</sup> Yet, as argued in this thesis, and by Sawada, “People in Lagos felt a belonging to groups according to the contexts”.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Lambeth Conference Resolutions Archive*, 1888. Resolution 19. Emphasis added.

<sup>26</sup> Ajayi, *Christian Mission in Nigeria*, 15.

<sup>27</sup> Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*, 245.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>29</sup> Sawada, “The Educated Elite,” 308.

As in the CMS conferences and their final reports, the debate about polygamy and the Yoruba Bishopric in the field of print (or indeed the oral debate) was not clear cut: arguments against and in favour of polygamy were full of complex lines of reasoning and agendas were mixed. It was not easy to count votes for one side or the other when ideas were taken outside the institutionalised conferences to the printed debates in Lagos. The dynamic of the discussion cannot be explained by a confrontation between two well-defined and dichotomous ideological sets. For instance, “Remeses” commented in his/her letter to the *Lagos Observer* how puzzled he/she was about the loyalties of those who attended the meeting: “And, though we should expect that Africans will more naturally take to men of their own race, the vote of the Conference was in favour of a white man”.<sup>30</sup> “Remeses” was referring to the vote in the Diocesan Conference in Lagos regarding the substitution of Bishop Samuel Crowther by a European.

This complexity of opinions was not only apparent on the “they” side. The “we” side was also not as cohesive as the report wished to depict. The Anglican Bishop of Sierra Leone, E. G. Ingham, a European, attended the aforementioned conference, and although it seems that he was indifferent concerning the creation of the new Diocese, his opinion about Christian polygamy was clear in the eyes of his reviewer: “I would assert that it was his magnanimous spirit which made Bishop Ingham declare for a an independent Bishopric for Yoruba. His judgement was reasonable and his decision just; more so, when he and the Home Committee are of the opinion that this office had better fall on an African”.<sup>31</sup> Ingham’s speech supporting Christian polygamy was promptly

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<sup>30</sup> *Lagos Observer* (14 April 1888).

<sup>31</sup> Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*, 246.

printed, together with the proceedings of the conference, and made available to the public. According to the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, the pamphlet was “full of interest, and we can advise our readers to purchase copies at 6d. a piece to study them”.<sup>32</sup>

Newell argues that authors publishing West African newspaper columns formed distinct print identities, often mediated by the use of pseudonyms.<sup>33</sup> She expands upon Simon Gikandi’s theories, which claim that colonial identities were formed prior to print and that publishing was only a vehicle for expressing these identities. Contrary to Gikandi, for Newell it was through printing that identities were constituted. As discussed in the last chapter, one of the characteristics of the concept of cultural nationalism consolidated by historians of West Africa is that it understands Lagosian intellectual production as the result of conflicted minds, dealing with “selves” formed by two identities: Yoruba and Victorian Christian.<sup>34</sup> Thinking of print culture as a mere vehicle for ideas can lead to a simplification of its role in Lagosian social history. Publishing was more than just a vehicle; it was part of the process of consolidation of print culture, one in which identities were not only created but also experimented upon. In printed debates a variety of allegiances, complex loyalties and relations surfaced, so that the identities formed cannot easily be fitted into one – or two – sets of ideas.

Consider, for instance, the case of Reverend W. J. David, who also attended the Lambeth Conference of 1888. A European, David gave a paper entitled “The Marriage

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<sup>32</sup> *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (10 September 1887), 2. Emphasis added.

<sup>33</sup> Stephanie Newell, “Something to Hide? Anonymity and Pseudonyms in the Colonial West African Press,” *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 45 (2010): 11.

<sup>34</sup> For instance, Peel, *Aladura, a Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*, 56–57.



Tie”. A review authored by “Oba”, published in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* explained that Rev. David:

went the right way of considering his subject by examining the history of thought as expressed in every day salutations of the Yoruba people. In fact, we cannot think of any other way in which he could have proceeded. *We are at one with him here.* But there is clear evidence all through his paper that he also entered the consideration of the subject with his head full of the theory that Polygamy wherever found is a dire evil which summary legislation can effectually crush out. This idea runs through the paper from beginning to end.<sup>35</sup>

“Oba” (which means king in Yoruba) had no problems in showing that he only partly agreed with Reverend David, but when he did, he was “one with him there”. On the issue of polygamy, however unity did not exist. Which side was “Oba” on? Was he with “us” or with “them”? The same can be asked of Bishop Ingham. Should he be placed on the side of European missionaries, the torchbearers of monogamy? Or should he be identified with “Yoruba cultural nationalists,”<sup>36</sup> who, according to Ayandele, only started after 1895 to have pride in their institutions?

Newell also explains that West African pseudonyms “push against linear notions of (post)colonial agency where the subject’s intentions and self are linked unproblematically to the field of political action”.<sup>37</sup> Thinking of authors, readers and publications in the context of a debate also allows us to form an understanding of their role in social history, and connects them to other agendas besides that of colonisation. For instance, in September 1891, W. E. Cole, J. O. George and G. A. Williams, among

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<sup>35</sup> *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (12 November 1887). Emphasis added.

<sup>36</sup> Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*, 378.

<sup>37</sup> Newell, “Something to Hide?,” 20.

others, held the first service of the United Native African Church at Phoenix Hall.<sup>38</sup> They expressed open support for Crowther and demanded that an African man be appointed as Bishop of West Africa. They also made public their acceptance of polygamy as a Christian form of marriage. “Marriage” and “Polygamy” are the first two topics on the opening page of their constitution, showing the significance of these ideas.<sup>39</sup>

The schism among Christian churches in West Africa and the foundation of African (or Native, as they were also called) branches such as the United Native African Church (UNAC) is often explained as a nationalist reaction to the increasing tightening of rules.<sup>40</sup> Although the linear narrative shows a strong movement in the schism within the African Church, the process was much more complex. Webster, for instance, lists nineteen divisions among the African churches between 1888 and 1922.<sup>41</sup> For instance, there were disagreements about baptism rituals – which led Mojola Agbebi to leave the UNAC and found his own church in 1903.<sup>42</sup> Thus, even among those who agreed that Christians could be polygamous, there were also many disagreements. Moreover, the agenda behind these disagreements may be related to issues of other orders besides colonial ones. Thus, one very important characteristic of the Lagosian intellectual network and its production that is highlighted by following a debate is that there were many factors that motivated intellectuals to write and to engage with the intellectual

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<sup>38</sup> Webster, *The African Churches*.

<sup>39</sup> UNAC, *Constitution* (Lagos, s.n., 1921).

<sup>40</sup> For instance, see Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*; Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos*.

<sup>41</sup> Webster, *The African Churches*, 94.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

network. These reasons were as complex as the intellectuals moved by them. And they cannot be reduced to a dichotomous position around colonialism.

Another arm of the printed debate around Christian polygamy shows how the idea of sides may not be enough to enable us to understand the dynamic of Lagosian print culture production. In February of 1894, the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* published an article written by “O. M.” concerning James Johnson’s motion of opposition to the African Church School. The anti-colonial tone of the column is apparent from its title, “Significance of British Rule in Africa”. For instance, the author questioned the imposition of monogamy together with colonial domination: “We have reserved for future consideration the question whether from a social or religious point of view this alien legislation or legisfaction on the subject of marriage has had any beneficial effects upon the African Communities which have been brought under its domination”.<sup>43</sup> The author also questioned Johnson’s authority to present such a motion since, “in considering the stand point from which Mr. Johnson looks [...], it is necessary to bear in mind that he is, at once, so to speak, an African and an Englishman. [...] He has been familiar from his childhood with the social theories of Englishman”.<sup>44</sup> “O. M.” acknowledged, however, that his relation with James Johnson was not always one of total opposition: “We have great admiration for the Hon. and Rev. James Johnson. In many of the views which he advocates we are heartily in accord with him, and we are not often out of sympathy with the patriotic aversions he expresses; but, we believe, that

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<sup>43</sup> *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (10 February 1894).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

his radical views on the subject of domestic slavery and polygamy are for Africa, at the present time, revolutionary and unstatesmanlike”.<sup>45</sup>

One of the “patriotic aversions” that the author mentioned could have been Johnson’s participation in the Lagosian Committee for the Lambeth Convention of Bishops,<sup>46</sup> where he strongly defended the importance of an African rather than a European Bishop for West Africa. Regarding the nomination to the Bishopric, Johnson’s arguments were thus in line with those of the African Church, the same group against which he had presented a motion at the Board of Education.

In 1854, after the Board of Ordinance rejected Johnson’s proposal, he wrote a letter to the *Lagos Weekly Record* expressing his opinion. Giving the issue a wider scope, Johnson used this opportunity to express his frustration with the British Government: “If the Government disbelieves in polygamy as it shows it does by its own laws, and if it is anxious for the moral education of the juvenile section of its subjects, as I believe it is, the concession to the application made weakens, as I think, the stand it has taken by monogamy, and its practical pronouncement against polygamy”.<sup>47</sup>

His tone became more aggressive:

The English mohammedan [...] in Liverpool occupies, in regard to the point in question, much the same position that the members of the United African Church occupy here. Does anyone expect that if these persons should elect to prefer polygamy which mohammedanism sanctions to monogamy which is the law of their country, and establish a school in connection with their society, the British

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> *Memorial Service for the Late James Johnson*, (Calabar: U. F. C. Mission Press, 1917).

<sup>47</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record* (10 March 1894).

Government would show them in England that consideration which it shows to its Indian and other foreign mohammedan subjects?<sup>48</sup>

What seemed to concern Johnson most was the double standard of the British regarding the colonies. While in Britain a polygamous church would never be licensed to run a school, in Lagos this was not only acceptable, but was becoming a reality. While “O. M.” was accusing Johnson of being an Englishman not defending the best interests of Africa against colonial impositions, Johnson was answering that it was in the best interest of Africans to be treated in the same way as Europeans. He wanted Christians Lagosians to be held up to the same standards as any Christian in Britain, based not on religion, but “purely upon moral grounds”.<sup>49</sup>

“O. M.” was also concerned about morality, or the definition of immorality:

Now, what is immorality? Immorality is different from illegality. Immorality means that which is against custom; illegality that which is against the law. Polygamy cannot be therefore, immoral in Africa or in Asia. In the European settlements, in West Africa, it may be illegal – against the law – law [...] invented by the ingenious and skilfull, or imported by authority, forced very often into incompatible conditions and, like all artificial creations, becomes a dead letter.<sup>50</sup>

James Johnson answered “O. M.”’s questions about morality in a second letter sent to the *Lagos Weekly Record* on 17 March, showing an understanding of morality that was not centred in culture, “O. M.” had argued, but rather in relation to religion:

I do not deny that what may be illegal in Europe may be legal in Africa; but I do not admit that what is immoral in Europe is not immoral in Africa or any part of

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record* (3 March 1894).

the world. Immorality [...] extends to what is contrary to the Divine law, and to what is vicious. [God] His moral laws apply equally to Africa and Asia as they do to Europe. [...] If polygamy is immoral in Europe, it is immoral in Asia and Africa also.<sup>51</sup>

Underlying the debate about Christian polygamy there were opposite understandings of morality that reflected, in these two cases, patriotic motivations. Both authors held a patriotic vision; however, what was being debated was not only whether or not Christians could be polygamous, but also what being patriotic meant. Johnson maintained that there was a universal moral code based on religious values, and that his patriotism was based on the idea that Africans should be considered capable of keeping to the standards of this moral code. On the other hand, “O. M.” believed that distinctive African values should be acknowledged and respected as such, and that the notion of patriotism should reflect this diversity. Johnson’s patriotism was based on his demands to be treated as an equal, and “O.M.”’s patriotism was founded on his demands to be respected, in spite of differences.

This debate shows that umbrella concepts such as “patriotism” and “morality”, commonly used by later historians, have covered divergent positions and concealed the plurality of intellectual production.<sup>52</sup> This is in line with what F. Cooper argues in *Colonialism in Question*. For him, “the problem comes with scholars’ widespread use of these terms as analytic categories, as tools for description and analysis. This usage does more to obscure than to illuminate the problems of social connection, cross-border

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<sup>51</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record* (17 March 1894), 21.

<sup>52</sup> As discussed in *Chapter 2*.

interaction, and long-term change that they are thought to address”.<sup>53</sup> This is not to deny the racist bias that characterised the historical context in which this debate took place. As mentioned above, the election of a European Bishop as substitute for Samuel Crowther was a clear example of how racism directly affected many Lagosians who lost their jobs to not necessarily better qualified white professionals. However, reducing these publications to a reaction in a dichotomous conflict such as nationalism versus colonisation or self-assertion versus racism oversimplifies the intricate roles that these intellectuals played in the social history of Lagos.

Johnson and “O. M.” diverged in their views of Christian polygamy; however, both were imbued with patriotism and, in being patriotic, they both defended the West African Bishopric. But in being patriotic, they also disagreed about the consequences for Africans of the Lambeth Conference of 1888. Those who defended polygamy did so for a variety of reasons that did not necessarily place them in the same social, religious or ideological circles. But while finding differences on the same side of the debate, I would go further and argue that it is necessary to question the very idea of sides.

In reconsidering the idea of sides, Appadurai’s concepts of “scapes” and “disjuncture” prove useful.<sup>54</sup> Appadurai defines scapes as dimensions of cultural flows “that are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sort of actors”.<sup>55</sup> The relations established between these scapes are what he called fundamental disjuncture. Applying these concepts, this study argues

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<sup>53</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*.

<sup>54</sup> Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference”.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 324.

that debates are like disjuncture, crosscutting through broad themes such as nationalism and patriotism, but also through religion, education, science, tradition and history among others. These broad themes – or scapes – are fluid and complex; different dimensions of the intellectual network that overlap with one another. And it is in these imbrications between different scapes that controversies are configured. The debate emerges in print culture, whether in the format of a lecture, a letter to a newspaper or a book.

In September 1881, “a correspondent from Lagos” published the following in the *Gold Coast Times*:

A pamphlet *The Hamites Political Economy* was recently published by ‘A Descendant of Ham’. It has created a high degree of sensation in town. In it the writer declares that the ‘polygamy of the heathen African is less productive of evil than the *monogamic*<sup>56</sup> marriage of the civilized European.’ He also questions the right of Ministers to constitute themselves judges in spiritual matters, and to eject members from the church, whilst Christ said that ‘he would in nowise cast out any’. These last remarks have ‘brought down the pulpit about the ears’ of the author.<sup>57</sup>

The article was clear about the impact of the pamphlet within Lagos, mentioning twice that it had provoked a strong reaction from the public. However this also shows that Lagosian print culture had reached other parts of West Africa, since it apparently seemed to the editor of the *Gold Coast Times* that his readers would be interested in

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<sup>56</sup> My highlight: currently the correct form of the word is *monogamous*, which would call for the use of [sic]. However, I refrain from marking the supposedly incorrect use of the word for two reasons: firstly it is not clear that this was incorrect at the time, since it was repeatedly used by many intellectuals; and secondly the insertion of [sic] would interrupt the quotation and divert attention from the text.

<sup>57</sup> *Gold Coast Times* (10 September 1881).



what was happening in Lagos. The wider reach of its print culture is another characteristic of the Lagosian intellectual production.

Two months later, in November of 1881, a “Liverpool Subscriber” sent a letter to the same newspaper about the problems of building a port and the necessary drainage involved. In an unexpected way, the author linked trading and religion, while concluding the letter: “What is wanted is higher rectitude in trading life as well as in the Church; there is room for this; and also to instil in the African minds [that] it is worth maintaining an independent and proper manner. The great difficulty to contend with, is in my experience that cursed drink traffic, polygamy, and domestic slavery”.<sup>58</sup>

Although the “Liverpool subscriber” was not engaging directly with “a correspondent from Lagos” – the author of the previous article – he seemed eager to mention some polemical topics regarding religion. Besides polygamy, slavery and the traffic in alcohol were filling newspapers with heated discussions. But more than that, this article shows that the polygamy debate was reaching farther than West Africa.

An article published in 1883 in the *Lagos Observer* about the anniversary of the Igbore CMS Sunday School in Abeokuta also showed that the debate was not restricted to West Africa. The piece mentioned that when Revd. T. B. Wright “[was] in England he read a pamphlet advocating polygamy; he believed that if its advocates had been reading their Bibles and attending to Sunday school duties, such an idea would not have crept into their heads”.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *Gold Coast Times* (12 November 1881). Emphasis added.

<sup>59</sup> *Lagos Observer* (10 May 1883).

The occurrence of this discussion in Europe was also mentioned in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*. In 1886 it revealed that “Mr Johnson was said by the artist to be ‘lecturing Europe and Asia on Polygamy’, when he made him a special object of the attention of the world”.<sup>60</sup> This column, entitled “My View of Things?” and written by the Freetown correspondent, often brought up the debate about polygamy. In 1887, the correspondent criticised the pamphlet *The Hamites General Economy’s Lineage*: “The writer among other things, expatiates on the necessity for the continuance of the sin of polygamy, on the ground of its having obtained the sanction of heaven from the earliest period of the practice of the sin of polygamy!”<sup>61</sup>

Although the place and year of publication of the pamphlet reviewed are unknown, this was the second time that the pseudonym “a Descendant of Ham” had been used in a publication. In 1878, *The Hamites Political Economy*, by the same author, had been published in Lagos and it too defended polygamy. The use of pseudonyms is another common feature of Lagosian print culture. Newell explains that pseudonyms and anonymity appeared in many forms in West African newspapers, for a variety of reasons. But many of these authors “selected identities which revealed their cultural affiliations and political interests as well as a powerful sense of their place in the world”.<sup>62</sup> These are the cases of “a correspondent from Lagos” and “a Descendant of Ham”, who both made clear in their pseudonyms their geographical and cultural origins. In these early stages of the debate, the authors of pamphlets and newspaper articles

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<sup>60</sup> *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (6 November 1886).

<sup>61</sup> *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (15 January 1887).

<sup>62</sup> Newell, “Something to Hide?,” 12.

about polygamy mostly used pseudonyms or were anonymous. As Newell argues, they seemed to be experimenting with voices, opinions, subjectivity and agency.<sup>63</sup>

In some of the cases presented above, we can also see a dialogue between different print media: an article criticising a pamphlet; a speech transcribed into a book; a published letter mentioning another newspaper; a column reporting lectures around the globe. The use of different media did not halt or prevent the debate. Frequently, the same text was translated into other languages and formats, reaching other readers and drawing more people into the debate. All these complemented one another, offering readers many kinds of print culture for those of all preferences engaging in the discussion.

This alternated use of books, pamphlets, newspapers and letters increased in the 1890s, when controversies about polygamy became printed debates that continued without interruption over longer periods. The threads with which the debates were woven grew closer, making it more difficult to study one media – in the case of this thesis, books – without touching the other threads – for instance, newspapers.

*Ona si Obinrin Kan*<sup>64</sup> was the first pamphlet to use the word polygamy in its title. This was a pamphlet translated twice over: from the lecture delivered by M. T. E. Ajayi in 1882 to the written media and then, in 1886, from the English to the Yoruba language. In 1895, it was finally published by Mojola Agbebi and sold by the CMS Bookshop.<sup>65</sup> This pamphlet is a good example of how the debate bound different media together, one of the characteristics of Lagosian print culture. The discussion was not restricted by

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Originally published as *A Lecture on Polygamy*.

<sup>65</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record* 7, 14 (26 October 1895), 2.

medium or by any stage of the publishing process. For instance, the CMS Bookshop – an Anglican establishment – did not refrain from selling a publication that directly criticised monogamy.<sup>66</sup> These are aspects of Lagosian print culture that cannot be appreciated if only a few publications are analysed outside their intellectual context.

### 3.2. Motivations for Writing

Understanding the debate as a disjuncture between different scapes in the Lagosian intellectual network allows re-questioning the factors that motivated Lagosian intellectuals to engage in these debates. For instance, in the discussion between James Johnson and “O. M.” published by the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* and the *Lagos Weekly Record*, when we see patriotism as one dimension of the debate – rather than the main reason – it is possible to find other social insertions besides the reaction to European racism. There were other motives for writing and debating. For instance, debating was a source of symbolic capital.

Pierre Bourdieu has defined symbolic capital as “nothing other than capital, of whatever kind, when it is perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the incorporation of the structure of its distribution”.<sup>67</sup> According to Bourdieu, symbolic capital has two characteristics: it attracts more symbolic capital and it is interchangeable.

In the case of Lagosian print culture, Bourdieu’s concepts help to understand other motivations related to authoring, publishing and engaging in a debate. For Bourdieu,

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 238.

symbolic capital is connected to the idea of distinction. Delivering a lecture, publishing a book or being mentioned in a newspaper article is a source of distinction, or symbolic capital. Also, authoring a book or an article reveals that this person has not only the necessary intellectual skills to write it, but also the social and political status to get it published, in other words the necessary symbolic capital. The more an individual is involved in a debate, the greater the appeal of publishing, as more symbolic capital is involved.<sup>68</sup>

This does not mean that new actors were not welcome in the debate. As more became involved, there was also more symbolic capital. Newspaper editors constantly encouraged readers to contribute to the debate, publishing articles, letters and even notes on a variety of issues. This not only helped to keep readers interested in the newspapers, but also attracted new readers who would purchase the issues in order to follow the debates. In fact, *Lagos Weekly Record* circulation numbers increased from 14,440 to 25,800 during the peak of the debate in 1894, positioning the *Lagos Weekly Record* at the top of the list of best-selling newspapers.<sup>69</sup> This shows the convertibility of capital that Bourdieu mentioned, where more debate is linked to higher circulation numbers, and higher circulation number to more social and economic capital.

The importance of social capital can be seen in a published letter concerning the debate from Geo Crowley Nicol, a retired chaplain from Gambia, in which he criticised the newspaper for its irresponsibility:

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 240.

<sup>69</sup> Omu, *Press and Politics*, Appendix.

You say you do not recommend polygamy, and it needs no recommendations; [...] But I ask, if you do not recommend polygamy, why then do you entertain the hope that someday a queen's Advocate or a Chief Justice may be raised up to bring a motion in council to legislate on behalf of polygamy and alter the marriage law of the settlement? [...] No, Sir, I fear you have taken a serious responsibility in the course you are adopting. Your paper is having a wide circulation. It has become an important factor in West Africa. It is not in a correspondence that you introduce the question; but in your leading column. Believe me you are upsetting the minds of the young and rising generation. 'Our social institution, writes a friend, and religious convictions are being undermined and weakened, slowly, but surely' by your incessant allusions to polygamy.<sup>70</sup>

In this letter the reach of the newspaper is clear, not only in a geographical sense, but also in terms of the people it touched. It also shows how people discussed among themselves before sending letters, and that one published letter might represent the idea of many individuals. There was much symbolic capital involved at many levels with each publication.

In 1899, James Johnson published his book *Yoruba Heathenism*,<sup>71</sup> which had a strong impact on the intellectual network.<sup>72</sup> The book is composed of seven chapters, and organised in the format of questions and answers "in order to free the acquisition of the information supplied by its tediousness".<sup>73</sup> In contrast to Johnson's previous contributions, there are no mentions of polygamy in the fifty-four pages. The last

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<sup>70</sup> *Sierra Leone Times* (21 April 1894).

<sup>71</sup> James Johnson, *Yoruba Heathenism*.

<sup>72</sup> This was mentioned in newspapers, including in advertisements and reviews, more than twenty times. It was reviewed on July 2, 1904, in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* in the series "The Evolution of Religion" by J. Abayomi Cole. In 1906 a copy was registered in the British Library and in 1907 the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (9 March ) published another review, this time by the paper's editor.

<sup>73</sup> James Johnson, *Yoruba Heathenism*, Preface.

chapter, “Moral System”, although it explained that the marriage institution was important to the “Yoruba heathen”, included nothing about polygamy. It seems that Johnson had finally laid to rest the topic he had previously found so relevant. However, in the following year, 1900, James Johnson was consecrated Bishop Assistant and just a couple of months after his consecration he gave a polemical interview to the English newspaper, the *Daily News*, in which his position about polygamy seemed to have shifted since his debate with “O. M.”, six years before, in 1894:

[Supposing] A European missionary left England, and was appointed to a district in Sierra Leone, in the hinterland, and he fell into polygamy. You might just as well say, therefore, that all English missionaries became polygamists. You English think that your form of *civilisation* is the only one; but you are mistaken. We find your clothing quite unsuitable; your own social amenities are good for you, and we respect them, but why should we abandon our own? [...] Nowadays they have learned wisdom: they realised that it does not altogether suit the African Native. No, your civilization does not always make for good. For instance, my clergy and I are very anxious to raise and keep the moral standard of our people as high as possible. [...] Marriage is a recognised institution, although polygamy is allowed; there is no such thing as adultery, there is no illegitimacy. We have great respect for authority and for age. Our law of inheritance gives the wife entire control of her own property and earnings, which on her death pass to her children. [...] They are very strict in their marriage relations. Here you can marry first cousins; that would be unheard of in the Yoruba Country. All their things will prove you that already we have a system of civilisation, and so you see it would not do to graft your system wholesale upon ours.<sup>74</sup>

As in 1894, Johnson was still a supporter of Christian monogamy; however, he was no longer against polygamy. As before, he wanted Africans to be held to the same standards as Europeans, but in this interview he was highlighting the differences

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<sup>74</sup> Reproduced in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* (28 July 1908) and the *Lagos Weekly Record* (4 August 1900).

between them, rather than the similarities. Also, his answer was very much within the nationalism scape, or group of ideas: the comparison with Europe, inverting the roles and placing the European missionary as the polygamous one rather than the African and the affirmation that the Yorubas already had a system of civilisation and were not merely to be civilised by the missionaries were clear statements of self-assertion directed at the English. Johnson's answer seems to have convinced the journalist from the *Daily News*, Raymond Blathwayt, who concluded the articles by saying: "Let Great Britain rule them through their own rules, and their own native councils and let their soul remind their soil, and in that way and along these lines they may eventually become loyal subjects of the British Empire".<sup>75</sup>

Johnson knew that his ideas were in a way revolutionary and polemical. And perhaps he waited until he had been consecrated Bishop to unveil with sincerity his change of mind. In this way, it is possible to speculate that the absence of any mention of the issue of polygamy from Johnson's only book may show how capital – political, social and religious – could also count as reasons for writing or, in this case, for not writing.

In 1908, Bishop Johnson attended for the first time the Lambeth conference of Anglican Bishops, where he gave a strongly-worded speech. The *Daily News* reported on the reaction to Johnson's speech:

Bishop Johnson is a negro, [...] but his speeches, so far from being parrot-like repetitions of the conventional sentiments, were distinguished in a discussion that was far from commonplace for their breadth and originality. No doubt many of his hearers disagreed with his views, but few probably would have denied their

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.



importance. The whole trend of the discussion was to show that sooner or later the African will create for himself a Church adapted to his own peculiar needs.<sup>76</sup>

Here, again, Johnson seems to have waited for the right moment to deliver his ideas in a way that could have a wider audience and readership, which means a stronger impact. For a man who travelled the world lecturing against polygamy, seizing the opportunity of the Lambeth Conference to spread his ideas seems very plausible.

However, his paper entitled “The Relation of Mission Work to Native Customs” was only published four years later, in 1912 by the *Gold Coast Leader*. In this article, Johnson was very clear about how the Anglican Church should deal with polygamous converts:

The consideration of this question calls for a large exercise of Christian charity and of patience and mutual forbearance among brethren who, whilst they unitedly desire a supreme sway for monogamy through Christianity, which the Church is charged to preach and teach, yet differ in their opinion as to the way Polygamy, which has so largely taken its place, should be dealt with, and no brother, native or foreign, should suffer in the estimation either of his Bishop or of the Missionary Committee with which his Church is connected for expressing an opinion different from their own – as has unfortunately been the case sometimes in the African Mission field. [...] When, in 1886, the Church Congress held at Wakefield, England, [...] Lord Bishop of Exeter, the Right Reverend Dr. Bickersteth, had read a valuable and able paper in favour of the admission of polygamists in to the Church of baptism, and the Lord Bishop of Zululand, the Right Reverend Dr. Douglas, had spoken against it, I humbly but decidedly took my stand with the latter and his other sympathisers. [...] But a wider missionary experience has [...] led me to the conviction that it was not without much deep, mature, and earnest

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<sup>76</sup> *Daily News* 13 (1908), 357.

consideration [that] many other clergy, including missionaries of our own and other Churches, have decided in favour of their admission.<sup>77</sup>

In this speech, Johnson pointed out the wrong approach towards polygamy within the Anglican Church, assumed his own mistake in the past, and called the attention of the other Bishops to the necessity for a more charitable and tolerant attitude. He talked about the nationalisation of the Church in Africa as something inevitable, and encouraged his peers to think about these issues in a more pragmatic way. Although his wording was cordial and polite, the text as a whole shows a bolder Johnson, who stood up among bishops from all over the Anglican world to say that they were wrong, and that there was a better way to deal with the polygamy situation. This did not mean that Johnson was any more tolerant of the practices of the African Church:

[Reverend Williams] and his helpers had been credibly represented to me as sometimes going about the streets, [...] to draw away people from their churches, asking them whether or not they have been baptised, [...] and inviting them to come over to the African church [...] and where they could get it readily whether they were polygamists or not and saying that they would not get it in a CMS Church or from Bishop Johnson as that Church does not tolerate polygamy.<sup>78</sup>

In this letter, it becomes clear that Johnson's dissatisfaction with Christian polygamy was not only of intellectual or nationalist origin. Johnson was worried about losing followers to the African Church, part of his social capital as a religious leader. In 1900, when he was consecrated Assistant Bishop, he was also made the offer that, if he could raise enough funds (£10,000) and adepts, a new African Independent Bishopric – the Yoruba Bishopric – could be created, therefore making him an independent bishop.

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<sup>77</sup> *Gold Coast Leader* (24 February 1912).

<sup>78</sup> *Times of Nigeria* (24 October 1916), 6.

According to a sermon preached by Rev. Doherty at Johnson's memorial service, "the scheme was just near completion, when the end came" in 1917.<sup>79</sup>

Johnson's case illustrates how Lagosian intellectuals engaged in the wider Lagosian intellectual network on many levels – writing letters, delivering speeches and lectures, giving interviews and featuring in editorials; from different sites – Lagos, Freetown, London, Liverpool, and working with a plurality of arguments and their subtleties. Moreover, it shows how over three decades Johnson was not frozen as an intellectual and neither were the reasons that motivated him to write, read, discuss and publish. Although he firmly supported Christian monogamy to the end, he dealt with criticism, shifted his understanding of the issue and positioned himself in the debate in different ways.

Lagosian intellectual production should be studied as social facts in themselves, as Barber suggests.<sup>80</sup> They were produced for their time, to communicate their ideas, to place their authors in the various networks (intellectual, religious, political, social), to reach others and to accomplish goals. But they were also written as something to be left behind, consulted, reused and remembered: "People put words together to make a mark, to leave a trace".<sup>81</sup>

After his death, Johnson's work remained an important part of the polygamy controversy. In 1919, the magazine *In Leisure Hours* published an article about

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<sup>79</sup> *Memorial Service for the Late James Johnson.*

<sup>80</sup> Barber, "Translation, Publics and the Vernacular Press in 1920s Lagos."

<sup>81</sup> Barber, *The Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics*, 1.

Christian Marriage, in which the author commented on what he considered a misuse of Bishop Johnson's words:

It has given us much pain that some of his views are not allowed to rest with his body in the grave, especially those which were dictated by *his extreme nationalism* which something carried him unable to reason like his true self. One would have preferred to leave alone these statements, but that on account of the weight of his position and general high character, we fear they might mislead the simple and innocent.<sup>82</sup>

A reference to the original text was not provided, so it is not known exactly which of Johnson's words were intended or how they were used. However, in 1917, a month after Johnson's death, the *Nigerian Pioneer* started publishing a series of articles about his life. In eight instalments, they recounted James Johnson's life and used this opportunity to denounce a supposedly secret scheme he had organised. According to the authors of the series, Johnson had been trying to unify all the protestant churches in Lagos under one African Church, and therefore to break free from the Anglican centralisation in London:

For in the midst of his varied activity James Johnson never for a moment forgot to promulgate his doctrine of an independent African church. During his incumbency of St Paul's this was the theme of many of his public addresses and the frequent topic of his conversation with friends. At last, he arranged for private meetings of ministers and laymen of the different denominations and laid his scheme before them. [...] James Johnson was moved to launch his scheme of amalgamation of the churches at the time he did because of the troubles which had overtaken the Niger mission not long before then.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> *In Leisure Hours* 10, 10 (9 May 1919). Emphasis added.

<sup>83</sup> *Nigerian Pioneer* (February 1917).

The *Lagos Weekly Record*, in October of the same year, answered the *Nigerian Pioneer*'s allegations concerning Johnson's conspiracy: "Bishop Johnson and the *Nigerian Pioneer*. A critical study or a Critic criticised by Delta Minus" ran for six instalments and not only defended Johnson, but also analysed how the author of the accusations was misinterpreting Johnson's words and life: "For people will only take what they have before them and no writer is ever present with his readers to control their impressions. [...] The Critic uses words to imply that the political creed of the late Bishop reveals a deep hatred for those in authority and he represents him as a revolutionary leader for National Independence".<sup>84</sup>

In the debate above, we can see how the meaning of Johnson's words was appropriated and discussed by the two newspapers. Although the original author was not alive and engaged in the debate himself, his production still played a role in the intellectual network. It is interesting to notice that the newspaper that dedicated a series of articles to defend James Johnson from the accusations of conspiracy is the same that was involved in the polygamy debate with the *Sierra Leone Weekly News*.

Besides the endurance of their own words, intellectuals had other reasons for writing and publishing: reasons that approximated intellectuals to artists. Engaging in debates was not only a strategic act. To follow the logic of symbolic and cultural capital to its conclusion would be to assume, for instance, that the way in which James Johnson debated polygamy was aimed at increasing his capital, in terms of reputation or even of financing for the Yoruba Bishopric. But, as explored above, there were many reasons for debating, and it is more useful to consider debating as participation in a spectacle.

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<sup>84</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record* (20 October 1917).

Debates were not discrete communications between writers and readers but, rather and as signalled in the introduction to this chapter, occurred in between writers and readers, not so much realist representations but as “exhortatory and spectacular” displays.<sup>85</sup> Debating was also a public performance.

The character of debates as performances can also be understood by examining Paul Gilroy’s discussion of the music produced in the black Atlantic. For Gilroy, music in the black Atlantic should be studied as an intellectual contribution in itself.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, not only the lyrics composed by slaves that narrated their suffering, for instance, should be read as the intellectual component of the music, but the whole syncopated composition, the performance, the context in which it was sung – all were carefully produced by Atlantic intellectuals. The same theory can be applied in an inverse manner to Lagosian intellectual production, and an example from Rio de Janeiro helps to illustrate this idea.

Around the time that Lagosians intellectuals were debating polygamy, in Rio de Janeiro there was another kind of controversy. Wilson Batista and Noel Rosa were debating the stereotype of samba musicians (also called *sambistas*). Batista, who grew up in Campos, inland from Rio de Janeiro (which was very rural at that time), when he arrived in the capital became fascinated with the “laid back” style of some *sambistas*, who avoided work and spent their time singing. He then wrote honouring their way of life, their smart

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<sup>85</sup> Barber, “Preliminary Notes on Audiences in Africa.”

<sup>86</sup> Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*.

clothes and seductive walk: all they needed to live a good life in Rio de Janeiro – then the capital of Brazil. That is when the controversy began.<sup>87</sup>

Noel Rosa was from Vila Isabel, a middle class neighbourhood named after Princess Isabel who signed the law abolishing slavery in 1888. Rosa responded to Batista, saying that this image of the *sambista* was only jeopardising the professional who wanted to have a respectable life. “Buy a suit and find a job!” Noel Rosa advised him, to which Batista answered: “shut up, posh boy!”

Both Wilson Batista and Noel Rosa were professional *sambistas* themselves, and this debate actually took place in the form of music with provocative and sarcastic lyrics inserted into samba melodies. The next move was from Noel Rosa. He composed a beautiful song called *Feitico da Vila* (Enchantment of Vila Isabel).<sup>88</sup> Part of the lyric says: “Vila Isabel has a good magic spell, with its name of a princess it changed the samba into a decent spell that holds us. There is no lock on the gate, because in Vila Isabel there are no thieves!” Batista sang back: “That is just talk! I went there to see (...) and they’ve killed the samba!” And he warned: “When in Vila Isabel, before going to sleep, lock your door twice”.<sup>89</sup>

The debate was closed by Noel Rosa with his song *Palpite Infeliz* (unfortunate remark): “Who are you who do not know what you are saying? Oh my God, what an unfortunate

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<sup>87</sup> A. Almeida, *Palpite Infeliz: Os Grandes Sambas Da História* (Rio de Janeiro: Polygram 1, 1997).

<sup>88</sup> At this link <http://goo.gl/j65jhg> you can listen to Caetano Veloso singing this - internet connection needed.

<sup>89</sup> At this link <http://goo.gl/mxEPx4> you can listen to Jorge Veiga singing this - internet connection needed.

remark! We salute Estacio, Salgueiro, Mangueira, Osvaldo Cruz and Matriz,<sup>90</sup> who always knew very well that Vila does not want to steal the show, just wants to show that it can also compose samba’’<sup>91</sup> - a different kind of samba, it seemed.

In the controversy described above, it is not difficult to see how debate itself can also be art. In the case of the debates held within the intellectual network in Lagos (at its fullest extent, which also included West Africa and the Atlantic) these are, and were also art. There are two ways in which debates can be seen as art: first, as the activity of debating, in writing and also orally. The artistic side of these debates resided not only in the rhetoric – which has been seen as a form of art since antiquity – but also in the social insertion, the symbolic capital, the format and norms that were part of the debate; the whole configuration of the art of debating.

The art of debating was also part of this strategy. The fact that James Johnson waited until he was in England to give his polemical opinions about polygamy, for instance, was the art of debating put into practice. When he compared the African Church with “Mohammedans” in England or gave an example of a supposedly Anglican priest who became polygamous, Johnson was using rhetorical techniques that made his speech more powerful, showing that he understood well the art of debating.

The texts that remained once the debate was over were also a form of art, but in a distinct way. They were artistic in themselves, in their choice of words, in their

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<sup>90</sup> These were neighbourhoods where sambas were regularly composed and played by locals

<sup>91</sup> At this link <http://goo.gl/IM8v77> you can listen to Joao Gilberto singing this – internet connection needed.



metaphors, their sarcasm and narrative, like a crafted, woven object, to use Barber's metaphor: "A text is a tissue of words. The term comes from the Latin *texere*, meaning literally to weave, join together, plait or braid; and therefore, to construct, fabricate, build or compose".<sup>92</sup> But not only was the object itself art; the group, inserted into the dialogue, seen as a complex debate that brought together elements from different scapes, was also an art form. The Lagosian intellectuals were weaving their print culture. As with the songs written in Rio de Janeiro that are still sung in honour of their composers, Lagosian print culture was also produced as pieces of art, to be read and admired. In this way, they open the possibility that some of these intellectuals may have engaged in the debates, and may have written their articles for the beauty of it; for the making of art: "The Yoruba nation at least is a nation of poets. Without music they are inert, without poetry they are inane".<sup>93</sup>

In studying a specific debate, this chapter has explored the distinct motivations that led Lagosian intellectuals to produce print culture. Debates, as shown above, were both an art form and a source of symbolic and social capital. Following printed debates also highlights the many interests and motivations of Lagosian intellectuals. As this chapter has explored, it would be incorrect to think of Lagosian intellectuals as rigidly associated with particular ideological positions. Rather, intellectuals moved between different sides in debates. Furthermore, when producing print culture they were brokering scapes, as the next chapter explains.

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<sup>92</sup> Barber, *The Anthropology of Texts*, Introduction.

<sup>93</sup> *Lagos Observer* (11 and 18 August 1888).

## Chapter 4: Brokering Scapes of the Lagosian Intellectual Network

The *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* of 1886 was held in South Kensington, London. It was the second in an international exhibition series, intended to boost commercial relations and popular support for colonial expansion.<sup>1</sup> As noted in the *Introduction*, five million people attended the exhibition, which offered several innovations compared to the first one held in 1851 in Hyde Park: rooms and gardens were illuminated by electric light, which helped to create an “oriental mood”;<sup>2</sup> and an entrance from the recently inaugurated South Kensington underground station led straight into a darkened room of the exhibition.<sup>3</sup>

A review in the *African Times* commented that “the Exhibition itself [was] too vast for us, in the limits of our paper, to give even the faintest general idea of the splendid articles it contains. [...] The careful examination it calls for, would take days to accomplish”.<sup>4</sup> A large collection of objects of various origins was displayed in fifteen sections, each one relating to a different British colony: from an Indian throne of hammered gold in a re-created Indian palace<sup>5</sup> to local food, clothing, sculptures and masks.

The event also depended upon the participation of local residents originally from some of the colonies and territories, who offered thorough explanations of the material on

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<sup>1</sup> Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex.”

<sup>2</sup> Mathur, “Living Ethnological Exhibits,” 496.

<sup>3</sup> Wintle, “Model Subjects.”

<sup>4</sup> Payne, *Payne’s Lagos and West African and Diary* (1888), 181.

<sup>5</sup> This is now in Brighton.

display. Mr. Otunba Payne, Chief Registrar of the Lagos Courts of Law, attended the exhibition, representing the colony of Lagos. He was also a member of the Lagos Executive Commissioners of the Exhibition, whose main purpose was to ensure that the section on Lagos was complete and representative. To achieve this, they displayed two stands of photographs with “some excellent views of Lagos [...] as well as some typical forest scenes and groups of natives”;<sup>6</sup> a screen displaying a map especially commissioned for the exhibition, “executed by W.T.C. Lawson, Assistant Colonial Surveyor of Lagos”;<sup>7</sup> seven tables displaying a variety of local artefacts, produce and goods; and an assortment of furniture. The Lagos display was the product of a collective effort in gathering objects to represent the city: each one was on loan and its origin was carefully noted by Payne in his 1888 Almanack. For example, Payne himself contributed “four knives with ornamental brass handles, used by chiefs”,<sup>8</sup> an “oracle of Ifa” and a “bamboo sofa and chairs”.<sup>9</sup>

The display also included publications selected to represent the city: J. D. Fairley provided “Seventeen Yoruba Books”; O. E. Macauley a number of “Magazines printed in Lagos”; A. M. Thomas lent a “Specimen of native Printing”; R. B. Blaize a “Volume of Lagos Times”; R. P. Boudin provided his “Dictionnaire Français-Yoruba et Yoruba-

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 172

<sup>7</sup> *Plan of the Town of Lagos* “prepared for the Lagos Executive Commissioners of the Col. And Indian Exhibition 1886 [...] by W. T. G. Lawson, C. E. (Native of West Africa), Asst. Colonial Surveyor – Lagos. 30 December, 1885. Corrected to June 1887.”

<sup>8</sup> Payne, *Payne’s Lagos and West African Almanack and Diary* (1894), 172.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. As Sawada shows in her account of the exhibition, not everyone received the West African exhibits positively: “one of the visitors from Lagos, James Johnson was disappointed by the quality of the exhibits from West Africa compared to those from other colonies, and commented by stating, ‘I know of no intelligent Native African who saw the Exhibition who did not feel ashamed of and was not humiliated by it’.” See Sawada, “The Educated Elite,” 225.

Français”.<sup>10</sup> W. T. G. Lawson was commissioned to draw a map of Lagos specifically for display at the event. Payne also used the occasion to expand the readership of his *Payne’s Lagos Almanack and Diary*, adding it to the Lagos display at the exhibition.

In his work on the Lagos section of the exhibition, Payne acted as a broker between the city and an international audience. In selecting the objects that were displayed and offering stories and explanations to the public, he curated an idea of Lagos. Colonial exhibitions, it has been argued by many scholars such as T. J. Bassett and J. C. Stone,<sup>11</sup> were instrumental in reinforcing imperial ideas. However, this chapter argues that, in his selection of and commentary on individual elements of the city, Payne was doing more than reproducing colonial representations of Lagos. He was conveying new ideas of Lagos through his brokering.

The concept of brokerage has been used to describe agents who mediate between two separate cultural sets.<sup>12</sup> In the case of Lagos, scholars such as J. C. Echeruo, Paulo F. De Moraes Farias and Karin Barber<sup>13</sup> have characterised Lagosian intellectuals as brokers between colony and metropolis. This chapter suggests that the idea of brokerage can be complemented by Arjun Appadurai’s concept of scapes.<sup>14</sup> It argues that brokerage is

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 174.

<sup>11</sup> M. T. Cain, “The Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,” 151–167; Pippa Biltcliffe, “Walter Crane and the Imperial Federation Map, 63–69; T. J. Bassett, “Cartography and Empire Building in Nineteenth-century West Africa,” 316–335; E. Liebenberg, “Mapping British South Africa,” 129–142; N. Mirzoeff, “Disorientation: Minority and Visuality in Imperial London,” 52–69; J. C. Stone, “Imperialism, Colonialism and Cartography,” 57–64; R. R. Churchill, “Urban Cartography and the Mapping of Chicago,” *Geographical Review* 94 (2010): 1–22.

<sup>12</sup> Farias and Barber, *Self-Assertion and Brokerage*; Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos*.

<sup>13</sup> Farias and Barber, *Self-Assertion and Brokerage*, Introduction; Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos*, 35.

<sup>14</sup> Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference”.

better understood as taking place across scapes; Lagosian intellectuals were not brokering different cultural sets, but different scapes. Furthermore, as discussed in the *Introduction*, by combining this with insights from Jane Guyer's and Karin Barber's work, this chapter argues that in the process of brokering, Lagosian intellectuals were producing culture.<sup>15</sup>

Unlike Appadurai's definition, which presents five broad scapes – ethnoscapescapes, mediascapescapes, technoscapescapes, financerscapescapes, ideoscapescapes – as a framework for understanding all global relations, this thesis argues that there can be as many scapes as there are collective spheres of social life.<sup>16</sup> So scapes are understood as slices apprehending one type of relation among the many involved in making up social life. Indeed, some scapes can be very small and allowing better for this reveals some of the complex dynamics of the Lagosian intellectual network. For example, within a broad scape of “religion,” members of the Brazilian community – in their majority Catholics – might be positioned far from members of the Church Missionary Society, who were Anglicans. However, a narrower scape, focused on the printing industry in Lagos, reveals that Anglicans and Catholics were often working side by side.<sup>17</sup>

This chapter explores the relations within the Lagosian intellectual network and in so doing demonstrates the different features of the network. The Lagosian intellectual network is particularly difficult to map; it had a local and global scope and overlapped with other networks. Using Payne's almanacs and Lawson's 1886 map of Lagos as case

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<sup>15</sup> See Introduction to this thesis.

<sup>16</sup> Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference”.

<sup>17</sup> As shown later in this chapter.

studies, the ways in which the Lagosian intellectual network was created through brokerage across scapes will be explored in this chapter, showing how this process of brokerage produced culture — more specifically, print culture.

#### 4.1. Brokering Lagos: J. A. O. Payne

Otunba Payne is an exemplary case of an intellectual acting as a broker of many scapes. He was a Saro, married to a Brazilian returnee, worked for the colonial administration, was proud of his Jebu origins and adopted the title “Otunba” in his name. He wore European clothes and campaigned in favour of an African Bishop instead of a European to replace Samuel Crowther. Although a monogamist, he publicly supported Christian polygamy. His home address could not be a better reflection of his intermediary position: he lived in Tinubu square, where the colonial administration was based and where the Saro, European and Brazilian neighbourhoods met.

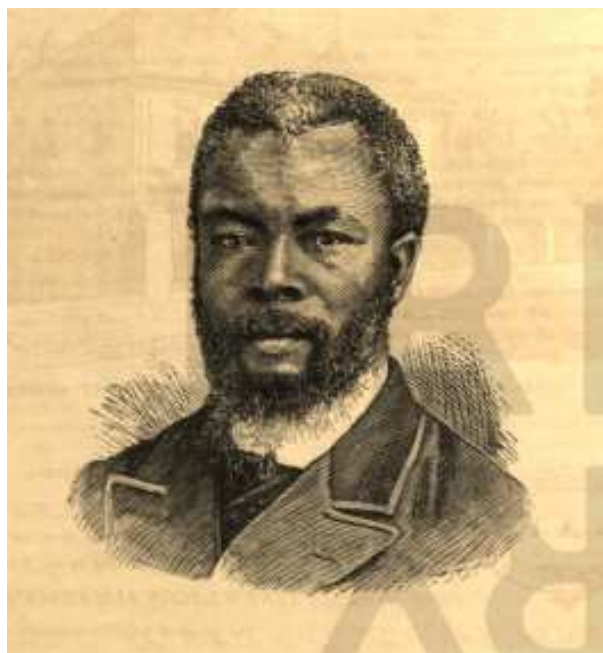


Figure 4.1 – John Augustus Otunba Payne, as depicted in his *Almanack*

Payne wrote two books, *Table of the Principal Events in Yoruba History*<sup>18</sup> and *The Outlines of the History of Lagos and Native Customs*,<sup>19</sup> in addition to the seventeen editions of *Payne's Lagos and West Africa Almanack*, printed in December of almost every year from 1873 to 1893.<sup>20</sup> During this time, he was the most productive author in Lagos. Payne's publications were widely advertised in the Lagosian newspapers and received enthusiastic reviews. As noted in *Chapter 2*, *Payne's Almanack* is one of the publications from the period most referenced by historians of West Africa,<sup>21</sup> and in many articles *Payne's Almanack* is the only Lagosian publication that appears next to Samuel Johnson's *The History of the Yorubas* as an example of the intellectual production of cultural nationalism.<sup>22</sup> However, its frequent appearance in academic production does not mean that Payne's publications have been considered "proper history" by historians of West Africa. *Chapter 2* argued that scholars from the 1960s onwards selected from among the Lagosian publications those that reflected their own conceptions of history. The process, here called sieving, took place in two phases.

During the second sieving – which started in the mid-1970s – the quality of the history written started to be assessed by academic scholars seeking "early" and "traditional" histories worthy of being studied. Those of Payne's publications that survived the first

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<sup>18</sup> Payne, *Payne's Lagos and West African Almanack and Diary* (1874-1894).

<sup>19</sup> John Augustus Otunba Payne, *The Outlines of the History of Lagos and Native Customs* (Lagos: Lagos Institute, 1903).

<sup>20</sup> *Payne's Almanack* was not published in the years 1889, 1890, 1891 and 1892.

<sup>21</sup> See *Chapter 1*.

<sup>22</sup> Cole, *Modern and Traditional Elites*; Ajayi, "Nineteenth Century Origins"; Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*.

sieving have been presented as chronologies or disconnected accounts of Yorubaland.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, doubting Payne's cultural nationalist motivations for writing, R. C. C. Law reminds the reader that *Table of Principal Events*, for instance, was solely "written for a practical and professional purpose: to enable the Lagos courts to assign exact dates to events mentioned by illiterate witnesses".<sup>24</sup>

It is true that Payne also saw himself as a compiler. His *Table of Principal Events* states on the first page that it was "compiled by J. O. Augustus Payne".<sup>25</sup> In the Testimonials section of his *Lagos Almanack*, where Payne reproduced letters and newspapers articles that praised the quality of the *Almanack*, a few of the writers used the same words to describe his work: "It is not possible to write too highly of Mr. Payne's assiduity and judgement in the *compilation* of this almanac, which ought, in one or more of its forms, to be in the hands of every educated person on, and connected with, the West Coast of Africa".<sup>26</sup>

Indeed, the kind of information provided and the way it was presented conveys the sense that this was a compilation. The Table of Contents had around 100 items, including "Calendar for the Year", "Sovereign of Europe", "Late Kings of Lagos", "Names of Streets", "Money Table, Currency, &c", "Religious Statistics", "Directions for making a Will", "Government Notices", "Lagos Treaties" and "Slave Trade Suppression Tables".<sup>27</sup> Most of the content was arranged in tables or lists, carefully

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<sup>23</sup> Law, "Early Yoruba Historiography," 80–81.

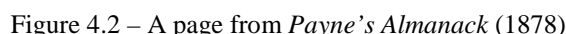
<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>25</sup> Payne, *Table of Principal Events*), front cover.

<sup>26</sup> *African Times* (1876) *apud* Payne's *Almanack* (1878). Emphasis added.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., ii.





<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to find some of the Lagosian intellectuals listed, such as J. O George, author of the *Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country and its Tribes* (1884), listed as a Journeyman of the Colonial Printing Office, with a wage of £30 per year; W. T. G. Lawson, who drew the map for the *Colonial Exhibition*, listed as an Acting Assistant Colonial Surveyor, with a wage of £350 (shared with Robert Campbell); and Payne himself, as Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths, with a wage of £100 per year.

way that almost every page covers more than one of the items listed in the Table of Contents. For example, in the issue of 1878, on a single page we can see the mortality tables of “European and Natives” population for 1874 and 1875; a table of the religious population of Lagos; Directions for making a will; and Questions and Answers “Useful for Insurance Company”.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, as mentioned in a review by the *African Times*, the *Almanack* was “pocket-book size [...] full of Valuable information”.<sup>30</sup>

However, Payne’s intellectual production was more than just information compiled by an officer of the court to attend to the court’s needs. A close analysis of his *Almanack* reveals a wider intended readership than court personnel. There was more to the content than just a compilation of objective information, and broader concerns reflected in its authorship. As we have seen, Payne circulated among many scapes, and the *Almanack* was the result of brokerage between these; this is reflected in its contents.

A good part of the information provided could have derived from Payne’s profession. Although Payne started his professional life as a clerk, in 1867 he was promoted as Chief Registrar of the Lagos Courts of Law. This gave him regular access to all kinds of statistical, biographic and factual data about West Africa in general, and about Lagos in particular. However, the *Almanack* seems to contain data obtained from other sides of Payne’s life besides his professional one. For instance, the issue of 1878 has a list of the headmen of the Jebus, which was the only ethnic group mentioned and, not by coincidence, was Payne’s own. His religious life is similarly reflected in the information provided about three other organisations: the General Rules and Regulations of The

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<sup>29</sup> Payne, *Payne’s Almanack* (1878), 29.

<sup>30</sup> *African Times* (1876) apud *Payne’s Almanack* (1878), iv.

Lagos Auxiliary Association of the Church Missionary Society, of which Payne was the Treasurer; the list of members of the Native Pastorate Church Council, where Payne served as Secretary of the local branch in Faji District; and the members of the Committee of the Lagos Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, where Payne was a Lay Member.

Aspects of his social life also surface in the *Almanack*. Payne listed three Fashionable Tailors of Lagos and mentioned the Philharmonic and Lagos clubs as suggestions for entertainment. Moreover, his name appeared as the Patron of the Lagos Bachelors Cricket Club, as the President of the Hoop Race Club and the Flower of Lagos Club, the Senior Warden of the Freemason's Lodge 1171, and as a Judge of the Lagos Races and Regattas. So *Payne's Almanack* manifests the many scapes within which he circulated. It was produced out of not only his role as an officer of the Lagos courts, but his broader role as a broker in the Lagosian intellectual network. In this way, *Payne's Almanack* crystalised some of the associational life that, as Nozomi Sawada argues, was key to the production of print culture in Lagos at the time.<sup>31</sup> As a member of multiple formal and informal organisations, Payne and his *Almanack* brokered numerous scapes: those formed within religious, recreational, literary, political, memorial, occupational and colonial associations.<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, *Payne's Lagos and West Africa Almanack* not only reflected other facets of its compiler besides his professional one, but also seems to have been aimed at a wider readership than the Lagosian Court of Law. The testimonials section shows the

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<sup>31</sup> Sawada, "The Educated Elite," 98–102.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

publication being read and responded to by colonial officers, Reverends and Bishops, Professors and School Headmasters, and Merchants – from West Africa and also other parts of the Atlantic.<sup>33</sup> In fact, most of these “testimonials” were sourced from replies addressed to Payne thanking him for sending his *Almanac*. It seems that Payne was an active distributor of the *Almanack* and through this was widening and selecting his readership. This in turn shows a Lagosian intellectual network shaped by the active effort of intellectuals to engage with and link to multiple audiences.

In addition, the *Almanack* itself reveals the close and interactive relationship that Payne aimed to build with his readers. Next to the Table of Contents, just below a picture of his house in Tinubu Square, Payne introduced his *Almanack* to the reader through a personal letter and, immediately before signing off as an “obedient, humble servant”, urged “all who are interested in this publication” to respond and to give him notice of “any change it may occur [...] to prevent inaccuracies”.<sup>34</sup> Not only did Payne encourage his readers to contribute to subsequent issues: in every issue half of the two-hundred-page publication was set aside as a diary. An almost completely blank section followed the first part, packed with information, and invited the reader to contribute to the book: “When found, take note of it”.<sup>35</sup> In this way, *Payne’s Almanack* was not only the result of his role as a broker of many scapes, it also articulated readerships, not only in Lagos but throughout the Atlantic. The next chapter will explore in more detail the processes and motivations for Payne in distributing his publications to readers across the Atlantic.

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<sup>33</sup> The next section will discuss this in further detail.

<sup>34</sup> Payne, *Payne’s Almanack* (1878).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

In this way *Payne's Almanack*, through the information it brought together and the ways in which this information was presented to the reader, prompts us to rethink its author – his reasons for writing and his role as an intellectual in the Lagosian network – and also to whom he was writing, his intended readership and his relation to them. Alongside this, it is also important to consider the role of the *Almanack* in the social history of Lagos.

In the issue of 1878, Payne introduced a new section called “Remarkable Occurrences”, in which he offered an account of news, events and happenings for each day of the year, from September 1876 to August 1877. The section was by far the longest in the *Almanack*, with fifteen pages covering a wide range of topics sourced from a variety of origins. Some, like the many announcements of births and deaths, seem likely to have come from his role as a registrar and others from his association with the Lagosian court, such as the notice that on “March 5 - Captain Jose Augusto Ribiero, Administrator of the Galvoa state, absconded from the settlement and a warrant was issued for his apprehension”.<sup>36</sup>

Other accounts were framed like news headlines, providing a short and impactful announcement of political interest: “January 21- Civil war at Ibadan. Chief Ayajenku was maltreated, robbed of his dignity, and in consequence destroyed himself.” However, other kinds of “occurrences” – not only political – were “remarkable” in Payne’s eyes. For instance, entertainment and gatherings were noticed, such as the 20 and 21 of April’s “Cricket match at the Race Course between the Europeans and

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<sup>36</sup> Payne, *Payne's Almanack* (1878).

Africans, the latter being beaten”,<sup>37</sup> and the 6 of June’s “Mr. Payne, on behalf of The Flower of Lagos, had issued invitation for a grand ball, [...] in Phoenix Hall. It was largely attended by both Europeans and natives. The hall was gaily dressed and decorated with flags [...]”.<sup>38</sup>

Some peculiar and curious notes were also considered remarkable, such as, on 20 of January, “a boa constrictor was destroyed by certain hunters on the road to Gloucester, Sierra Leone. It was 12 feet long”; and the announcement of the death of “a Mrs Kate Holmes (African) [...] at Richmond, Virginia, USA, aged 104 years. She left 37 great-grandchildren”.<sup>39</sup> Even personal notes, such as the arrival of his wife’s family in Lagos on the 3rd of September, were recorded by Payne: “Mrs. Davies, Miss Victoria Davies, and Master Arthur Davies, with Miss Lino, arrived per mail from England.”

The “occurrences” covered a wide geographical area. Local news such as the “fire at Awololah Street several houses burnt and property lost”,<sup>40</sup> or “thieves broke into the store of Mr. J. J. Williams, in Martin Street, and stole goods to the value of £100”,<sup>41</sup> was listed; West African news such as “At the Church Missionary House, Oxford Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone, a number of gentlemen assembled last evening, on the invitation of the authorities of Fourah Bay College to discuss matters bearing on high class education as effecting the West Coast of Africa”,<sup>42</sup> and also international events

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<sup>37</sup> Payne, *Payne’s Almanack* (1878).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., “30 September”.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., “12 September”.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., “18 November”.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., “23 September”.

such as “At Brussels, a denial is given to the statement of the *Cape Times*, that the King of the Belgians intended to establish a penal colony in South Africa. It is added that the King’s only aim is to promote explorations in Africa and to bring about the abolition of the slave trade”.<sup>43</sup>

“Remarkable Occurrences”, it seems, was well received by readers and after 1878 it appeared in every issue of the *Almanack*. The section grew in size and occupied a more central position in the publication, always covering a wide range of topics and geographical area. As a review of the *Almanack* explained:

In the edition of the Almanack under notice will be found, under the head of remarkable occurrences, almost all the important events which transpired during the course of last year, both at Lagos and elsewhere in West Africa, and those who [...] cannot but be grateful to the author for thus affording them an opportunity of refreshing their memory from a book.<sup>44</sup>

From his selection of “Remarkable Occurrences” not only from across a vast geographical area, but also from across political, social and his own personal life, it is clear that Payne’s role in putting together the *Almanack* was not simply the result of compilation, or even a work of bricolage. So *Payne’s Almanack* becomes a relevant contribution to the project of articulating a West African civic society, as mentioned in *Chapter 2*, in which print culture occupied a central position. In compiling the information and organising it within the *Almanack*, Payne was intending to contribute to the pool of knowledge that was also at the time called history; *Payne’s Almanack* was,

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., “13 November”.

<sup>44</sup> *Western Equatorial African Magazine* (10 February 1883).

indeed, a way of writing history. In her paper on I. B. Akinyele,<sup>45</sup> Barber notes that this Lagosian author was writing history in order to make the knowledge public, among other reasons. The same argument could be applied to Payne. As Sawada notes, *Payne's Almanack* was “a medium of social memory” that “disseminated certain narratives and knowledge to readers”.<sup>46</sup> In so doing, he was bringing to a wider public all kinds of information that only he – with his wide access to many scapes across his religious, social, intellectual and professional life – could access.

Writing about newspaper readerships in colonial West Africa, Stephanie Newell explains that readers engaged with newspapers in an active way, collecting cuttings and, in this way, “co-creating the newspapers they read and keeping them as reference works to be cited many years later.” She shows that this practice was also reflected in the work of editors, who would frequently reprint and refer to past articles and correspondence not only from their own titles but also from other newspapers. “As a result”, Newell argues, “a particular mode of historical writing, or history-making, emerged over time. Editors and correspondents used the medium of print to print a version of history”.<sup>47</sup> The logic of *Payne's Almanack* follows a similar mode of historical writing to that described by Newell in relation to African-owned newspapers. Payne extracted all these “occurrences”, not only from the newspapers he read, but also from other sources he had access to – the many scapes within which he circulated – year after year, in an exhaustive work that also “used the medium of print to print a version of history”.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Barber, “I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture.”

<sup>46</sup> Sawada, “The Educated,” 131.

<sup>47</sup> Newell, “Articulating Empire”.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.



Barber explains that the educated elite, in the process of “collecting, researching and writing down aspects of the culture that surround[ed] them” also carried out the work of “preserv[ing] and at the same time sanitiz[ing], [...] selecting and revising in order to constitute it as a firm foundation for future progress”.<sup>49</sup> In the case of Akinyele, Barber argues that in his view history was also constituted by culture: language, religious practices, greetings, facial markings etc. In this way, she suggests, “there is nothing incongruous in Yoruba historians’ frequent inclusion of ethnographic chapters”.<sup>50</sup> Arguably, history had a meaning for Payne that was equivalent to Akinyele’s cultural approach. However, in addition to culture in an ethnographic sense, Payne believed that history was everyday information and that there would be “nothing incongruous” in his compiling items of information from a range of diverse sources and presenting these alongside one another. In so doing, Payne too was “preserving and sanitising” information, “judiciously selecting and revising it”.<sup>51</sup>

*Payne’s Almanack* is not only a chronology or a simple work of clipping. His constant work of compiling and organising this vast amount of data was related to a wider project. Barber, when analysing I. B. Akinyele’s *Iwe Itan Ibadan*, suggests that “it may be more useful to see it as contributing to the creation of a distinctive early West African civic society that had print culture at its core”.<sup>52</sup> Payne’s hard work as a compiler is, in this way, better understood if seen as his desire to be part of this collective project.

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<sup>49</sup> Barber, “I. B. Akinyele and Early Yoruba Print Culture,” 32.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

The *Almanack's* readership also considered it as contributing to historical knowledge about Lagos. For instance, in a letter from Reverend Gollmer to Payne, the former congratulates the latter for having “bestowed much time and labour upon the compilation of the various materials, and deserve praise and reward for *preserving many interesting historical facts*, and for supplying such store of valuable and useful information to all classes of people on the West Coast of Africa”.<sup>53</sup>

Similarly, a reviewer wrote that *Payne's Almanack* could not

fail to prove of great service to those engaged in commerce as well as to the *general reader* interested in the affairs of the past, present and future of Western Africa, for in a concise form will be found a statistical, *historical*, and political account of each of the west African Colonies, together with *information which is difficult to access elsewhere*.<sup>54</sup>

*The German Trade Review and Reporter* stated that, “Though called modestly an ‘Almanack and Diary’ the work is far more, for in addition to containing all the usual features of an almanac it gives a large amount of *historical*, statistical, and commercial information respecting Lagos and other British colonies in West African Coast. [...]The contents of this work are as extensive and varied as ever”.<sup>55</sup>

*Chapter 2* argued that Lagosian intellectuals, when writing about history, were not aiming to fulfill modern or academic pretensions of writing history, but rather intended to contribute to a different pool of knowledge. As part of the project of articulating a West African civic society based on print culture, Lagosian intellectuals understood

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<sup>53</sup> C. H. V. Gollmer, letter to J. A. O. Payne, May 3, 1876.

<sup>54</sup> Reproduced in Payne, *Payne's Almanack* (1878).

<sup>55</sup> Kuhlow's *German Trade Review and Reporter* (23 December 1885).

history as a single public and collective pool of knowledge to which there were many ways of contributing, from full histories and historical notes to biographies and ethnographies. In Payne's case, his publications added to this public knowledge through chronologies, tables (of data and of events), and lists of "Remarkable Occurrences".

In 1894, Payne published in book form his *Table of Principal Events*, which drew much of its information from his Lagos almanacs. Published in 1894, the same year as the *Almanack's* last issue, the *Table of Principal Events* seems to be the final version of the *Almanack*, where he gathered what he considered the most valuable information and also expanded the narratives of the history of Lagos, Yoruba and other groups. By this time, next to Payne's signature were two designations, among his many others, that conferred on him the title of historian and ethnographer: he was now a member of the Royal Historical Society and of the Royal Anthropological Institute. For those seeking "proper" historians, Payne already had the necessary titles.

#### 4.2. Brokering West Africa: W. T. G. Lawson

Another obscure Lagosian publication also reflects very aptly the work of brokerage carried out by Lagosian intellectuals: the map of 1885, drawn by W. T. G. Lawson for the Colonial Exhibition of 1886. As with books and pamphlets, maps passed through a trajectory that included publishers, authors, printers and sellers. Maps also bear messages and are used in a variety of ways by their readers.<sup>56</sup> And, like a number of

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<sup>56</sup> Pippa Biltcliffe, "Walter Crane and the Imperial Federation Map Showing the Extent of the British Empire (1886)," 63–69; Seligmann, M. S. "Maps as the Progenitors of Territorial Disputes : Two Examples from Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa," *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 173–183.

Lagosian books and pamphlets, maps have also been neglected by historians of West Africa.

From 1865 to the time of the *Colonial Exhibition*, Lagos had been sketched nine times by colonial surveyors. After that, another twenty-three maps – making a total of thirty-two – of Lagos town or Lagos Island were produced before the 1900s by the Colonial Office. Several of these were reprinted with corrections and updates, which increased the total number of maps of nineteenth century Lagos available to almost a hundred.<sup>57</sup>

Nevertheless, Lagosian maps are neglected in the studies of Lagos, Yorubas and Nigeria. Beyond the occasional reference,<sup>58</sup> plans of Lagos are strangely absent. A simplified version of the aforementioned 1885 *Colonial Exhibition* map seems to be the most common representation of Lagos among scholars. This map first appeared in the literature about Lagos in Robert Smith's PhD thesis, *The Lagos Consulate*, in 1954.<sup>59</sup> Attached to the back cover and showing Lagos in the period of his study, the map was reproduced at low quality, in black and white, and on a smaller scale than the original. Most of the information, such as street names, is unreadable; only the main neighbourhoods of the town are identifiable. This is the only time the original map has figured in a book.

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<sup>57</sup> Information from the online catalogue of the National Archives in London.

<sup>58</sup> Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *A Preface to Modern Nigeria: The "Sierra Leoneans" in Yoruba 1830-1890* (Madison, Milwaukee and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965); Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos*; Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an Africa City*.

<sup>59</sup> Smith, *The Lagos Consulate*.

A simplified version of the same map was used in 1975 to illustrate Aderibigbe's *Lagos: The Development of an African City*.<sup>60</sup> In this version, the information is clear but rather limited by comparison with the original. Only a few streets, institutions and general areas are named, and the outlines of most parts of the city are reduced to the main thoroughfares. The aesthetics of the map have changed as well; while the 1885 map is colourful and detailed, this version is plain and visually clean. All the legends linking this map to its own history have been removed and instead a single sentence states incorrectly: "Map showing the early history of Lagos to about 1850". This simplified – and even misleading – version of the *Colonial Exhibition* map has since been used repeatedly by scholars interested in the nineteenth century Lagos history and reproduced in their publications.

This is the case with Kristin Mann's *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1790-1900*, in which "Map3. Town of Lagos, c.1885" is an even more simplified version of Aderibigbe's map.<sup>61</sup> Some of the neighbourhoods are marked and another six localities are indicated in the legend. However, even less information is provided, not only in the map itself, but also about the map. Although Mann's map states the correct year (1885, and not 1850 as in Aderibigbe's version), the original is not listed in the primary sources, while Aderibigbe's book, where the simplified map was published, is included in the bibliography. With no references to its origin or to the context of its production, the *Colonial Exhibition* map seems to have lost its history.

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<sup>60</sup> A. B. Aderibigbe, *Lagos: the Development of an African City* (Lagos: Longman, 1975).

<sup>61</sup> Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 250.

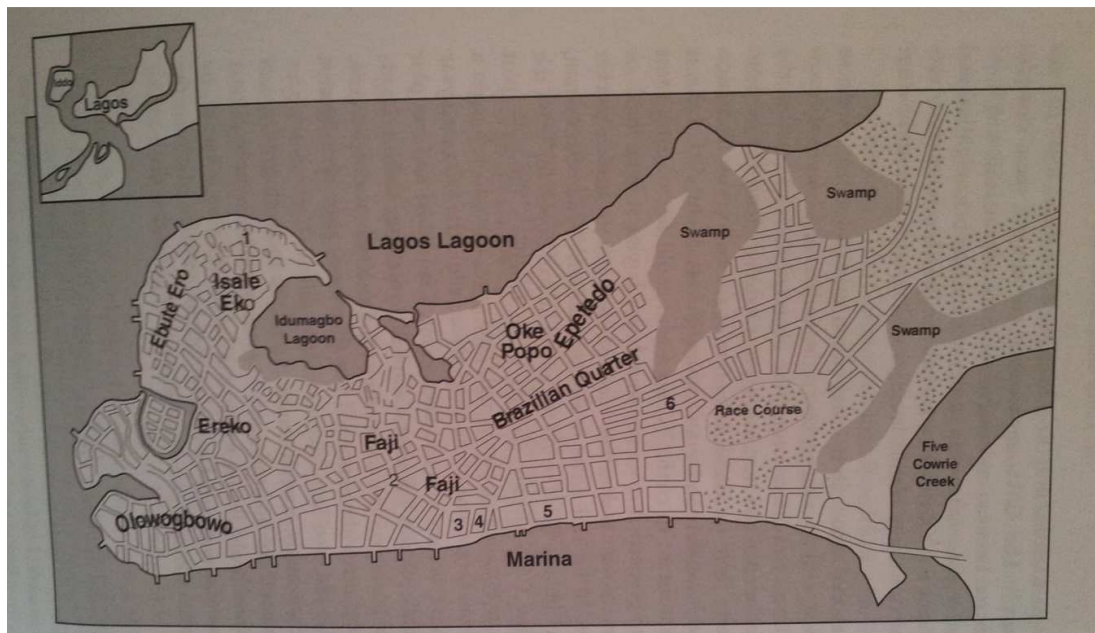


Figure 4.3 – Simplified version of Lawson’s Map of 1885 as used by Mann

Maps can give us an illusion of objectivity – they are a bi-dimensional reproduction of the city outline. This illusion seems to have induced some scholars to avoid contextualising the maps used in their publications. Yet, it is important to recognise that, even if streets are not added or relocated, the process of selecting and removing is not an objective one. A map is not a primary source without history or author. Like Payne in relation to his *Almanack*, Lawson’s role in relation to the 1885 Lagos map involved more than compilation.

Colonial maps such as this one have a particularly interesting history in the context of this thesis on Lagosian print culture. Some scholars have understood mapmaking as an instrument of colonisation.<sup>62</sup> In the nineteenth century, maps were made by surveyors,

<sup>62</sup> Biltcliffe, “Walter Crane and the Imperial Federation Map Showing the Extent of the British Empire (1886)”; Tony Bennett, “Machineries of Modernity: Museums, Theories, Histories,” *Cultural and Social History* 9 (2012): 145–156; Stone, “Imperialism, Colonialism and Cartography”; J. L. Spear, “A

also known as topographers, who would frequently join military expeditions to Africa. Besides mapping the area, on these missions surveyors would seek corridors for the building of railway lines and the opening of routes for easy mobility - important information for merchants, but also for military expeditions. Thomas J. Bassett argues that surveyors were in fact drawing in their charts possible routes of colonial expansion, whether economic or military. He explains that maps were not “neutral representations of African human and physical geography”,<sup>63</sup> but were used as “both instruments and representations of power”.<sup>64</sup>

Maps are understood in two other ways as instrumental in the conquest of West Africa: as documents used to claim ownership of territories in diplomatic meetings and as documents signifying the existence of natural resources, such as reserves of minerals, indicating with precision the location and kind. For Bassett, “the frequency with which maps were updated or replaced testifies to their great commercial and strategic values”.<sup>65</sup> Besides being used as instruments for colonial expansion, maps also legitimated colonialism. As Bassett argues, mapmakers were in their majority Europeans or European-trained and used their skills to promote and celebrate European conquest.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, Lawson, author of the 1885 map of Lagos, was educated in Europe

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South Kensington Gateway from Gwalior to Nowhere,” *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 48 (2008): 911-921.

<sup>63</sup> T. J. Bassett, “Cartography and Empire Building in Nineteenth-century West Africa,” 316.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 316.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 321.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

and occupied a high position in the colonial administration as Assistant Colonial Surveyor of Lagos.<sup>67</sup>

As in the case of Lagosian books and pamphlets, this thesis suggests that the colonial agenda may not be enough to explain all map production of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Chapter 2* argued that scholars imbued with a belief in cultural nationalism sieved through the rich collection of Lagosian publications to find those that fulfilled their own set of nationalist criteria for the construction of Nigerian history. Understanding these publications in the larger context of print culture widens the range of publications, authors and agendas to be considered as part of Lagosian intellectual production. The same thinking can be applied to maps.

Bassett is not the only scholar who argues that maps were instruments of colonisation; others have repeatedly defended this same line of reasoning.<sup>68</sup> However, his work is particularly relevant to this study because his theories show maps as having not only an agenda, but also authorship. Indeed, it could be argued that there are at least three ways in which maps form part of print culture.

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<sup>67</sup> He occupied this position from circa 1880 to 1913, when he started his own firm, Lawson, Betts and Co. It is interesting to note that in the 1910s the number of maps of West Africa made by the colonial authorities decreased significantly and many of the surveyors who worked for the colonial administration, both in Europe and in West Africa, started their own private practices of surveying and mapping. See Bernardo A. Michael, "Making Territory Visible: The Revenue Surveys of Colonial South Asia," *Imago Mundi* 59 (2007): 78–95.

<sup>68</sup> Stone, "Imperialism, Colonialism and Cartography"; T. J. Bassett and P. W. Porter, "'From the Best Authorities': The Mountains of Kong in the Cartography of West Africa," *The Journal of African History* 32, 3 (1991): 367–413.



First, although maps are the result of the work of a specific technical specialist – a surveyor or topographer – they go through a similar process of publication and production to books and pamphlets: they are edited, printed, distributed and sold to readers who might engage in debates about them. In the case of the 1885 map, for instance, it was authored by a West African; it was printed in London by Stanford's Geographical Establishment; it was offered to the Colonial Exhibition Committee to be used in London in 1886 as the official representation of the city of Lagos; it received feedback from other surveyors and users, following which it was corrected in 1887.

Second, maps are also social facts. These maps are historically contextualised and have a role in Lagosian social history. For instance, the 1885 map reflects the “sanitation syndrome”<sup>69</sup> that characterised the colonial administration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period, Western medicine acquired a wider importance in colonial ideology and practice. The strength of these new paradigms became evident in the administrative bureaucracy: by 1896 and 1898 the Public Works Department and the Sanitary Department were formed.<sup>70</sup>

Since health and sanitation control were much concerned with avoiding and containing epidemics in the city, the number of crises became a way of measuring the ability of the

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<sup>69</sup> Ato Quayson, “Oxford Street, Accra: Spatial Ecologies, Street Life, and the Transnational Imaginary,” in *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*, ed. G. Bridge and S. Watson (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011): 553; Liora Bigon, *A History of Urban Planning in Two West African Colonial Capitals* (Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2009).

<sup>70</sup> The Public Works Department, previously part of the Department of the Surveyor-General, grew to cover almost any work in the city, from schools to water and power supply. See R. K. Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (London: E&FN SPON, 1997); Bigon, *A History of Urban Planning in Two West African Colonial Capitals*;

metropolis to implement good health and sanitation strategies. In the context of the African “scramble”, London and Paris compared the results in their West African colonies at health conferences.<sup>71</sup> This preoccupation with showing that the colonial administration was doing what was necessary can be seen in the map of 1885. It marked the improvements that the crown had made in the town: a white circle denoted “wells sunk by the Government”; a capital T denoted “Latrines put up by the Government”; and a black dot represented “lamps put up by the Government”. These measures were all considered necessary for the improvement of sanitation (including street illumination, since darkness was considered one of the factors that facilitated propagation of germs)<sup>72</sup> and of security. In this way, the 1885 map shows a strong preoccupation with the “sanitation syndrome” and it became instrumental as part of the dispute between Paris and London over which metropolis was developing a better colony. Social history of this kind reveals that the map, like *Payne’s Almanack*, played an important role in the idea of Lagos built through print culture in the Atlantic context.

Third, and more specifically, in the case of the Lagosian intellectual network, maps were also a product of brokerage by Lagosian intellectuals and reflected the many scapes through which they navigated across Lagosian society. The map of 1885 is no different and was the result of W. T. G. Lawson’s work of brokerage. Like many other Lagosian intellectuals, including Payne, Lawson circulated within many scapes. His family was originally from Sierra Leone, where he was born in 1855 into the royal

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<sup>71</sup> Seligmann, “Maps as the Progenitors of Territorial Disputes”; Cain, “The Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge”.

<sup>72</sup> Bigon. *A History of Urban Planning*.

family of Little Popo and Quiah.<sup>73</sup> In 1883, when his father the king died, he assumed the role of Prince Regent, and all the royal responsibilities that came with it, but kept his position as Assistant Colonial Surveyor in Lagos, where he resided. He was Anglican, married to Henrietta A. Macaulay,<sup>74</sup> granddaughter of Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, and was involved in several activities of the CMS. He became Town Warden in the early 1900s and was deeply involved in the movement against the prohibition of the liquor traffic in Lagos.<sup>75</sup> As a trained civil engineer,<sup>76</sup> he was a member of the Mechanics Association<sup>77</sup> and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society. While he lived in the newest neighbourhood in Lagos, next to the racecourse, his daughter resided in Campos Square,<sup>78</sup> in the Brazilian neighbourhood. In this way, an inspection of some of Lawson's life events shows the many scapes besides the colonial one within which he travelled. The map of 1885 reflects not only Lawson's role as a colonial surveyor, but also some of these other scapes.

The 1885 plan of Lagos is visually very modest, when compared with other maps shown in the *Exhibition*.<sup>79</sup> It is bare of the ornaments or symbols frequently used in colonial maps to denote the power of a metropolis or the subjugation of the local people. Simple straight lines frame the three-coloured plan of the city: blue for the sea;

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<sup>73</sup> *Lagos Observer* (18 January 1883).

<sup>74</sup> *Lagos Observer* (24 May 1883), 3.

<sup>75</sup> *Nigerian Chronicle* (6 August 1909).

<sup>76</sup> *Lagos Observer* (1 December 1894).

<sup>77</sup> *Lagos Observer* (5 March 1885).

<sup>78</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record* (26 September 1908).

<sup>79</sup> Another map shown in the *Exhibition* was Walter Crane's well known map of the British Empire. See Biltcliffe, "Walter Crane and the Imperial Federation Map Showing the Extent of the British Empire (1886)."

black delineating streets, buildings, trees and lagoons; and pink for places that “belonged to the Government”.<sup>80</sup> The map is very detailed, and appears to picture most of the Lagos streets of the time. It also seems to be very careful in its representations of the shape of the city. While the eastern part of the city was rebuilt in the 1860s and 1870s with an almost square gridline, the old part of Lagos is shown with all its irregular forms, circumvented by a succession of small streets. It has no other illustrations besides a compass indicating the north, a small representation of Lagos Island in a wider geographical context, and a label indicating the name of the plan, the author, who commissioned it, when it was made and references required for reading the map.

However, the drawing of the oldest part of the city, which had been inhabited since before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is not as detailed as the rest of the map. Only the main streets of the Idumagbo section of the town are named and the royal palace is not represented, although its guard house is. This may have derived from Lawson’s active disregarding of the residents of Idumagbo, but it may also show a resistance on their part to being surveyed by an outsider and representative of the colonial power.

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<sup>80</sup> *Plan of the Town of Lagos* “prepared for the Lagos Executive Commissioners of the Col. And Indian Exhibition 1886 [...] by W. T. G. Lawson, C. E. (Native of West Africa), Asst. Colonial Surveyor – Lagos. 30 December, 1885. Corrected to June 1887.”



Figure 4.4 – Detail of Lawson’s Map of 1885, showing the part of the city that was not drawn in detail<sup>81</sup>

Although the map highlights the developments introduced by the colonial administration (including in the north of Lagos, which is not mapped in detail), it also represents decayed piers and swamps located in the middle of blocks next to the Marina neighbourhood, which was home to most of the European and commercial elite. In addition to public buildings and infrastructures, marked in pink, the map indicates other Lagosian institutions. It shows three entertainment options available to Lagosian society: the Phoenix Hall, the Merry-Go-Round and the Racecourse. It also shows religious buildings and institutions, representing those of Christians in particular in detail and with great presence: Wesleyans, Baptists, and Catholics are mapped, from their churches, chapels and missions to related organisations, from the CMS Bookshop to the many kinds of schools and training institutions that they operated in Lagos. In contrast, the only reference to Muslims is the Mohammedan Cemetery, and many mosques and Muslim schools must have been omitted from the map.

<sup>81</sup> See *Appendix III* for complete map.

Although the 1885 map can be seen as one of many maps from colonial times, it has a unique characteristic that differentiates it from other maps included in the *Exhibition*: besides indicating buildings and streets, it also locates more than 150 individuals. Individuals such as J. A. Campos, J. W. Cole, R. A. Coker, F. Campbell, S. Crowther, R.B. Blaize, J.S. Leith, A.I. Heatherset, M. Carr, D.C. Taiwo, Layeni, and J. A. Payne were among those referenced on the map. Lawson was not only mapping the city, he was also mapping Lagosians.

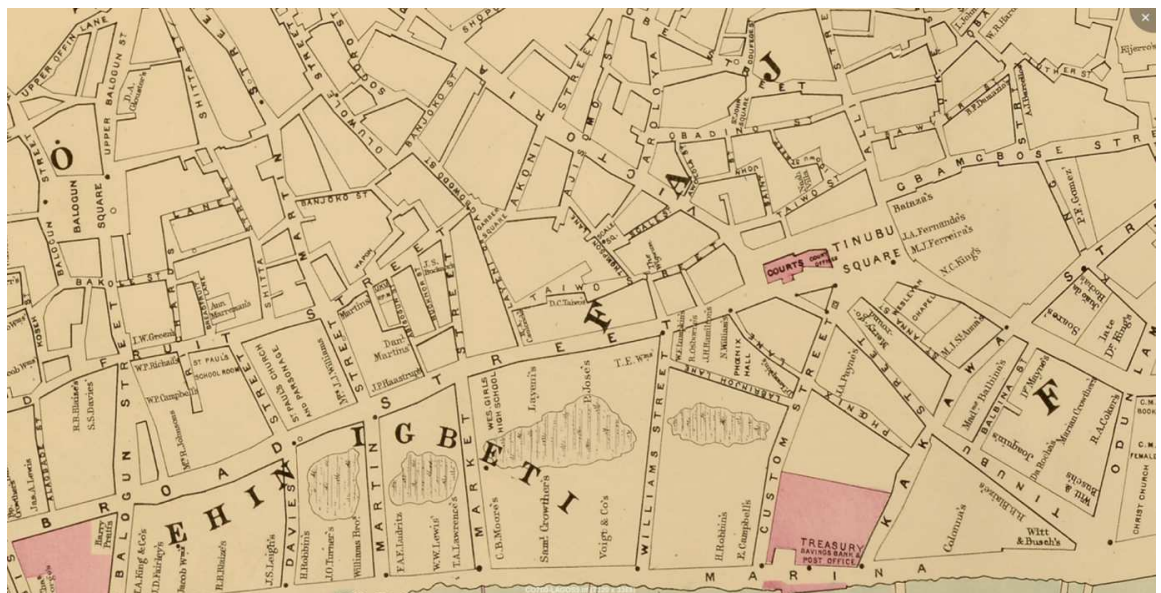


Figure 4.5 – Detail from Lawson’s Map of 1885, showing some of the names included in the chart

It is not clear why this map conveyed the name of these Lagosians to the *Exhibition*. What was Lawson, the mapmaker, trying to accomplish in revealing some of the inhabitants of the island? Was this his idea or was it part of the work commissioned? Who were these people who were mentioned? How did Lawson choose, among all the inhabitants of Lagos, these 150 people? What were the criteria used to pick these names? How were these people placed in the plan of Lagos? Were these their home

addresses? If so, why, for instance, localise people in their homes, rather than their place of work? In sum, why and how did Lawson map these Lagosians?

It is interesting to note that, among the names included by Lawson, there is hardly a Yoruba surname to be found. Besides Taiwo and Layeni, all the surnames seem to be of European or Brazilian/Portuguese origin. In this way, Lawson's curatorial decisions seemed to have left out of the map many of the Lagosian inhabitants, especially non-Christians. On the other hand, he seems to have missed out some of the active and important Christians of the period, such as James Johnson, who lived in Hamburg Street<sup>82</sup> and is not mapped.

The map, however, does challenge the idea of Lagos as an ethnically fragmented city.<sup>83</sup> The map shows how various scapes were integrated into Lagosian society. Where he marked on the map where Brazilians lived, one can see that some lived outside the so-called Brazilian neighbourhood, and also that Saros lived in the Brazilian neighbourhood. On the 1885 map, many Brazilian surnames can be seen among the 150 names included by Lawson.<sup>84</sup> Names like Campos, Soares, Joaquim, Ferreira, Gomez, Fernandez, Jose, Palmeiras are not restricted to the Portuguese quarter, where returnees who spoke Portuguese/Spanish were officially settled by the immigration authorities. On the map we can see that the residences of these Brazilians extended the limits of the returnees' neighbourhood. We can also see that Fernandez and Ferreira were neighbours

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<sup>82</sup> There are numerous references in the Lagosian newspapers to James Johnson's home address, for instance *Lagos Weekly Record* (19 November 1904), 3.

<sup>83</sup> Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an Africa City*; Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos*.

<sup>84</sup> The history of the map and the meaning of these names are discussed later in this chapter.

of Dr. King's in the central area of Tinubu Square, where Payne, Osborne, Hamilton and William also lived - all Sierra Leonean immigrants.

Was Lawson representing Lagos through these names, or was the map originally intended for a different use unknown to us? In any case, these names cannot be easily explained and his intentions remain unclear. And yet both these names and the buildings he chose to include suggest that Lawson had other interests besides colonial map making. Through analysis of the selection of buildings and names, the neighbourhoods highlighted and the information in the legends, maps of this kind can provide an insight into the priorities of the author and the projects behind these.

Lawson's intellectual production was not restricted to this map. On the 4th of February 1885, W. T. G. Lawson gave a lecture entitled "Lagos Past, Present and Future" on the occasion of a Public Debate organised by James Johnson, on the subject of colonisation. Thus, there was more to Payne than the registrar and more to Lawson than the colonial map-maker, and the plurality of scapes within which they operated is reflected in their intellectual production. As the next chapter shows, Lawson and Payne's intellectual production brokered scapes that reached to the other side of the Atlantic, and when these scapes are appraised new intellectuals are brought to the fore.



## Chapter 5: The Lagosian Intellectual Network in the Atlantic

The previous chapter discussed how to approach the Lagosian intellectual network using the concept of scapes in order to grasp the dynamism of its relations. Intellectuals, it was argued, moved through many scapes, and these multiple trajectories should be taken into consideration in any study of their publications. Moreover, this movement across scapes can also be understood as a form of brokerage, which produced new cultural elements – and in the specific case of the Lagosian intellectual network produced print culture. In particular, intellectuals edited, created and innovated in order to transform history into printed words. In a process of selection and standardisation, writers such as Payne were offering readers their own approach to the history of Lagos.

*Chapter 4* focused on what could be thought of as “local” connections: from Payne’s presidency of the Hoop Race Club and the Flower of Lagos Club to Lawson’s mapping of Christian institutions in Lagos, these multiple “local” scapes were manifested in Lagosian print culture. However, this chapter proposes that Payne’s and Lawson’s publications were also part of a wider network reaching further than Lagos and West Africa. Payne used his publications, particularly the almanacs, as intellectual vectors for his own ideas of history; and they not only reached the other side of the Atlantic but also had an important influence on conceptions of Lagosian, Yoruba and African history developed outside Lagos.

Here, the works of Paul Gilroy and Stephanie Newell are pertinent. On the one hand, Gilroy calls our attention to leaving aside localisms in order to open space for a more global perspective that takes into consideration the fact that cultures (and print culture in

particular) do not respect national borders.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Newell's work reminds us not to lose sight of sensitivities "to cultural production at a local or regional level".<sup>2</sup> In order to deal with this tension between local and global, this chapter considers the black Atlantic through notions of scapes. The use of scapes highlights the macro connections between Lagos and other Atlantic cities. However, it also enables the retention of the local contexts that surface through the fragility of wider Atlantic networks.

There are some advantages to understanding the Lagosian intellectual network in the Atlantic context. First, it allows for other interpretations of intellectuals and their production that are not restricted to an analytical perspective based on a colonial axis. For instance, Payne's publications acquire a larger role than that of supporting documentation for the Lagos courts of law. Second, it brings to the network more relationships which allow other agents to surface in the analysis. For instance, when studying Payne from an Atlantic perspective his connections with other black intellectuals become relevant.

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<sup>1</sup> Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*.

<sup>2</sup> Newell, "Paracolonial Networks," 352.

### 5.1. Payne Beyond the Colonial Axis

The last chapter showed that Payne's *Almanacks* have been regarded by scholars as a product of an officer of the court. In fact, some scholars have even denied that these publications can be labelled as "cultural nationalist".<sup>3</sup> Indeed, Payne himself is often seen as an agent of colonisation, someone who defended imperialists' ideas and practices and was proud of being a subject and serving the Queen. For instance, in his article about Payne's life, G. O. Olusanya argues that, although Payne defended some "traditional" Yoruba values, his role as a civil servant of the Crown made him an unquestionable agent of British colonisation;<sup>4</sup> Payne was "an essential part of the system through which colonial rule was established in Nigeria," which he "helped in promoting and consolidating".<sup>5</sup> Thus, according to Olusanya, Payne's work did more to bring European ideals to Lagos than to protect African principles.

Payne was indeed, however, a proud subject of the Crown. He organised the ball in Pheonix Hall on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee,<sup>6</sup> and in a missive to the Queen Payne introduced himself as "one of the humble and loyal West African native subjects and servant, holding responsible posts in the Civil Service of Your Royal and Imperial Majesty [...] a Civilized and Christian Negro who appreciated the blessings

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<sup>3</sup> Law, "Early Yoruba Historiography."

<sup>4</sup> G. O. Olusanya, "John Augustus Otunba Payne and the Establishment of Colonial Rule in Nigerian," in *West African Colonial Civil Servants in the 19th Century*, ed. K. Arhin (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1985), 44 – 55.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>6</sup> Payne, *Payne's Lagos and West African Almanack and Diary* (1888).

and peace which he and his race are enjoying in this part of Your Majesty's Dominion".<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, Payne's life can be and has been told from a perspective framed in terms of colony-metropolis relations. This is clear in Olusanya's study, which is one of the few accounts of Payne's life. According to Olusanya, John Augustus Otunba Payne was born in 1839, in Kissey, to freed-slave parents who sought exile in the Anglican missions of Sierra Leone. In 1861, he moved to Lagos to work as a merchant. Although *Payne* is a fairly common English name, in the case of Otunba it was an anglicised version of Adepeyin, a Yoruba name that means "the last king in the lineage".<sup>8</sup> His father was originally a member of the royal family of Ijebu Ode. Despite having been born in Sierra Leone, John A. O. Payne constantly reaffirmed his Yoruba origins. He regularly used the title *Otunba*,<sup>9</sup> which announced his membership of an Ijebu-Ode ruling house, and passed this on to his children. Payne, Olusanya writes, was a betrayer of his own people, who favoured colonial authorities over Yoruba ideals and acted as a colonial agent, mediating in the negotiations between the Colonial Administration and the Ijebu people. He was sent by Alfred Moloney to negotiate a commercial treaty with Awujale which, in the absence of the King, he signed, granting a legal instrument for British invasion of the city.

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<sup>7</sup> *Letter of Congratulations to H. M. the Queen-Empress* from J. A. O. Payne, February 16, 1887, Special Collections & Western MSS, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, Rhodes House, Oxford University.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>9</sup> Also written as *Otonba* and *Otunba*.

Concerned with the judicial professionals in Lagos, O. Adewoye focuses on Payne's training and career, noting that Payne was educated at the CMS grammar school in Freetown, and followed the same career path as many other Saros who received a Western education and were hired by the colonial administration to work in its service.<sup>10</sup> In 1863, Payne secured a place at the register of the city and three years later, when the Court of Civil and Criminal Justice was established, he became its Sheriff. He also acquired the position of Clerk to the chief Magistrate, which granted him the title of "clerk of courts" among his fellow workers. By 1877, he was promoted to Chief Registrar and Taxing Master of the Supreme Court of the Colony of Lagos, the highest rank achievable for a black man in the colonial legal system. Before retiring in 1898, in the absence of the prosecutor, Nash Williams, Payne also acted as Queen's advocate, although he had no formal legal training. Adewoye's history reduces Payne to his administrative functions in the colonial system.

Indeed, Payne's obituaries in the newspapers reflect these themes. On January 1907, the *Lagos Standard* published an obituary entitled: "The Late Hon. J. A. Otunba Payne". The article was a transcription of the speech that Sir William Nicoll, Chief Justice of Southern Nigeria, gave on the 21st of December 1906, one day after Payne's death.

It was with feelings of very deep regret indeed that I heard this morning of the sudden death of my old friend Mr. Payne. [...] Mr. Payne was a man for whom I had a very great respect. He was my oldest friend in the Colony. When I first took my seat here as Acting Chief of Justice in 1897 Mr. Payne was the greatest possible assistance to me. From him I have derived much information with regard to the

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<sup>10</sup> O. Adewoye, "Self-Taught Attorneys in Lagos: 1865-1913," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 5 (1969): 58.

men and the affairs of Lagos and of Yorubaland in past days. Mr. Payne had great experience of men and their affairs and had seen many and great changes in this Country. He knew Lagos before the cession and was present when it actually took place [...] But Mr. Payne's death comes home to us lawyers very especially. He was one of ourselves.<sup>11</sup>

*Chapter 4* argued that Payne not only circulated within many different scapes, but also acted as a broker between them. This chapter argues that some of these scapes had an international reach. Moreover, when acting as a broker, Payne articulated within the Lagosian intellectual network scapes from the other side of the Atlantic and also from other networks. In this way, Payne is one example of an intellectual who brought an Atlantic dimension to the Lagosian intellectual network.

In the first pages of every edition of his *Almanack*, Payne shared quotes from correspondence and published reviews. Among these Testimonials there are a few “thank you” notes that show how far copies of the *Almanack* travelled: “From His Majesty the *Emperor of Brazil*. [...] Sir, I am commanded by his Majesty to thank you for the copy of your useful Almanack which you have been good enough to present the Emperor [...]”<sup>12</sup> and “From the *President of the United States of America* [...] My Dear Sir, the President has received your note of the 1<sup>st</sup> inst., with enclosed letter from Mr. John A. Payne, of West Africa, transmitting a copy of his interesting work containing valuable information in regard to that country”.<sup>13</sup> Payne also sent his publications to libraries, schools, churches, government offices, courts of law and military agencies: institutions that he believed would find it useful to have a compendium about West

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<sup>11</sup> *Lagos Standard* (January 1907).

<sup>12</sup> Payne, *Payne's Lagos and West African Almanack and Diary* (1884). Emphasis added.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

Africa. This was the case of the British Consular Chaplain in Montevideo, Uruguay. He targeted people and institutions on all Atlantic coasts, in Dakar, Lisbon, Paris, Brussels, London, Liverpool, Manchester, Mobile, Washington, Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo.

The fact that Payne's distribution of the *Almanack* went beyond the colonial axis highlights his active participation in other networks. Payne effectively used his publications as an intellectual vector in order to disseminate his work, and in so doing caused the Lagosian intellectual network to engage with other Atlantic networks. Payne brokered networks not only within Lagos, but between Lagos and the Atlantic. In this, he used his *Almanack* as a way to introduce himself and to gain access to other established networks.

This was the case with the anti-slavery movement, another network with Atlantic dimensions that also brought together different scapes. A letter in 1880 from Payne to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society – then Mr. Charles Allen seems to be the first overture he made towards engaging with this network. With his letter he sent a copy of his 1881 *Almanack*. He expressed his wish to become a member of the Society and asked for guidance on how to proceed:

Dear Sir, Permit me to hand you herewith a copy of my Lagos and West African Almanack for 1881 which I hope will be useful for occasional reference by the Secretary and Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society of London that has and are, and will ever do good to Africa and her sons. I am desirous of becoming a member of your Society – and shall be glad if you will kindly help me have particulars to enable me to be a member and I shall send the fees accordingly.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Letter from J. A. O. Payne to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, September 26, 1880, Historical Library of the Anti-Slavery Society.

In 1886, Payne took a leave of absence from his work in order to go to the United Kingdom to represent Lagos at the aforementioned *Colonial Exhibition*.<sup>15</sup> The colonial dimension of this trip is incontestable. However, this journey acquires another meaning when contextualised as part of broader Atlantic networks. In particular, when Payne arrived in the UK he was not yet an official member of the BFASS. Due to internal regulations, Payne could only be elected a Corresponding Member by attending a session of the Society. Upon his arrival, Payne sent a letter to Allen stressing his interest in meeting and joining the BFASS: “I am desirous of being a member of the Anti-slavery Society and hope you will be able to get me elected”.<sup>16</sup> It was on this trip, six years after the first request, that Payne finally obtained his long desired membership. His visit to the metropolis was not only a colonial, but also an Atlantic journey.

Payne’s involvement in the anti-slavery network was not restricted to the BFSS. On this same trip, before going to the UK, Payne went to Brazil, where he engaged in a variety of activities with an anti-slavery agenda. For instance, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April he had an interview with D. Pedro II, the Brazilian Emperor, “in which His Majesty showed much interest in the present condition of the native populations on the west coast of Africa, their civilization, institutions, etc”.<sup>17</sup> His meeting with D. Pedro II was very much focused on abolition and the advancement of Africans. As he wrote to Allen, “I spoke against slavery in Rio, and as I am a native, I trust I made some impression upon the

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<sup>15</sup> See *Chapter 4*.

<sup>16</sup> Letter from J. A. O. Payne to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, June 5, 1886, Historical Library of the Anti-Slavery Society.

<sup>17</sup> *Rio News* 13, 13 (5 May 1886), 4.



slave owners of that Empire”.<sup>18</sup> He also gave a speech to the Geographical Society of Rio de Janeiro, where he also spoke against slavery. As the *Rio News* reported, “Mr. Payne has done incalculable good to the cause of abolition, not only for the information which he has given about the West Coast of Africa, but as practical and personal illustration of what his people can attain in freedom and under liberal institutions”.<sup>19</sup>

Payne’s visit to Brazil is particularly illustrative of how multiple scapes were articulated on a single journey. For instance, in addition to the anti-slavery agenda, one of the motivations for this stop was familiar: “He is visiting some relatives in the city before continuing his journey to London”.<sup>20</sup> Payne’s first wife, Martha Bonifacia Lydia, was a descendant of Brazilians returnees and her uncle still lived in Rio de Janeiro.

Another scape surfaced during this visit: Payne met a group of students from the Polytechnic School and the College of Medicine, all “descendants of African race”. They presented him with their photograph, which was also inscribed with the words:

Homage to Mr. John Augustus Payne – Hail to the first black man who on his arrival in our country knew how to engrave in our minds the respect and admiration! The black coloured youth of this city, who has always followed the evolutive progress of the most advanced nations, in order to solemnize the passage of so illustrious a man, native from African regions, has resolved to offer him this picture as a proof of a great admiration and consideration for his talent.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Payne to the Secretary of the Anti-slavery Society, June 5, 1886, Anti-Slavery Society..

<sup>19</sup> *Rio News* 13, 13 (5 May 1886), 4.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. (15 April 1886): “They became the guests of his uncle at his residence at Rua do Hospicio, near the public garden (park),” *apud Payne’s Almanack* (1887), 140.

<sup>21</sup> *Gazeta da Tarde* *apud Payne’s Almanack* (1887), 143.

The meeting was succeeded by a ball that lasted until half past three, according to the same newspaper. Another account of the same event reported that Payne had a banquet with “his countrymen, of the Mina nation” whom he addressed “on the condition and prospects of their compatriots in Africa, whose progress in freedom under the British flag has been very great”.<sup>22</sup>

These reports of the event highlight Payne’s inscription within an Atlantic black identity; in the first description this identity is characterised in a more general way – “descendants of African race”, while in the second, although the characterisation seems more specific – Mina nation – it still refers to an Atlantic identity built in Rio de Janeiro in the eighteenth century.<sup>23</sup> Here, an ethnoscape becomes evident, and within Payne’s experience it was of equal relevance to the other dimensions of his trip: familial, anti-slavery, intellectual and colonial.

Gilroy’s concept of the black Atlantic helps to contextualise some aspects of Payne’s engagements: “Mapping these movements demands a story decentralized and perhaps eccentric. It proposes a historiography that does not try to force integration, but is content instead to try and relate [...] the black cultures of the twentieth century” (my translation).<sup>24</sup> These engagements cannot be understood from a single analytical

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<sup>22</sup> *Rio News* 13, 13 (5 May 1886), 4.

<sup>23</sup> Mariza C. Soares, “Mina, Angola e Guine: Nomes d’Africa No Rio de Janeiro Setecentista,” *Tempo* 3, 6 (1998): 1-13.

<sup>24</sup> Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, Preface to the Brazilian edition. It is important to note that this preface to the Brazilian edition has not been published in English: “a cartografia desses movimentos demanda uma historia descentrada e talvez excentrica. Ela propoe uma historiografia que nao tentara forcar a integracao, mas se contentara, ao inves disso, em tentar e em relacionar [...] as culturas negras do seculo XX.”

perspective. They are not only the result of a colonial context. Payne's visit to Brazil demands an "eccentric" history, where multiple interactions among many scapes frame his actions. Moreover, instead of focusing on the coasts and their influence upon each other, the analytical gaze should be placed on what they have in common, the Atlantic Ocean. For Gilroy, the black Atlantic was not defined by a shared cultural memory of experiences during the slave trade, but by a more recent experience, in the late nineteenth century, of exclusions from rational citizenship and political equality in the West. The black Atlantic was their mutually influential response to the increasing racism and it created the basis for the more recent black movement. In the case of the ethnoscape, it was the common experience of being black that brought them together. However, in this meeting, during their interaction and sharing of experiences, while talking, eating and dancing, new connections were formed: black and Atlantic connections.

In this way, both Payne's trip and his *Almanack* acquired additional meanings in this Atlantic context. Our understanding of Payne shifts from colonial sympathiser to Atlantic anti-slavery activist, his *Almanack* from a parochial aid for one colonial court to an international intellectual vector.

## 5.2. Expanding the Network: J. C. Hazeley

Placing Payne and his publications in a wider Atlantic context brings other networks, scapes, brokers and their intellectual production to the fore. For instance, Payne's journey and his work in distributing the *Almanack* connect him to other black intellectuals: from the more well known authors such as Edward W. Blyden and W. E.

B. DuBois, through West African intellectuals in the diaspora, such as Jacob C. Hazeley, to a circuit of Brazilian intellectuals such as Jose do Patrocinio, Manoel Raimundo Querino and Andre Reboucas. How should we understand these multiple connections without losing sight of the Lagosian intellectual network?

To disentangle these connections, it is useful to see the shared experience of the black Atlantic as formed by at least two ethnoscares that almost completely overlap, but that are distinct from each other. As explained in the *Introduction*, above, one of these ethnoscares is associated with the idea of being African, or Afro-descendent; the other is formed around the understanding of oneself as black, itself linked to ideas of belonging to a particular race.<sup>25</sup> These are only two of the many scapes that constitute the black Atlantic – the scapes used in this thesis. Other scapes can be easily identified: music, for instance, is a fundamental dimension in the conformation of the black Atlantic, according to Gilroy,<sup>26</sup> and could also be understood as one large scape or as many overlapping scapes.

Scapes, as define by Appadurai, are “deeply perspectival constructs”<sup>27</sup> and are used in this thesis as analytical tools for better understanding the dynamism of networks. I have argued here that networks are formed by many scapes, and shown that the Lagosian intellectual network would have brought together, for instance, ideoscares, ethnoscares and financial scapes, to use some of Appadurai’s five scapes. However, when applying the concept in Lagos, other scapes – perhaps of narrower focus – can be seen, for

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<sup>25</sup> Note that being African does not imply being black, nor does being black imply being African.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., Chap. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference,” 26.

instance scapes related to religion, or even to specific religious questions such as Christian polygamy.

Using the concept of scapes, one can focus on the relationships between people, rather than on individuals alone. Instead of thinking about the Lagosian intellectual network as linked intellectuals – which derives from conceptualising intellectuals as holding an intrinsic status – by thinking in terms of scapes we can argue that an individual becomes an intellectual when they establish an intellectual relationship. In this way, a network is defined by established relations, not necessarily through personal or direct contact.

Besides the scapes described above, the black Atlantic also included additional networks, the Lagosian intellectual network being only one of these. An anti-slavery network, formed by the BFASS and the SBCE, among others, is one central Atlantic network that linked many of the intellectuals studied here. When following the work of some of these intellectuals, other Atlantic networks surface, such as the “Back to Africa”<sup>28</sup> movement, led by the American Colonization Society. This can be seen as a network since many people were connected by their interest in the issue of freed slaves and their descendants traveling to Liberia. The cause of returning “home” connected people like Payne, Hazeley and E. W. Blyden, who are discussed further below.

By expanding the Lagosian intellectual network to the Atlantic, other intellectuals are brought into the network, either through print culture or through their associations with Lagosian intellectuals. In this way, this thesis shows how far Lagosian intellectuals and

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<sup>28</sup> Blyden, “‘Back to Africa:’ The Migration of New World Blacks to Sierra Leone and Liberia”; A. Patton, “The ‘Back-to-Africa’ Movement in Arkansas,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 51 (1992): 164-177.

their production reached. This is crucial to understanding the many meanings that print culture acquired.

One of the most interesting characters who come to the fore when Payne is placed in the Atlantic context is Jacob C. Hazeley. Hazeley seems first to have appeared in the Lagosian intellectual network in 1881, through a letter sent to Payne – and which Payne promptly requested be reproduced in the *Lagos Times* – seeking support for gathering the necessary funds to enable some freed slaves to return from the United States to Africa:

In this City about three miles from here over the Creek, live about 15 to 20 Yoruba people, men and women. Since they were brought here and since emancipation they have kept to themselves and married among themselves. [...] I have determined [...] to get these people back home [...]. For God sake, for humanity sake, for the honor of the Yoruba tribes, call up a meeting of all the Yoruba men and women and their descendants, let everyone subscribe from £5 to 5/- about £300 will pay their passages and their children's to Lagos.<sup>29</sup>

Hazeley was born in Sierra Leone in 1836<sup>30</sup> and in 1876 he went to the United States as an African representative to the *American Centennial Exhibition* in Philadelphia.<sup>31</sup> In 1886 he worked for the American Colonization Society on recruiting settlers for Liberia.<sup>32</sup> However, this letter to Payne was sent before his engagement with the ACS, showing a deep personal interest in helping freed slaves. In another letter to Payne, Hazeley mentioned how Africa had been misrepresented in the United States, and that

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<sup>29</sup> Letter from J. C. Hazeley to Payne *apud* *Lagos Times* 1, 13 (11 May 1881), 2.

<sup>30</sup> *The African Repository* 63-68 (23 February 1887), 59.

<sup>31</sup> *Daily Enquirer Sun* (Tuesday Morning, 26 October 1880).

<sup>32</sup> Kenneth C. Barnes, "The Back to Africa Movement in Faulkner County," accessed April 30, 2013, [www.faulknerhistory.com/articles/backtoafrica.htm](http://www.faulknerhistory.com/articles/backtoafrica.htm)

Africans (and their descendants) were constantly subjected to racism: “this prejudice has arisen for the manner in which our race in this country has been oppressed and kept in ignorance”.<sup>33</sup> These concerns with Africans and race placed Hazeley in both black and African scapes of the black Atlantic.

Not only was Jacob C. Hazeley an Atlantic subject, but he was the third generation of his family to travel to and from the Americas. The Hazeley family had an interesting journey that took them back and forth between Africa and North America. Originally, the Hazeleys were among the black Loyalists – the slaves that fought on the British side during the American Revolution in 1776.<sup>34</sup> At the end of the war, they were relocated to Nova Scotia, where the Hazeleys became a prominent family. For instance, Jacob C. Hazeley’s father, Jacob B. Hazeley, was the Government Head Printer.<sup>35</sup> Despite this success it seems that the shared experience of racism, which Gilroy highlights as a main feature of the black Atlantic, motivated the Hazeleys to seek a new home in Sierra Leone,<sup>36</sup> where J. C. Hazeley was born.

It is not clear what kept Hazeley in the United States after the 1876 *Philadelphia Exhibition*. However, it seems that he engaged in regular work of lecturing on Africa. There are advertisements and reviews of his lectures in newspapers from Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Georgia, Alabama, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Washington D.C. and New York:

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<sup>33</sup> Letter from J. C. Hazeley from Columbia to Payne *apud Lagos Times* (20 January 1880).

<sup>34</sup> J. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783–1870* (New York: Africana Publishing, 1993), 309.

<sup>35</sup> Christopher Fyfe, “Sierra Leone Inheritance,” 188.

<sup>36</sup> Walker, *The Black Loyalists*,” 115–144.

Professor Jacob Hazeley, the great African lecturer is in the city, and has been lecturing with great success in many of the churches, both white and coloured. [...] The Professor will not be able to leave this city for a month, having numerous lecture engagements. [...] Five hundred of the Professor's pictures, with a sketch of his life and travels, have been sold, and one thousand more have been taken.<sup>37</sup>

It seems that much of Hazeley's work as a lecturer was related to images and ideas of Africa that are discussed in the next chapter. However, it is important to highlight here that Hazeley's desire to combat prejudice and racism was one of the reasons he engaged in the Lagosian intellectual network. In a letter to Payne in 1880, Hazeley wrote that he "showed [*Payne's Almanack*] to several persons in this country, who were astonished – for the American people, from misrepresentation of our dear country, consider the African people very ignorant, and even when they come across an educated African, or his work, they will not acknowledge it".<sup>38</sup>

In this way, through the Atlantic, Hazeley became a channel of distribution to the United States of Lagosian intellectual production.<sup>39</sup> He showed *Payne's Almanack* in his lectures around the country: "Professor Jacob. C. Hazeley, the native African who lectured here last evening, showed us [...] a copy of the 'Lagos and West Almanack for 1879'. This is a neat pocket-book, and contains much valuable information about that country. Lagos is a town in West Africa".<sup>40</sup> Hazeley also supported Payne's publishing work by targeting specific audiences, such as this letter to the President of the United States: "By request of my friend and countryman, Mr. Payne, I mail you his

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<sup>37</sup> *The Protestant Day Spring* (1 December 1876).

<sup>38</sup> Letter from J. C. Hazeley from Columbia to Payne *apud Lagos Times* (20 January 1880).

<sup>39</sup> *Payne's Almanack* was not the only Lagosian publication sent to Hazeley. W. T. G. Lawson also sent him a copy of his map. This is discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>40</sup> *Columbia Register* (28 January 1880) *apud Payne's Almanack* (1888).



‘Almanack’, and enclose his letter to you; therefore, you will be able to see how Africa has been misrepresented”.<sup>41</sup>

Besides Hazeley, the inclusion of Payne in the Atlantic highlights relations with other Atlantic intellectuals such as Edward Wilmot Blyden, an “especially important figure in the history of the black Atlantic and its dissident intellectuals”.<sup>42</sup> Blyden’s life trajectory is well known and some of his work is particularly relevant to this thesis: he was born in 1832 in St. Thomas, a Danish possession in one of the Caribbean islands that had a prominent Jewish community. After unsuccessfully trying to enrol in three theological colleges in the United States, he followed the advice of his mentor, Reverend John P. Knox, and tried for better opportunities in Liberia. He lived for most of his life in West Africa, but also resided in the United Kingdom and France – where he served as an ambassador to Liberia – and visited the United States on many occasions.

What includes Blyden in both ethnoscares is not only the international life he led, but also his intellectual production. Blyden was one of the founding fathers of the Pan-Africanist ideology and had a deep influence on African nationalist thinking.<sup>43</sup> he wrote pieces like *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1887),<sup>44</sup> *African Life and Customs* (1908)<sup>45</sup> and *West Africa Before Europe* (1905),<sup>46</sup> that showed his racial consciousness

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<sup>41</sup> Letter from Hazeley to President Arthur of the United States, May 1, 1882, *apud Payne’s Almanack* (1888).

<sup>42</sup> Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 208.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>44</sup> Edward W. Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (London: W. B. Whittingham and Co., 1887).

<sup>45</sup> Edward W. Blyden, *African Life and Customs* (London: C. M. Phillips, 1908).

and his concern about the project of nation building in Africa.<sup>47</sup> However, for Gilroy, the importance of Blyden to black Atlantic history was decisively influenced by his “serious, sympathetic, and well-developed interest in the Jewish Question that he regarded as ‘the question of the questions’”.<sup>48</sup> For Gilroy, it was through considering the Zionist movement that Blyden shaped his understandings of the formation and transmission of racial personality. Through seeing a common experience of Jews and black people, Blyden identified the vital shared experienced that constituted the black Atlantic.

Besides their connections within the black Atlantic, Blyden and Payne were also linked through the Lagosian intellectual network. Blyden frequented Lagos, where he gave lectures, engaged in debates and sent countless letters to the local newspapers. There were other more tenuous connections that are brought to the fore by placing Payne in the Atlantic context. For instance, through the anti-slavery network, Payne can be associated with some of the intellectuals who pioneered the abolitionist movement in Brazil, such as Jose do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco and Andre Reboucas, founders of the SBCE.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Edward W. Blyden, *West Africa Before Europe and Other Addresses*, delivered in England in 1901 and 1903.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Natalia Bas, “Brazilian Images of the United States, 1861-1898: a Working Version of Modernity” (PhD diss., University College London, 2005).

Jose do Patrocinio, the son of a freed African slave and a white vicar, was trained as a pharmacist but became one of the most influential black intellectuals in Rio de Janeiro in the late nineteenth century. Besides publishing novels, Patrocinio founded the newspaper *Os Ferros*, which was highly critical of the monarchy, and was also a contributing editor of the republican newspaper *Gazeta de Noticias*, which had a wide readership in Rio de Janeiro – at that time, the political capital of the country as well as its intellectual centre. In 1880, together with Andre Reboucas and Joaquim Nabuco, Patrocinio founded the *Sociedade Brasileira Contra a Escravidao*.

Andre Reboucas was a mulatto military engineer, son of a lawyer and counsellor to the Brazilian monarch, D. Pedro II. With his brother Antonio, also an engineer, he was awarded a scholarship to study in Paris, where they resided for a year in 1861. In 1872, he went on his second trip to Paris, and then to New York, where he experienced racism. After the death of his brother Antonio in 1874, Reboucas joined the abolitionist movement in Rio de Janeiro. At the end of his life, after travelling to Egypt and other places in Africa, he was exiled to the Island of Madeira, where he committed suicide.

Joaquim Nabuco was a journalist and member of the Brazilian aristocracy. He championed the abolitionist cause as an elected representative in the national chambers. He lived in London and Paris for many years, where he also joined the local anti-slavery societies. In 1905, he became the ambassador of Brazil to the United States, where he died five years later.

Payne can be connected to these intellectuals through the anti-slavery network. In 1880, when the SBCE was founded, Charles Allen, Secretary of the BFASS, invited its

members to join the BFASS in the capacity of Correspondent Members.<sup>50</sup> Joaquim Nabuco accepted the invitation and kept regular contact with Allen. As mentioned before, Payne also exchanged letters with Allen, and was a member of the BFASS.

Another possible connection between these intellectuals can be established through their intellectual networks. Patrocínio, Rebouças and Nabuco were not only very active in the *carioca*<sup>51</sup> intellectual network, but also engaged in intellectual activities in Europe and United States, sending letters to the newspapers, attending universities and lectures, becoming members of societies and joining local debates about race and abolition. When Payne went to Rio de Janeiro, he also engaged in *carioca* intellectual activities, which put him in the same scape as these three Brazilian intellectuals. Moreover, as is explained in the next chapter, there were regular exchanges between Lagos and Rio de Janeiro that placed all these individuals in the same intellectual network.

Although formed of many scapes and crossed by many networks, the black Atlantic was also a fragile network, and this concept is key to understanding its dynamic. Gilroy explained that “the extra-national affinity that characterized movements of the twentieth century was fragile and far from being automatic” (my translation).<sup>52</sup> Consideration of the history of the Atlantic and the intellectual network that spread strong ideas from one continent to another should not lead to an undervaluing of the strength of local contexts. Payne’s biography makes this clear: for instance, he stopped publishing his Almanack during the long period of his wife’s sickness and after her death. Then there is the fact

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<sup>50</sup> Antonio Penalves Rocha, *Abolicionistas Brasileiros e Ingleses* (Sao Paulo: Unesp, 2008).

<sup>51</sup> From Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>52</sup> Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, Preface to the Brazilian Edition, 9. “A afinidade extra-nacional que caracterizou os movimentos do século XX foi fragil e esteve longe de ser automática”.

that Nabuco and Payne, who moved in the same circles both in London and in Rio de Janeiro, never met because they were never in the same city at the same time.

But, beyond missed connections, scapes and networks only stretch to a certain point, marking the limits of the black Atlantic. Although all the intellectuals mentioned above can be considered active in the black Atlantic and part of both the African and the black ethnoscares, the networks that brought them into this Atlantic context were not necessarily the same ones. For instance, while Payne, Hazeley, Patrocinio and Reboucas can all be placed in the anti-slavery network, Lawson and Blyden, although both were against slavery, have left no evidence of direct involvement in anti-slavery activities.

Moreover, although very active in the abolitionist movement, neither Nabuco nor Patrocinio seem to have joined the African and African descendent ethnoscape. Although Nabuco seems to have had personal reasons for his sensitivity to the conditions of slaves in Brazil, his motivations were centred in ideas of civilisation and national development, and not of ensuring freedom, equal rights and an end to suffering for Africans and/or African descendants. Nabuco did not experience racial prejudice himself and, moreover, was not interested in fighting against it. He did not share the experience that Gilroy mentions as crucial to the formation of the black Atlantic.<sup>53</sup>

Similarly, while his mother was from Elmina (now in Ghana), Patrocinio did not think of himself as African or connected to Africa. He is a good example of the differentiation between the African, African descendant, and abolitionist scapes. Moreover, his concerns regarding slavery were founded on liberal ideas of freedom rather than on

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<sup>53</sup> Antonio Penalves Rocha, *Abolicionistas Brasileiros e Ingleses*.

race. Like Joaquim Nabuco, who thought of himself as white, Patrocinio was more concerned with the “redemption” of the country from the tragic experience of slavery than with the future of those who had been enslaved.<sup>54</sup>

Andre Reboucas, however, faced these issues differently from Patrocinio and Nabuco. He was proud of his blackness and also became involved in the African ethnoscape. After spending some time in Paris, Reboucas crossed the Suez Canal and went to visit Egypt and other parts of North Africa. Reboucas probably did not write his name and the word Liberia at the pyramids, as Blyden claimed to have done, but behind his travel there was also a growing idea of belonging to another scape, of being African. As Blyden did, Reboucas transformed his ideas of belonging and identity by travelling through the Atlantic. Although not connected to Payne through the Lagosian intellectual network, Reboucas was also part of the anti-slavery network and the African scape. Both were intellectuals of the black Atlantic.

Although these connections were fragile and often bent or halted by local conditions, this does not mean that the black Atlantic ceased to exist: “the complex translocal affinities do not need to trivialise the cosmo-political solidarity” (my translation).<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the fragility of the black Atlantic can also be seen as a strength since they show how far these networks reached. For instance, in 1883 Reboucas and Patrocinio founded another abolitionist society, *The Rio de Janeiro Abolitionist Confederation*, which counted on the corresponding membership of Frederick Douglass, former slave

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<sup>54</sup> T. E. Skidmore, “Brazilian Intellectuals and the Problem of Race, 1870-1930,” *Occasional Paper* 6 (1969): 137.

<sup>55</sup> Gilroy, Preface to the Brazilian Edition of *The Black Atlantic*, 9: “as complexas afinidades translocais nao precisam trivializar a solidariedade cosmo-politica.”

and leader of the North American abolitionist movement – another “shining example”<sup>56</sup> of the black Atlantic.

In this way, this chapter has shown how Lagosian print culture (and the work of brokering) transcended the borders of Lagos and reached the other side of the Atlantic. When acknowledging the full reach of the Lagosian intellectual network, new agents such as Hazeley are brought into the account. Moreover, when placing Lagosian intellectuals in this Atlantic context, as this chapter has with Payne, their work acquires additional meanings that go beyond the colonial relation.

The next chapter will show how part of these additional meanings was the project of building and disseminating novel West African images of Lagos and Africa. In so doing, it will further explore the intellectual relations between two Atlantic cities, Lagos and Rio de Janeiro.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 13.

## Chapter 6: The Atlantic River

Recontextualising intellectuals, networks and scapes in relation to the black Atlantic and thereby reframing our analysis according to a wider scope than the conventional colony-metropolis model also calls for rethinking the intellectual production of network members. If placing Payne in an anti-slavery network brings more complexity to the narrative of a “colonial loyalist” and “betrayal”, what happens if his *Almanacks* are placed in a wider context? *Chapter 4* argued that Payne’s *Almanack* acquired other meanings when seen as an intellectual production of a broker who wandered through many scapes. The *Almanack*, it was argued, reflected more scapes than the colonial one. But if these scapes are expanded to include the Atlantic context and engagement in international networks, does the *Almanack* still reflect them? In other words, does the *Almanack* reflect this Atlantic dimension of the Lagosian intellectual network? Does Payne’s *Almanack* still have a role in this Atlantic context? And, more generally, what was the role of Lagosian print culture in the black Atlantic?

This chapter proposes new interpretations of some Lagosian publications, more specifically Payne’s *Lagos and West Africa Almanack* and Lawson’s *Map of Lagos of 1885/7*, in the light of the Atlantic connections discussed above. Recontextualising Lagosian intellectual production in relation to the Atlantic also calls for a rethinking of the intellectual relationship between Lagos and other Atlantic cities. The Lagosian publications that reached other countries were part of broader intellectual interchanges between Atlantic cities. The case of Payne shows a specific example of a broader set of intellectual connections flowing between Rio de Janeiro and Lagos, in terms not only of



the influences of the returned in Lagos, but also of some Lagosian ideas being taken to Rio – and, among these, ideas of Lagos and Lagosian history.

During the nineteenth century, Lagos and Rio de Janeiro had an intense history of interchanges and during this period both cities became the political, economic and intellectual centres of their respective countries.<sup>1</sup> Lagos emerged in the late eighteenth century as a central port on the Slave Coast,<sup>2</sup> supplying the increasing demand in the Americas and accommodating changing West African geo-politics.<sup>3</sup> In the second half of the 1800s, Lagos became the capital of the British protectorate. By the end of the century, Lagos was one of the most prominent intellectual centres in West Africa. On the other side of the Atlantic, before the 1800s, the majority of the slaves sent to Brazil arrived in Bahia (on the northeast coast), where commercial networks had already been established since the 1600s, as a result of the first demand for forced labour for sugar plantations. However, in the 1800s, a major change in Brazilian geo-politics shifted Rio de Janeiro to a central position: D. Joao VI, King of Portugal, escaped from the Napoleonic invasion and was exiled in Brazil. In 1807, Rio de Janeiro welcomed most members of the Portuguese royal family and court, and in 1808 the city became the new political capital of the Portuguese Empire.

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Verger, “Retour Des ‘Bresiliens’ Au Golfe Du Benin Au XIXeme Siecle,” *Etudes Dahomeennes* 8 (Octobre 1966); Pierre Verger, *Flux et Reflux de la Traite des Negres Entre le Golfe de Benin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIIe au XIXe Siecle* (Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 1968); Milton Guran, *Agudas: Os “Brasileiros” Do Benim* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Gama Filho, 1999); Lima, “Entre Margens”.

<sup>2</sup> This comprised a long extension of West Africa.

<sup>3</sup> Ouidah was conquered by the Dahomey kingdom and consequently lost its position in the slave trade.

### 6.1. Brazilians in Lagos

The research on Brazilians who resettled in West Africa in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is substantial. For instance, Pierre Verger,<sup>4</sup> Alberto da Costa e Silva, Manuela and Marianno Carneiro da Cunha, Milton Guran and Monica Lima are some of the researchers who have written about “returnees”, as these Brazilians were named by scholars.<sup>5</sup> The returnees were mostly freed slaves who would organise themselves to arrange transportation to “return home”. Many of these were not in fact Africans, but African descendants born in Brazil who grew up wrapped in the dream of freeing themselves from slavery and going back to the place where their ancestors had come from in order to have a better life.<sup>6</sup>

The majority of returnees went to West African coastal cities such as Porto Novo, Ouidah, Ague, Anecho, Ajuda or Cotonou,<sup>7</sup> where they settled, mostly on the coast.

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<sup>4</sup> A French photographer who lived most of his adult life in Bahia (Brazil). He was not an academic, but his research was subsidised by the Institut Fondamental d’Afrique noire (IFAN) in Dakar and to this day have a strong relevance in the Brazilian academic scenario.

<sup>5</sup> Verger, *Flux et Reflux*; Guran, *Agudas*; Marianno Carneiro, *Da Senzala ao Sobrado: Arquitetura Brasileira Na Nigeria e Na Republica Popular do Benin* (Rio de Janeiro: Brasiliense, 1985); Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, *Negros, Estrangeiros: Os Escravos Libertos e Sua Volta a Africa* (Rio de Janeiro: Brasiliense, 1985); Alberto da Costa e Silva, *Um Rio Chamado Atlantico* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2003); Lima, “Entre Margens”.

<sup>6</sup> According to Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, the “returnees” were a very mixed group. They could be Africans or *Crioulo* (African descendants), *Forro* (freed slaves) or *Ingenueos* (born free), and *Pardo* (brown, or not black, probably due to white or Brazilian indigenous ascendance) or black (no white or indigenous ascendance, or African). Carneiro da Cunha, *Negros, Estrangeiros*, 22.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 107. However, a large number of returnees also went to Angola. These have been less studied than those who settled in West Africa. Some, to this day, consider themselves Brazilians. See Guran, *Agudas*; Lima, “Entre Margens”.

They knew that travelling further from the coast could mean being enslaved again.<sup>8</sup> With the British occupation of Lagos, the island became a safe port for the returnees and enjoyed a period of economic growth.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in 1857, attending to the demands of the British consul, the local rulers stopped taxing newly settled returnees, which made Lagos even more attractive as a home.<sup>10</sup>

There were many waves of return immigration to Africa from Brazil. The majority made the journey between 1840 and 1870, and settled in a region of the island that became known as the Brazilian or Portuguese<sup>11</sup> Quarter, Neighbourhood or Town. Although the returnees continued to speak Portuguese, remained Catholics, and celebrated Brazilian festivities, they were not segregated from the rest of Lagosian society. On the contrary, their engagement with other social, religious, commercial and political circles is evident from the local newspapers.



<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Akintoye, and later on his son Dosunmu, used to charge each family that arrived from Brazil or Cuba ten bags of cowries. See Verger, "Retour Des 'Bresiliens' au Golfe du Benin," 65.

<sup>11</sup> Portuguese because they mostly spoke Portuguese among themselves. Ibid.

Figure 6.1 – The Portuguese Town on W. T. G. Lawson's map

In commerce it is possible to see Saro and Brazilians investing in collaborative business ventures. For instance, J. O. George was associated with J. A. Campos as owner of one of the thirteen warehouses in Lagos.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, some Brazilian returnees were very successful merchants and influential men in Lagosian society.<sup>13</sup> For instance, Candido da Rocha was one of the wealthiest merchants in Lagos. He, with a few others, monopolised the commerce with Rio de Janeiro and Bahia. The importance of some Brazilians was such that some streets, such as Campos Square and Gbamgbose, were named after them. Likewise, Brazilians learned English and Yoruba, engaged with Anglican and Methodist associations, and Brazilian pupils from the Catholic schools attended activities promoted by other churches. Payne, for instance, married into a Brazilian returnee family and attended many of the social gatherings organised in the Brazilian neighbourhood.<sup>14</sup>

The last three decades of the nineteenth century saw the arrival of a large number of Brazilian returnees in Lagos.<sup>15</sup> Most of these were former slaves from Rio de Janeiro and Salvador who had bought their freedom through urban work in these cities. They were *escravos de ganho*, meaning they had worked freely in the city and shared their profits with their masters. After saving for a while, they were able to buy their own freedom. *Escravos de ganho* usually received some skilled training as shoemakers, tailors, cooks, barbers, masons, blacksmiths, woodworkers, merchants or in a variety of

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<sup>12</sup> Carneiro da Cunha, *Negros, Estrangeiros*, 130.

<sup>13</sup> Carneiro, *Da Senzala Ao Sobrado*.

<sup>14</sup> As shown in *Chapter 4*.

<sup>15</sup> Carneiro da Cunha, *Negros, Estrangeiros*, Chap. 3.

other crafts.<sup>16</sup> The returnees were also responsible for a transformation of the architecture of the city, erecting houses in a “Portuguese” style – including the Mosque Shitta Bey and Central Mosque of Lagos, and a Cathedral.

Another example of the contribution of returnee knowledge to the making of Lagos was the sinking of the first well of clean water on the island. This was done by Joao Esan da Rocha, who had learned these skills in Brazil. Lagos was frequently swept by epidemics, and the knowledge of how to reach clean water in the midst of the swamps was thus particularly valuable. Joao da Rocha opened the well in the garden of his house and sold clean water first to the Brazilian community and later to the other inhabitants of Lagos. His house on Kakawa Street came to be known as Casa D’Agua (Water House) and still stands in Lagos. Joao da Rocha became a wealthy man, as did his son, Candido da Rocha.



Figure 6.2 – Photograph of the Water House taken in 2008<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., Chap. 4.

<sup>17</sup> My photograph.



to typeset and to operate the machines, but also how to repair them, which kept the printers running even during the economic recession of the 1880s. In this way, extending the life of the printing presses through good maintenance was vital for to success of the Lagosian printing industry.<sup>19</sup>



Figure 6.4 – Printing Machine in the *Typical Brazilian House* at the Musee da Silva des arts et Culture Creole de Porto Novo<sup>20</sup>

Some Lagosian books and pamphlets of the period show other signs of Brazilian contribution and influence. For instance, James Johnson stated in the introduction to his

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<sup>19</sup> Although I have no written sources to support this, there is a peculiar anecdote that lends support to this notion. The Musee da Silva des arts et Culture Creole de Porto Novo has in the first room of its *Typical Brazilian House* two printing machines. The guide told us proudly that, although the printing machines were from the late nineteenth century, they were still working. When asked why a printing machine was in a *Typical Brazilian House*, she answered that it was a common activity among Brazilians.

Unfortunately, she had no source to support her statement besides the speech that she had memorised.

<sup>20</sup> My photograph.



*Yoruba Heathenism* (1889) that, in order to write such a manual, he had mainly consulted Jose Philip Meffre, a Brazilian returnee who had become an Anglican once in Lagos. John B. Losi's *History of Lagos* (1914) also acknowledged the contributions of two Brazilians: "[A. E. Carrena and A. J. Salvador] who were so kind to help me in correcting this work".<sup>21</sup> Similarly, under the pseudonym of Supra, a Brazilian intellectual contributed a series of articles on Yoruba and Lagos history to the *Lagos Standard*. Another active intellectual, trained in tropical medicine at the University of Edinburgh, was Moyses da Rocha, who wrote newspaper articles and pamphlets.

## 6.2. Lagosians in Brazil

Slavery can be considered the main source of African influence on Brazilian culture. Between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, five and a half million men, women and children were taken mainly from West and Central Africa and sold as slaves in numerous ports along the Brazilian coast.<sup>22</sup> This regular forced migration was evident in the composition of the urban population. In the 1800s, for instance, it is estimated that around one in five people in Rio de Janeiro were African or African descendants, either slaves – brought from Africa or born to slave parents in Brazil – or free –freed slaves or freeborn African descendants.<sup>23</sup> This constant and increasing African and African-descendant presence over more than 300 years is an essential part of Brazilian social, economic and political history. Moreover, we could argue that it is almost impossible to

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<sup>21</sup> Losi, *History of Lagos*, ii.

<sup>22</sup> D. Eltis and D. Richardson, *Routes to Slavery: Direction, Ethnicity and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (London: Routledge, 1997).

<sup>23</sup> S. Chalhoub, "Medo Branco de Almas Negras: Escravos Libertos e Republicanos Na Cidade Do Rio," *Revista Brasileira de Historia* 8, 16 (1998): 83–105.



approach any current issue in Brazil, from the government's intervention and pacification of the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro to the law that mandates the teaching of African History in schools, without taking into consideration the strong influence of African slavery on Brazilian history.

In the second half of the 1800s, studies of cultural aspects of Brazilian identities and history multiplied and populated newspaper articles and bookstore shelves in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>24</sup> Literature, music, language, religion, crafts and even psychology were some of the themes of books and pamphlets published at the time. It is also in this period that we observe a rise in the interest of some intellectuals in the African influence on Brazilian cultures and society. One of the first Brazilian intellectuals to write about this influence was Sylvio Romero, a jurist and journalist whose favourite subject was literature.

Romero conducted an extensive study of popular culture, for which he collected "local" songs, rhymes, children's games, lullabies, and all the material that in his view made a contribution to Brazilian national identity. In his analyses, Romero highlighted African influences on Brazilian cultures and in so doing became one of the first intellectuals in Brazil to advocate thinking of Africa as a worthy subject of study:

It is a shame for science in Brazil that we have little or nothing of our work devoted to the study of African religions and languages. When we see such men as Bleek take refuge for dozens and dozens of years in Central Africa only to study a language and collect myths, we, who have the material at home, we, who have

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<sup>24</sup> B. Fausto, *Historia do Brasil* (Sao Paulo: EDUSP, 1995).

Africa in our kitchens, like America in our jungles and Europe in our lounges, and have not produced anything on this point! It is a disgrace (my translation).<sup>25</sup>

Although when Romero referred to Africa he meant the African slaves – the “material” they had “at home” - he acknowledged the possible contributions to science from the studies of African languages and religions. These concerns show a growing interest in African culture on the part of intellectuals in the second half of the nineteenth century in Rio de Janeiro; Romero was not alone.

Other Brazilian intellectuals echoed these concerns with the African influence on Brazilian culture and identity. While some focused on the possible negative consequences of the “Africanisation” of Brazil,<sup>26</sup> others welcomed the African contribution. For instance, Gilberto Freyre argued in his well-known book *Casa Grande e Senzala* that the Brazilian identity was formed by three equal components: European, indigenous<sup>27</sup> and African.<sup>28</sup> Gilberto Freyre’s theories were largely criticised by subsequent studies for their generalising approach to such a complex theme. However, it is hard to disagree with him that

Every Brazilian, even the light-skinned, fair-haired one, carries about him in his soul, when not in soul and body alike, [...] the direct, vague or remote African

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<sup>25</sup> “E uma vergonha que para a sciencia do Brasil que nada tenhamos consagrado de nossos trabalhos ao estudo das linguas e das religioes africanas. Quando vemos homens, como Bleek, refugiar-se dezenas e dezenas de annos nos centros da Africa somente para estudar uma língua e colligir uns mythos, nos que temos o material em casa, que temos a Africa em nossa cozinhas, como a America em nossas selvas e a Europa em nossos salões, nada havemos produzido neste sentido! E uma desgraça.” Sylvio Romero. *Estudos sobre Poesia Popular do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Laemmert & C., 1888), 10.

<sup>26</sup> As displayed in the work of Joaquim Nabuco, for instance.

<sup>27</sup> Brazilian indigenous.

<sup>28</sup> Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nacional, 1933).

influence. In our affections, our excessive mimicry, our Catholicism which so delights the senses, our music, our gait, our speech, our lullabies, in everything that is a sincere expression of our lives, we, almost all of us, bear the mark of that influence (my translation).<sup>29</sup>

Slavery, although relevant, does not fully explain the influence of Africa on Brazil. During the nineteenth century, there was also an intellectual exchange between these two sides of the Atlantic.

The previous section of this chapter discussed some of the influences of Brazilian returnees on Lagos, and stressed the contribution of this community to Lagosian intellectual production. This section, on the other hand, focuses on the intellectual contribution of Lagosians on Rio de Janeiro's social and intellectual history; more specifically, it looks at contributions that were not channelled through slaves. This is not to say that Africans taken to Brazil (and their descendants) did not contribute intellectually to the local<sup>30</sup> histories, cultures and identities of places in which they were forcibly settled. However, it recognises the existence of other intellectual connections, of contributors – and contributions – that sailed in other vessels besides slaveships.

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<sup>29</sup> “Todo brasileiro, mesmo o alvo, de cabelo louro, traz na alma, quando nao na alma e no corpo [...] a influencia direta, ou vaga e remota, do africano. Na ternura, na mimica excessiva, no catolicismo, em que se deliciam nossos sentidos, na musica, no andar, na fala, no canto de ninar menino pequeno, em tudo que e expressao sincera de vida, trazemos quase todos a marca da influencia negra” Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nacional, 1933), 1.

<sup>30</sup> The use of the word “local” here is not intended to diminish the reach of their contributions, but to highlight the different and numerous histories, cultures and identities that had an essential contribution from slaves. It is also my intention to avoid generalisations such as “Brazilian history”, “culture and identity”.

These *other* influences, however, were not completely disconnected from slavery. As this section shows, Lagosian intellectuals used the Atlantic anti-slavery network, either through the actions of anti-slavery movements or through the connections established between Lagos and Rio de Janeiro by the returnees. In this way, focusing on the intellectual contribution from Lagos to the *carioca* intellectual network implies not ignoring slavery's contribution, but rather valorising other channels and mechanisms that were opened up through many years of shifting people from one side of the Atlantic to the other.

J. Lorand Matory, in his paper "English Professors of Brazil" criticises the supposition that Africans' main contribution to Brazilian culture occurred many centuries ago with the first group of slaves taken to Brazil.<sup>31</sup> Since their arrival, Brazilian culture has accumulated, been transformed and even reinvented into what are now Afro-Brazilian religions, music, cuisine and literature. Although he agrees that Afro-Brazilian cultures arose from a process of cultural reinvention, he argues that the African portion continued to be fed centuries after the arrival of slaves in Brazil. For Matory, the African contribution to what is understood as "being African" in Brazil arrived in the late nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup>

Matory's concerns are with religion. He has studied the Candomblé, an Afro-Brazilian religion that is very prominent in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. Candomblé has been an object of study for numerous intellectuals and scholars.<sup>33</sup> Historians have suggested

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<sup>31</sup> Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil".

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>33</sup> Verger, "Retour Des 'Bresiliens'".

that, although Candomble rituals and ceremonies preserved some African cultural elements, they also went through significant transformations as a result of cultural encounters and aspects of the local historical context such as repression and persecution by the authorities.<sup>34</sup> Candomble would become more Brazilian than African. But, as Matory points out, for many of its adepts, Candomble is still a legitimate African cultural expression – mainly Nago<sup>35</sup>/Yoruba – preserved in Brazil through the centuries of slavery.<sup>36</sup>

Matory stresses, however, that, rather than being the result of centuries of cultural accumulation and reinvention, modern Candomble is the product of a much more recent historical process located in the late nineteenth century. Moreover, Candomble is not a bastion of African traditions taken to Brazil by the slaves. In this way, the ideas of what Nago (as a synonym for Yoruba) has meant for Candomble adepts were in fact formed in a more recent context. He argues that the understanding of Nago as a strong and unified identity that has preserved at its core its Yoruba origins is the result of a direct influence from the “Lagosian Cultural Renaissance of late 1890s”.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Reis, *Rebeliao Escrava No Brasil*.

<sup>35</sup> This process could also been seen in Atlantic identities such as Mina and Nago. Mariza Soares argues that the denomination Mina of slaves in southeast Brazil (Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais), although originally from the West African city of Elmina, acquired another meaning once in Brazil. The Nago identity – also a common identification of the origin and ethnic group of slaves – would also have undergone a similar process. The term Nago could have origins in Anago. And once in Brazil the word acquired a different meaning, used to indicate mostly slaves from Yorubaland. See Mariza C. Soares, “Mina, Angola e Guine: Nomes d’Africa No Rio de Janeiro Setecentista.” *Tempo* 3 (1998): 1-13.

<sup>36</sup> The black movement in Brazil often uses Candomble to express their connection with Africa and to create an idea of unity.

<sup>37</sup> Matory, “The English Professors of Brazil: On the Diasporic Roots of the Yoruba Nation,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41 (1999), 40.

Matory criticises Gilroy's theories of discontinuous cultural exchange in the black Atlantic. Echoing some of the criticisms pointed out in the introduction to this thesis, Matory argues that, by focusing on the diaspora, the concept of the black Atlantic does not leave much space for African agency. Moreover, for Matory, Gilroy fails to acknowledge the social and historical processes that took place in many parts of Africa and that were influential factors in the cultural and intellectual exchanges that occurred within the black Atlantic.<sup>38</sup> The same criticism is directed at "Brazilianist scholars" in general. For Matory, although academics such as J. J. Reis attempt to include the "African side" when studying Afro-Brazilian history, they fail to consider local African transformations.

Failing to appreciate African agency and African historical processes when analysing Brazilian or Atlantic history is, as Matory points out, a relevant omission. However, as has been argued throughout this thesis, understanding Lagosian intellectual production as a cohesive "Lagosian Cultural Renaissance" is also a superficial generalisation that does not appreciate the complexity and heterogeneity of the phenomenon of Lagosian print culture.

Having said this, Matory's theory that Lagosian intellectual contributions to Brazil were not restricted to slavery fits well with the argument of this thesis. Matory explains that these ideas arrived in Brazil through agents who worked in ships between the two coasts translating Portuguese, Yoruba and English for merchants, Brazilian returnees, English

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<sup>38</sup> Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Condomble* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), Introduction.

authorities and Lagosian intellectuals.<sup>39</sup> These were the “professors” who educated the Candomblecists<sup>40</sup> with ideas brought from Lagos. For instance, Matory mentions the example of Martiniano Eliseu do Bomfim, who was born to freed African parents in Bahia in 1859. In 1875, Martiniano was taken by his father to study at the Presbyterian Faji School in Lagos. For eleven years he stayed in Lagos and, according to Matory, “he drank deeply from the emergent Lagosian literature on ‘Yoruba traditional religion’”;<sup>41</sup> and, when back in Brazil, Martiniano was responsible for teaching Africans and African descendants there, especially Candomblecists, the idea of “African purity”.<sup>42</sup> Martiniano underwent initiation as a *babalawo* – an Ifa priest – while in Lagos, and this placed him in an important position among the Brazilian Candomble community.

Another example, given by Matory, of a “professor” who took Lagosian ideas of “African purity” to Brazil was Felisberto Sowser. Sowser was an Anglicisation of Souza, a very common Brazilian surname. Together with the Bamgbose<sup>43</sup> and the Alakija, Sowser was part of what Matory called “an impressive dynasty of Brazilian-Lagosian travellers”.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Matory, “The English Professors of Brazil,” 85.

<sup>40</sup> My translation for the word *Candomblecistas*, which means adepts of Candomble. Although not related to this thesis and more on a personal level, I prefer using a neologism to refer to Candomblecistas, rather than using the expression “adepts”, which in Brazil can be a diminishing reference.

<sup>41</sup> Matory, “The English Professors of Brazil.” The case of Martiniano is well known among scholars who have studied returnees. This specific example is also mentioned by Pierre Verger and Manuela Carneiro da Cunha. See Verger, *Flux et Reflux*; Carneiro da Cunha, *Negros, Estrangeiros*.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> After whom the main street in the Portuguese quarter was named.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 47.

Through these examples, Matory argues that Brazilian returnees or Brazilian travellers took ideas of “Yorubanness” from Lagos to Salvador and Rio de Janeiro. Matory thus criticises Joao Jose Reis, the Brazilian scholar who has championed the idea that the Nago identity was the result of a process of cultural reinvention that happened in Bahia.<sup>45</sup> In Matory’s view, this process did not take place in Brazil, but in Lagos, and its result was taught to Brazilians by the professors who crossed the Atlantic.

What is the problem with Matory’s theory? The section on cultural encounters in the *Introduction* to this thesis mentioned the work of Joao Jose Reis on cultural reinvention and the formation of the Nago identity in early nineteenth-century Bahia. His conception of how cultural encounters work is criticised on the basis that Reis thinks of cultural encounters as a process that happens between two previous cultural sets; this understanding gives the impression that the two earlier cultural sets were cohesive and stable, dismissing the importance of their internal dynamic within the encounter process. However Matory is not criticising Joao Jose Reis for his conception of *how* the process of cultural encounters works. Matory’s remarks – and the main argument of his work – are about *where* this process took place. He argues that this cultural reinvention took place in Lagos and not in Bahia. When describing the “genesis of the Yoruba”,<sup>46</sup> Matory explains that, in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Lagos, a discourse of Yoruba ancientness and “dignity among nations had become an official truth”.<sup>47</sup> This was manifested in the intellectual production of “bourgeois Saros,” who changed from “avid Anglophiles, grateful for their liberation from slavers at British hands, to

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<sup>45</sup> Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, “Introduction”.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*



advocates of various forms of African nationalism [...] that opposed British cultural hegemony”.<sup>48</sup>

An essential part of Matory’s argument in his presentation of Lagosian intellectual production seems to be a reproduction, in a generalising way, of the cultural nationalist discourse of historians of West Africa. The result is a very inadequate representation of intellectual production in Lagos, which does not help his central argument concerning the transmission of ideas from Lagos to Brazil. For instance, he states that A. B. Ellis’s *The Yoruba-Speaking People of the Slave Coast of West Africa*<sup>49</sup> was “the most influential work of the Lagosian Renaissance”.<sup>50</sup> With no references provided, it is hard to identify where Matory obtained this information or why he would make this argument – besides drawing, of course, on his own superficial knowledge of Lagosian print culture.<sup>51</sup>

This coarse-grained approach to Lagosian intellectual production affects his argumentation in another essential way. For Matory, the identity formed in Lagos created a sense of Yoruba superiority. This, he argues, affected the way the adepts of the many kinds of Candomble perceived themselves, mirroring the idea that “Yorubanness” was superior and that the Nago/Yoruba Candomble (which allegedly preserved Yoruba culture more than others), was seen as purer, and therefore better than other kinds of Candomble or any other Afro-Brazilian religions.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>49</sup> A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave-coast of West Africa*.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>51</sup> Matory could have meant influential in Brazil, but this is not stated.

This leap between the discourses of a superior identity in Lagos and the superiority of Nago/Yoruba Candomble in Brazil is not entirely clear. Matory claims that “the premise of Yoruba religious superiority to other African ethnic groups appeared at the very 19<sup>th</sup> century origins of the pan-Yoruba ethnic identity”.<sup>52</sup> However this premise, although present, is not dominant in Lagosian print culture. Although specific examples of this discourse can be found in some books, it is not clear that this idea was formed in Lagos and then taken to Brazil. For instance, one of the advocates of the superiority of Yoruba culture was Samuel Johnson. But his book, as we know, was not published until 1921, at least two decades after the process Matory describes.<sup>53</sup> This correlation between unified Yoruba identity in Lagos and Yoruba superiority in Brazil is better explained if it is focused on a process that could have happened in Brazil, when Candomblecists were “taught” by the “English professors” new ideas formed in Lagos. For this, however, Matory would have to accept that some part of the process of the construction of Yoruba superiority happened not in Lagos, but in Brazil, as Joao Jose Reis has argued.

Another problem with Matory’s argument regarding the leap from a unified Yoruba identity to Yoruba superiority is that, once in Brazil, the dissemination of this idea among Candomblecists, as described by Matory, is questionable. Matory identifies Nina Rodrigues as one of its consolidators. Nina Rodrigues is introduced as the “founder of Afro-Brazilian Studies and founding scholarly advocate of Yoruba superiority”, when

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<sup>52</sup> Matory, “The English Professors of Brazil,” 32.

<sup>53</sup> Matory may be describing a process that took more than a few decades, which would make more sense. In fact his temporal line is poorly described, and he uses scholars from the 1940s as sources for processes that supposedly happened in the 1880s and 1890s without discussing the methodological problems with this.

we have seen in the quotation at the beginning of this section that Romero was publishing books about Afro-Brazilian culture and advocating the study of African languages and religions at least two decades before Nina Rodrigues.<sup>54</sup>

Matory also fails to mention that Nina Rodrigues was extremely racist – even for his time – and he regularly, in his books and newspapers articles, advocated the inferiority of Africans.<sup>55</sup> Although the line of transmission of ideas exposed by Matory from Martiniano to Nina Rodrigues and from Nina Rodrigues to the Cuban intellectual Ortiz is plausible, it is also important to note that there is a problem in this argument: it is difficult to understand how someone who advocated the physical and psychological inferiority of Africans and African descendants can have been a vector of ideas of Yoruba superiority among black populations in Brazil and/or scholars interested in the African contributions to Brazilian identity and culture formation.

As Matory makes clear in his paper, despite the “lamentably incomplete archives”, he gathered a respectable amount of relevant data that supports most of his arguments, and his argument that Lagosian ideas could have influenced discourses in Brazil is used in this thesis. However, there was not one pre-packaged idea that travelled from Lagos to Brazil: rather, as this chapter argues, many ideas, reflecting the plurality of debates, were evolving and developing in Lagos in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Also, while Matory focuses on showing how Brazilians travelled to Lagos and took back these Lagosian ideas, this chapter shows that Lagosians were themselves

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>55</sup> S. F. Ferretti, “Notas Sobre o Sincretismo Religioso no Brasil: Modelos, Limitacoes e Possibilidades.” *Tempo* 6 (2001): 13-26.

travelling to Brazil. Moreover, while Matory restricts most of his argument to Bahia, where Candomble was more prominent, this chapter shows how one Lagosian arrived in Rio de Janeiro, the intellectual centre of Brazil, in order to present his own ideas of Lagosian and Yoruba history and the equality of races directly to intellectuals. In this way, although Matory's main argument of ideas crossing the Atlantic is very interesting, it is important to add complexity to his description of the process he identifies. The perfect case of a Lagosian "professor" taking ideas to a Brazilian intellectual network was J. A. Otunba Payne, the subject of the next section.

### 6.3. Spreading Ideas About Lagos

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1886, Otunba Payne gave a lecture in an extraordinary session of the Geographic Society of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>56</sup> Whilst his presentation is not available,<sup>57</sup> we have access to the speeches given by two Brazilian intellectuals, Alberto Hargreaves and Joaquim Abilio Borges, before Payne's lecture, briefly explaining the history of Lagos and contextualising Payne's trajectory. These speeches convey information and ideas gathered from Payne. For instance, when explaining Payne's origins, Albert Hargreaves said that: "Asking the slaves what were their nationalities, they responded Elmina, so it was concluded that all blacks shipped from there were Elmina or Mina, and they were sold as such here. Meanwhile its real name is Yoruba, and this great

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<sup>56</sup> *Revista da Sociedade de Geographia do Rio de Janeiro* Tomo II, Anno de 1886, 3º Boletim: 230-250.

This Society was founded following a schism with the Geographic Society of Lisbon.

<sup>57</sup> It is not possible to verify whether this was in the minutes of the meeting, since these are no longer available due to a fire. However, newspapers of the Society reproduced the speeches given in Portuguese.

nation is divided into seven tribes and each tribe has the name of a son of the founder of the nation” (my translation).<sup>58</sup>

Payne can be considered what Matory calls an “English Professor”: he taught these Brazilian intellectuals that the “real” name was Yoruba and not Mina. Similarly, Payne was also spreading the history of the formation of the Yorubas by the seven tribes, one of the many versions of the origin of the Yoruba people. But, more than acting as a vehicle for the transmission of a particular history, Payne himself, through his manners, clothes, lectures, was creating and conveying an idea of Africa and Africans that made an impact on Brazilian intellectuals. For instance, in his introduction to Payne, Alberto Hargreaves said that: “Not only in Brazil, but elsewhere in the world, it is a common theory that blacks are resistant to civilisation in its highest mode of development, and that it is impossible for them to reach a higher degree of education. – We have before us a tremendously eloquent negation of such a remarkable and absurd theory” (my translation).<sup>59</sup> And at the same event, Joaquim Abilio noted that “it is precisely because

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<sup>58</sup> “Perguntando os negreiros qual a sua nacionalidade respondiam que eram de *Elmina*, donde concluíram que todo o negro alli embarcado era de *Elmina* ou *Mina* e como tal aqui os vendiam. No entretanto seu verdadeiro nome e Iuruba sendo essa grande nacao dividida em sete tribus tendo cada tribu o nome de um dos filhos do fundador da nacao.” Albert Hargreaves’s speech reproduced in *Revista da Sociedade de Geographia do Rio de Janeiro*, Tomo II, Anno de 1886, 3º Boletim: 230-250.

<sup>59</sup> “Nao so no Brazil, mas em toda a parte do mundo, e theoria corrente que o negro e refractario a civilizacao no seu alto desenvolvimento e que lhe e impossivel attingir a elevado grao de instruccao. – Temos diante de nos eloquentissima negacao de tao insolita quao absurda theoria.” Albert Hargreaves, *Revista da Sociedade de Geographia do Rio de Janeiro*, Tomo II, Anno de 1886, 3º Boletim: 230-250.

of this that so much curiosity and so much interest has arisen from the first literate African man who is visiting us” (my translation).<sup>60</sup>

To his Brazilian audience, Payne was an example of the fact that Africans could be civilised. Indeed, he was not only teaching African history but, more generally, educating Atlantic intellectuals against prejudice. Payne was personally educating people and using his *Almanacks* to spread his ideas of Lagos. The consequences of this effort are evident in the testimonials sent to the *Almanack*. For example, a letter from a British consular officer in Uruguay noted: “I beg to thank you for the Almanack and note just received. What a handsome Almanack it is! I had no idea Lagos was so progressive a place as to have so elaborately and carefully devised and excellently got up and published a book as the one you have sent me”.<sup>61</sup>

Jacob C. Hazeley, too, used Payne’s *Almanack* to oppose negative stereotypes of Africans, as explored in the previous chapter. On the occasion of Hazeley’s presentations, local newspapers in the US said things like: “His lecture was illustrated by stereopticon views, or the stereopticon views were explained by the lecture. [...] It was very instructing and entertaining, and gave us many new ideas related to African manners, customs, and productions”.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> “E e justamente por isso que tanta curiosidade e too grande interesse tem despertado o primeiro homem de letras africano, que nos visita.” Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Letter from Rev. J. Henry Davies, M. A., British Consular Chaplain at the Oriental de Uruguay, Montevideo (28 March 1886) *apud Payne’s Almanack* (1894), 24.

<sup>62</sup> *Cleveland Gazette* 1, 11 (3 November 1883).

One local newspaper advertised that, “He has with him many of the curiosities and products of the land, which are well worth seeing”;<sup>63</sup> another one stated that “He will appear in an African dress and at the close of the lecture sing in African language”;<sup>64</sup> and one indicated that “Five hundred of the professor’s pictures with a sketch of his life and travels have been sold, and one thousand more have been taken”.<sup>65</sup> More than opposing Africa’s negative image in the US, Hazeley was providing his audience with a substrate upon which to build a new idea of Africa; for this, he used photographs, clothes and publications.

Besides Payne’s *Almanack*, Hazeley also used Lawson’s maps in his lectures and, through this, established a conversation between the two sides of the Atlantic. This is visible in an “amusing” incident described to Lawson by Hazeley which concerned a map of Cape Coast Town drawn by the former. Hazeley, as he said, “[took] pride in showing them to white and coloured people, and saying to them ‘Here’s a town in Africa, and the best of all, it is drawn by a native African, a Civil Engineer’”. Upon examining the map, an American questioned if it in reality showed an African city and, moreover, if it was actually drawn by an African man: “I don’t believe an African has sense enough to eat, much less to do such work as drawing this chart. I believe Lawson is a white man. There is no proof of the contrary”.<sup>66</sup> It seems that the contradiction arose from the fact that Lawson did not indicate in the chart that Cape Coast Town was a city in West Africa. Moreover, he never indicated that he was an African. Hazeley finished

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<sup>63</sup> *The Constitution* (25 December 1877).

<sup>64</sup> *Worcester Daily Spy* 33, 13 (15 January 1878), 2.

<sup>65</sup> *The Protestant Day Spring* (1 December 1876).

<sup>66</sup> Payne, *Payne’s Lagos and West African Almanack* (1884), 23.

his letter with some advice: “I hope you will take these hints for the future, for whatever in science or literature African men produce, if he does not particularize it, the white man claims it, as done by his race”.<sup>67</sup> This letter was sent in 1882, and in 1885 when Lawson’s map of Lagos was published it indicated very clearly that it was made by “a native of West Africa”.<sup>68</sup>

The map, as explained in previous chapters, was used to represent Lagos at the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* of 1886. Payne, as head of the committee responsible for choosing the objects for the Lagos display, shaped the idea of Lagos presented in London. However, this counted on input both from within Lagos and from the Atlantic. Along with all the items that Lagosians sent to be shown in the exhibition (from bamboo sofas to masks) was Lawson’s map. As discussed in *Chapter 4*, the map was also an idea of Lagos as built by Lawson, which not only showed the streets, religious buildings and colonial institutions, but also located 150 Lagosians. Furthermore, through the map, the exhibition display on Lagos also showed the input of an Atlantic intellectual — Hazeley: for those attending the exhibition, it was clear that the map’s author was a native of West Africa.

In this way, contextualising Lagosian intellectuals and their production within the Atlantic allows us to see other meanings besides those framed by colonial relations. In this new context, as shown above, even a colonial exhibition can acquire different meanings that have not been discussed by current scholarship. Lagosian intellectual production was not only written for, and at the behest of, British readers, as Michel

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.



Doortmont has argued.<sup>69</sup> Rather, Payne's vision was to educate the Atlantic. Indeed, as Sawada notes in her analysis, Payne's work was well inscribed in the broader work projecting and reflecting "the changing self-perceptions of Lagosian intellectuals".<sup>70</sup> However, on his travels and in his publications, Payne was not merely replicating a colonial and modernising image for Lagos.<sup>71</sup> Rather, in curating the colonial exhibition, by displaying exemplars and stressing the importance of print culture, Payne was building a new and inclusive idea of Lagosian intellectuality.

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<sup>69</sup> Doortmont, "The Roots of Yoruba Historiography," 12.

<sup>70</sup> Sawada, "The Educated Elite," 301.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

## Conclusion: The Making of Samuel Johnson

“Shy and reticent, he deliberately chooses to remain shadowy in the background leaving us his *History of the Yorubas* to appraise and admire”.<sup>1</sup>

“Both for good and for bad, Johnson’s *History* has acquired the stature of a standard text”.<sup>2</sup>

A glaring lacuna in this thesis, with its focus on Lagosian books and pamphlets, is the most famous book from the period under consideration: Samuel Johnson’s *The History of the Yorubas*,<sup>3</sup> published in 1921. It is hard to find a book about Nigeria or the Yoruba that does not mention *The History of the Yorubas*. For instance, reaching for my bookshelf, I pick out a book that does not deal with Lagosian, Nigerian or Yoruba intellectual production, but rather refers to broader themes in West African history: Sylviane A. Diouf’s *Dreams of Africa in Alabama*<sup>4</sup>, which tells the story of the *Clotilda*, the last slave ship to arrive in the United States. In a chapter that deals with slavery, Diouf refers the reader to Johnson’s *History* in order to explain the “significance of Yoruba names”.<sup>5</sup>

Another book on my bookshelf, Kamari Maxine Clarke’s *Mapping Yoruba Networks*<sup>6</sup>, also mentions Johnson’s *History* – five times, according to the index. In one of these references, Clarke narrates her arrival in Oyotunji village for her fieldwork. It seems

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<sup>1</sup> Ajayi, “Samuel Johnson: Historian of the Yoruba,” 146.

<sup>2</sup> Toyin Falola, ed., *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch: Samuel Johnson and the Yoruba People* (Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993), Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*.

<sup>4</sup> Sylviane A. Diouf, *Dreams of Africa in Alabama* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 267.

<sup>6</sup> Kamari Maxine Clarke, *Mapping Yoruba Networks*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004).

that the head of the women's society, after greeting her, took her outside and warned her of the importance of wearing traditional clothes. Clarke describes how, "[a]lluding to my purpose for being there, she showed me Samuel Johnson's (1921) *History of the Yorubas* and told me I should study it if I really wanted to understand Yoruba traditions".<sup>7</sup>

The episode described by Clarke shows the importance of Johnson's book outside the academic arena. For instance, the website *About.com* lists *The History* among the one hundred best African books of all time.<sup>8</sup> Inside academia, *The History of the Yorubas* is even more celebrated. The importance of Johnson's book can be seen in the number of academic texts that refer to it as either a primary or a secondary source.<sup>9</sup> The number of books, conferences papers and theses that have his life and works as their main topic is also impressive.<sup>10</sup> Scholars from a variety of fields consider the *History* to be one of the most important publications of the period.<sup>11</sup> Since its first publication in 1921, *The History of the Yorubas* has been reprinted repeatedly to enthusiastic reviews: "By any

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>8</sup> "Africa's 100 Best Books," accessed May 17, 2012.

<http://africanhistory.about.com/library/bl/bl100BestBooksE.htm>

<sup>9</sup> Writing this thesis, I came across 39 academic publications that mentioned Samuel Johnson and/or his book.

<sup>10</sup> Ajayi, "Samuel Johnson: Historian of the Yoruba"; R. C. C. Law, "How Truly Traditional is our Traditional History? The Case of Samuel Johnson and the Recording of Yoruba Oral Tradition," *History in Africa* 11, (1984): 195–221; Law, "How Many Times Can History Repeat Itself?"; R. C. C. Law, "Constructing 'A Real National History': A Comparison of Edward Blyden and Samuel Johnson," in *Self-Assertion and Brokerage*, ed. Farias and Barber (Birmingham, 1990), 78–100; Doortmont, "Recapturing the Past"; Falola, *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch*.

<sup>11</sup> R. C. C. Law, "Constructing 'A Real National History'"; Philip S. Zachernuk, "The Lagos Intelligentsia and the Idea of Progress, Ca.1860-1960," 33-46, ed. Toyin Falola (Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1991) are among the publications that affirm this.

reckoning, it must be accounted the principal glory of Yoruba historiography”<sup>12</sup>; “Johnson created a *magnum opus* that was to put into the shade everything published on Yoruba history both before and after”<sup>13</sup>; “[It is] a classic work of great value”.<sup>14</sup> Rarely is the title of Johnson’s work not preceded by an adjective that highlights its quality. James Coleman, for instance, states that “the earliest and perhaps the best known of these [tribal histories] was Samuel Johnson’s *History of the Yorubas*, written in 1897”.<sup>15</sup> Further on in the same book, in the section entitled “The Growth of Cultural Nationalism”, Johnson’s “monumental”<sup>16</sup> *History of the Yorubas* is the only title mentioned by Coleman to illustrate intellectual production from before the 1930s.

In a paper about the origins of Nigerian nationalism, Ade Ajayi explains that the decade of the 1890s saw publications by J. O. George and J. A. O. Payne, and “the completion of Samuel Johnson’s impressive *History of the Yorubas*”.<sup>17</sup> In the book *Christian Missions in Nigeria*, Ajayi states that Johnson’s *History* was “the most notable book of the minor renaissance that occurred”.<sup>18</sup>

A. E. Ayandele writes that Johnson’s *History* was “by far the most comprehensive work of scholarship”. And he continues that, “in spite of the criticism of the work as being Oyo-biased, it remains the only monumental contribution to the history of the Yoruba and nothing strikingly different from Johnson’s recording have been revealed so far

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<sup>12</sup> Law, “Early Yoruba Historiography,” 72.

<sup>13</sup> Doortmont, “Recapturing the Past,” 64.

<sup>14</sup> Peel, *Aladura, a Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*, 19.

<sup>15</sup> Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, 186–7.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 327.

<sup>17</sup> Ajayi, “Nineteenth Century Origins of Nigerian Nationalism,” 208. Emphasis added.

<sup>18</sup> Ajayi, *Christian Mission in Nigeria*, 269.

[...].<sup>19</sup> Toyin Falola describes Johnson as a “jack-of-all-trades and master of many: his book is rich in all important aspects of culture as well as in History”.<sup>20</sup> And for Zachernuk, “Samuel Johnson’s *History of the Yorubas* is rightly celebrated as a major work in Nigerian cultural nationalist literature”.<sup>21</sup>

The production of Johnson’s *History* itself has a well-known history. After years of research and writing, Samuel Johnson finished the manuscript in 1897. His first intention was to publish it through the Church Missionary Society, the institution with which he worked for most of his life. Although Johnson was recognised as an important member of the CMS, his manuscript was not considered by them suitable for printing in its original format, since it was too long at more than 700 pages and was written in English.<sup>22</sup> It was suggested that Johnson should publish serial volumes to be used by teachers in the missions.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, it was suggested he translate the manuscript into Yoruba, since mission schools taught in Yoruba rather than in English.<sup>24</sup> Instead of accepting these changes, Johnson sent his manuscript to another publisher, a private one in London, which later admitted that it had misplaced the text and it was nowhere to be found. Johnson died in 1901 without knowing what had happened to his work.

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<sup>19</sup> Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact*, 260.

<sup>20</sup> Falola, *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch*, Introduction.

<sup>21</sup> Philip Zachernuk, “Johnson and the Victorian Image of the Yoruba,” in *Self-Assertion and Brokerage: Early Cultural Nationalism in West Africa*, ed. P. F. de Moraes Farias and K. Barber (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press: 1990), 33.

<sup>22</sup> Doortmont, “Recapturing the Past”.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

It was his younger brother, Dr. Obadiah Johnson, who decided to reconstruct the manuscript on the basis of Samuel's thorough notes.<sup>25</sup> Like Samuel, he sent the second version to a publisher in London, and also died before seeing the book finally in print in 1921. The saga of this book covers a period of at least twenty-four years, from being concluded by its original author to finally reaching the public.<sup>26</sup> During this quarter-century, the number of books published in Lagos increased from around thirty books in the 1890s to more than one hundred in the 1920s. It is a long period of time; and a large and plural amount of publications to represent.

The case of Samuel Johnson is of significance for this thesis because it works as a counter-example to the definition of Lagosian intellectual offered in preceding chapters and, in so doing, deepens and problematises our understanding of the Lagosian intellectual network and its production. Most importantly, his book, *The History of the Yorubas*, should not be considered part of Lagosian intellectual production from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I have no doubt that Samuel Johnson was an intellectual, in that he dedicated many years of his life to his book, which was a lengthy volume that showed his aptitude and interest in researching and writing. He was not, however, a *Lagosian* intellectual because he did not contribute to print culture in the period studied in this thesis.

This thesis has argued that Lagosians became intellectuals by engaging with the Lagosian intellectual network. In this engagement, Lagosian intellectuals were motivated by an intention to contribute to a unique pool of knowledge. In *Chapter 1*, in

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<sup>25</sup> Law, "Constructing 'A Real National History'".

<sup>26</sup> Thirty years, if one considers when the author started writing. See Doortmont, "Recapturing the Past: Samuel Johnson and the Construction of the History of the Yoruba."

the light of Karin Barber's theories about genre, I discussed how Lagosian intellectuals produced history: they researched, wrote, edited, curated and even sanitised knowledge, all with the intention of contributing to the pool of knowledge that was central to the project of building a Lagosian print culture – in short, of constructing a narrative about Yoruba history. And Johnson's work also had this motivation. Besides including the word "history" in the title, Johnson also expressed in his preface a desire to preserve history and tradition.

To effectively contribute to this pool of knowledge, however, it was important that his work could be accessed: read, debated, questioned, reviewed and answered in full engagement with other Lagosian intellectuals. As has been mentioned already, however, Johnson refused the solutions for publishing his book proposed by the CMS. After working as an official translator and intermediary for the Crown in the Yoruba hinterland, Johnson went into seclusion outside Abeokuta, where he managed a mission. According to Ade Ajayi, "he lived far from the limelight of Lagos [and] died prematurely at the age of fifty-five, just when he was beginning to be widely known and full twenty years before the book that has made him great and immortal was published".<sup>27</sup> Johnson's choices and priorities, it seems, did not lead him to engage with the Lagosian intellectual network.

Similarly, *Chapter 2* argued that, when studying print culture, we should take into consideration the whole cycle of publication: editing books, sending letters to newspapers, working at the printing office, selling publications, reading and discussing pamphlets. In this way, intellectual agency involves an expansion beyond authorship

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<sup>27</sup> Ajayi, "Samuel Johnson: Historian of the Yoruba."

alone to incorporate all the other intellectuals who contribute to the process of producing print culture, including the readership – which was very active in the shaping of Lagosian print culture, as we saw in *Chapter 3*.

Quite a few scholars locate the publication date of Johnson's book in the 1890s.<sup>28</sup> This reflects an attempt to localise the book in the moment when it was created by its author, but in fact it was published nearly three decades later, in 1921. However, dating *The History of the Yorubas* by the date of its creation by the author can be troublesome, for we cannot be completely sure when Johnson wrote the manuscript. Although the text is commonly dated in the 1890s, when Johnson allegedly finished it, a considerable part of the book came from notes taken during his work as a translator and representative of the British Crown.<sup>29</sup> Given that he lived from 1846 to 1901, there is no way of verifying exactly when Johnson wrote each part of his manuscript. Similarly, as the preface of the book indicates, the text that we have is not the original one but a version remade by his brother Obadiah over a twenty-year period and based on Samuel's notes and an early draft. A number of historians have dedicated some work to trying to figure out which contributions came from each Johnson brother, but we cannot know for certain the extent of Obadiah's contribution to the final manuscript.<sup>30</sup>

Even though, from the perspective of many scholars, Johnson's *History* contains useful insights into the context of the 1890s and into Yoruba history in general, such an

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<sup>28</sup> Doortmont, "Recapturing the Past"; Law, "Early Yoruba Historiography."

<sup>29</sup> Between 1881 and 1883. See Doortmont, "The Invention of the Yorubas".

<sup>30</sup> Which part was written by each brother is discussed in detail, for example, in two publications: Law, "How Truly Traditional Is Our Traditional History? The Case of Samuel Johnson and the Recording of Yoruba Oral Tradition"; Doortmont, "Recapturing the Past: Samuel Johnson and the Construction of the History of the Yoruba."



approach to the *History* arises from an understanding of Lagosian print culture as historiography: that is, as historical knowledge produced according to modern academic standards. As Ato Quayson points out:

the mode of its appropriation by academic historians, however, reveals an unconscious impulse to define the work in a limited and monologic relationship to academic historiography. The usual approach adopted by academic historians is to cross-check the accounts in Johnson's work against parallel accounts from neighbouring tribes or against written accounts by travellers and missionaries [...]. The urge of academic historians to establish a scale of factuality and to differentiate the probable from less probable leads to a suppression of the cultural significance of *The History* [...]. In my view, a proper appreciation of *The History* requires that it is treated first and foremost as a cultural product.<sup>31</sup>

In the case of Johnson, his book was incomplete until 1921, when it finally achieved the whole cycle of publication: accepted by a publisher, distributed, sold, reviewed, compared, debated and responded to. It was only then that *The History of the Yorubas* became a part of print culture, not because it was finally printed, but because, through publishing, it was finally woven into Lagosian print culture. From this perspective, Johnson's *History* cannot be considered representative of Lagosian intellectual production before the 1920s because it was not produced at that time. Moreover, it never played a role in the intellectual turmoil of those decades because it simply did not constitute a social fact at the time.

On the contrary, the absence of the book before 1921 *was* the social fact. Johnson's inability to publish his history and his isolation from the Lagosian intellectual network are significant comments on the attitude and interests of intellectual production in Lagos before 1921. Maybe a long, definitive, Oyo-centred version of the Yoruba's history was

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<sup>31</sup> Quayson, "Rev. Samuel Johnson & Yoruba Historiography," 22.

not in the interest of the readership.<sup>32</sup> Maybe it would have been expensive to produce and to purchase, which would have reduced significantly the rationale for publication. Or perhaps its length made it difficult to read, to provide feedback on, to engage in debate with. It is known that Johnson was offered options for adapting his manuscript to a more suitable format for the Lagosian intellectual network, as discussed above. But Johnson had his own ideas of the final product he wanted to see published; and these were not in tune with the ideas of the CMS concerning what should enter the Lagosian book market.

The second reason why Samuel Johnson is not a Lagosian intellectual derives from his resistance to engaging with the intellectual network. Besides not participating in print culture between the 1880s and 1921, Johnson was not part of the Lagosian intellectual network, which, as discussed in *Chapter 3*, can be characterised by the following features: it was a very plural network that included other agents besides authors (as mentioned above); it was not restricted by publication or literacy, although printing enabled it and formed its core; it was formed by numerous scapes and was, therefore, incohesive and dynamic; some of these scapes were local, while others reached West African countries and – as *Chapters 4, 5 and 6* showed – there were scapes that stretched throughout the Atlantic. As we saw in *Chapter 6*, these Atlantic scapes spread Lagosian publications to other intellectual centres, transmitted Lagosian ideas and shaped ideas about Lagos; this international dimension of the Lagosian intellectual

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<sup>32</sup> In 1901, Obadiah presented a paper at the Lagos Institute entitled *Lagos Past*. It seems that this paper was extracted from notes left by his late brother. The published paper – as shown in *Chapter 1* – also reproduced the comments of the audience immediately after Obadiah's presentation. Most of the intellectuals present reacted to the history of Lagos and/or Yoruba centred on the Oyo people. See Obadiah Johnson, *Lagos Past*.

network also put it in contact with other networks, showing that Lagosian print culture was not restricted to colonial relations.

As *Chapter 5* demonstrated, the Atlantic connections of intellectuals such as J. A. O. Payne brought to the surface other agents of this network, such as J. C. Hazeley, the West African professor who travelled in the United States teaching about Africa and organising expeditions of freed slaves returning to Liberia. Another advantage of highlighting the Atlantic dimension of the Lagosian intellectual network is that, as *Chapter 6* showed, reading Lagosian publications in the light of other scapes and networks reveals how complex and dynamic each of these Lagosian intellectuals were. Their reasons for writing and publishing were similarly complex and dynamic. While these definitions of the Lagosian intellectual network do not necessarily exclude Johnson, his lack of engagement with other Lagosian intellectuals rules him out of the dynamic that was central to the constitution of the network in the period studied.

After his reclusion in Abeokuta, Johnson seldom went to Lagos or engaged socially or politically in the capital's activities, and almost certainly never took part in any printed debate.<sup>33</sup> He did not travel or produce publications that travelled in his name. He was nowhere to be found in the intellectual network before the publication of his book. For instance, he was neither listed among the one hundred names in Lawson's Lagos map produced for the *Exhibition*, nor cited in any issue of Payne's *Almanack*. Johnson seemed uninterested in – or incapable of – projecting and advertising his persona in the network.

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<sup>33</sup> In the newspaper articles read for this thesis, I never came across any debate that Samuel Johnson had engaged in. For references to which newspapers articles were read, see "my archive" in this chapter and complete list in *Bibliography*.

His absence from the network also meant that his name was not as well known as his brother's. For instance, Obadiah's travels, life events and opinions were frequently stamped in the newspapers. His obituary in the *Lagos Weekly Record* showed his high status in Lagos: "The Sunshine has left Yorubaland".<sup>34</sup> Even the publication of Samuel Johnson's book can be attributed to the networking abilities of Obadiah. In fact, in the advertisement of the book in the *Sierra Leone Weekly Record*, Obadiah is the one who appears as the author.<sup>35</sup> After the book was finally published in 1921, however, it was widely advertised in the newspapers and even reviewed by Lady Lugard for the *Times Literary Supplement*.<sup>36</sup> It was only then that *The History* became part of the Lagosian print culture.

Beyond Johnson's shadow there is a rich, plural and complex intellectual production that deserves further study. There is more to Lagosian intellectuals than *The History of the Yoruba*. Indeed, the 247 titles that inspired this exploration are only the beginning. Connections with the intellectual production of the Atlantic are a field that I intend to continue exploring in the future, as are the many genres that emerged within Lagosian books and pamphlets. The field for exploration is oriented not only towards the Atlantic, but also towards Lagos itself. Many aspects of the production of books and pamphlets in Lagos, including the materiality of print culture, the role and networks of local bookshops and publishers, and how these are inserted into the social history of city, are topics for future exploration in studies of Lagos, the Yoruba and Nigeria.

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<sup>34</sup> *Lagos Weekly Record* (23 October 1920).

<sup>35</sup> *Sierra Leone Weekly Record* (16 July 1921).

<sup>36</sup> *Lagos Standard* (30 June 1921), 412.

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- Papiers du Mission Catholique Roman, Lagos

Centre of West African Studies  
- Newspapers  
    *Eagle Lagos Critic*, 1883-1888  
    *Lagos Observer*, 1882-1888  
    *Lagos Standard*, 1895-1920  
    *Lagos Times*, 1880-1883  
    *Lagos Weekly Record*, 1891-1921  
    *Nigerian Chronicle*, 1911-1915  
    *Nigerian Pioneer*, 1924-1930  
    *Nigerian Times*, 1910

CMS Archives, Birmingham, UK  
- Papers Yoruba Mission (CA2/O)  
- Letter Books Yoruba Mission (G3A2/L)  
    Wakeman Annual Letters (G3 AL 17-34)

Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
- Newspaper *Rio News*, 1879-1886.  
- Newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, 1886-1887

Bibliotheque de l'Universite d'Abomey-Calavi, Cotonou, Benin

Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, Rhodes House, Oxford University, Oxford, UK  
- Anti-Slavery Society Catalogue  
    MSS BRIT EMP  
    S20 (E2/1-20)  
    S22 (G79, G80a, G80b, G207-275, G431)

British Library, London, UK

Kenneth Dike Library, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria

- Main Catalogue
- Special Collection
  - Kuti Papers
  - Macaulay Personal Papers
  - Obakinyete Papers

Instituto Historico-Geografico do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

- Boletins Informativos da Sociedade de Geografia, (Tomos I, II, III)
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J.D.Y. Peel's Personal Library, London, UK

J. F. A. Ajayi's Personal Library, Ibadan, Nigeria

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  - Blue Books
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  - WMMS Archives (1-4)
- Reports and Notes (RP2/5, RP2/8)
- Regulations
  - CMS Regulations 1883-1935 (RP3/1)
- Photograph Collections
  - CMS (HP- 1-67)
  - OSP1 (Old Secretariat Photographs)
- Individual Family Papers
  - Bishop Akinyele (Akinyele 1-2, 26-29, 42-47)
  - Rev. G. A. Oke Papers (Oke 1-3)
  - Bishop Phillips Papers (Phillips 1-3)
  - Lijadu Family Papers (LFP 1-11)
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- Library
  - Africana Collection (A1-6)
  - West Africa (B, C, D, X)

National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK  
 - Special and Named Printed Collections

R. C. C. Law's Personal Library, Stirling, UK

School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Library, London, UK  
 - Special Collections

The National Archives, London, UK  
 - Correspondence with Lagos (CO 100, 800)  
 - Maps of Lagos (CO 700)

University of Lagos Library, Lagos, UK

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## Appendices

## Appendix I: List of Lagosian Books and Pamphlets

Author	Title	Year
Payne, John Augustus Otunba	Payne's Lagos and West African Almanack and Diary	1874
Wood, J. Buckley	Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa	1878
A Descendant of Ham	The Hamites Political Economy	1878
Wood, J. Buckley	Notes on the Construction of the Yoruba Language	1879
Ajayi, M. T. E.	Polygamy	1882
Bouche, P. B.	Les Noirs Peints par Eux-Memes	1883
Baudin, R. P.	Katekismu L'ede Yoruba: Traduit du Catechisme de Cambrai	1884
Lawson, W. T. G.	Lagos Past, Present and Future	1885
Allen, S. A.	Iwe Owe	1885
Smith, S. S.	Samuel S. Smith's Almanac for Lagos and Porto Novo	1886
Lijadu, E. M.	Annual Report for 1884-85 [Iwe Irohin ati Ile Isura Eko ti Egbe Awon Olufe Ile-Ibi Won Li Abeokuta]	1886
A Descendant of Ham	The Hamite's General Economy	1887
Townsend, G.	Memoir of Rev. Henry Townsend	1887
Ingham, Ernest Graham	Bishop Ingham's Primary Charge and Proceedings of the Diocesan Conference at Lagos	1887
George, John Olawumi	The Influence of Christianity on the Institutions and Customs of this Country	1888

Author	Title	Year
Page, J.	Samuel Crowther, the Slave Boy Who Became Bishop of the Niger	1888
Gollmer, C. H. V.	Charles A. Gollmer: His Life and Missionary Labours in West Africa	1889
Johnson, Obadiah	An Essay on West African Therapeutics	1889
Moloney, A.	Notes on Yoruba and the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos, West Africa	1890
Unknown	Yiya Ile Olorun Titun si Mimo	1892
Crowther, Samuel	Experiences with Heathens and Mohammedans in West Africa	1892
Chausse, J. B. M.	Iwe Orin Mimo L'Ede Yoruba ou Manuel de chants religieux de la mission du Benin	1892
Agbebi, Mojola V. D. B.	Yoruba Illustrated Sheet Almanack	1892
Lugard, Flora Shaw	Letter from Queensland	1893
Haastrup, A.	Report of the recent visit of His Excellency Sir Gilbert Carter, KCMG to Jebu Remo	1894
Ellis, A. B.	The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave-Coast of West Africa	1894
Payne, John Augustus Otunba	Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History	1894
Bastian, L.	Itan Inu Iwe Mimo	1895
Agbebi, Mojola V. D. B.	Ona si Obirin Kan	1895



Author	Title	Year
Odumosu, J. J.	Iwosan	1895
Agbebi, Mojola V. D. B.	Iwe Alo	1895
Ajayi, M. T. E.	A Practical Yoruba Grammar	1896
Unknown	Guide Pratique de Conversation en Français, Anglais et Yoruba ou Nago	1896
Unknown	The Eighteenth report of Yoruba Auxiliary Association of the British and Foreign Bible Society with its Rules and Account of Contributions	1896
George, John Olawumi	Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country and its Tribes	1897
Lijadu, E. M.	Ifa: Imole re - Ti Ise Ipile Isin ni Ile Yoruba	1898
Lijadu, E. M.	Grammar Yoruba	1898
Hess, J.	L'Ame Negre	1898
Gouzien, P.	Manuel Franco-Yoruba de Conversation: Specialement a l'Usage du Medecin	1899
Johnson, James	Yoruba Heathenism	1899
Ajayi, M. T. E.	Key of the Koran	1900
Unknown	Katekismu Ikini Ti Watt	1900
Collins, E. E.	Awon Orin Mimo - Ati ti Iwa rere	1901
Unknown	The Twenty-Third Report of the Yoruba Auxiliary Association	1901

Author	Title	Year
Johnson, Obadiah	Lagos Past	1901
A Native of Yoruba	Native System of Government and Land Tenure in the Yoruba Country	1902
Barth, C. G.	Itan Ninu Bibeli	1903
Agbebi, Mojola V. D. B.	The Christian Handbook	1903
Oluwole, I.	The Form of Service for use at The Opening of the New Courts of Justice in Abeokuta	1904
Unknown	The Twenty-Sixth report of Yoruba Auxiliary Association of the Bristish and Foreign Bible Society with its Rules and Account of Contributions	1904
Collins, E. E.	Awon Orin Mimo li Ede Gesi ati ti Yoruba	1904
Coker, S. A.	Three Sermons on The Christian Ministry	1904
Unknown	Isin Olorun	1904
Ceulener, Cd.	Colonie et Protectorat de Lagos	1904
Dennett, R. E.	Notes on the Language of the Efa (People) or the Bini Commonly Called Uze Ado	1904
MacGregor, William	Lagos, Abeokuta and the Alake	1904
Ajisafe, A. K.	Ofin ati Ilana	1904
Agbebi, Mojola V. D. B.	An Account of Dr. Mojola Agbebi's work in West Africa, comprising Yorubaland, Fantiland, the Ekiti Country, Central Nigeria, Southern Nigeria and the Cameroons	1904

Author	Title	Year
Lugard, F. D.	Political Memoranda: Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political & Administrative	1906
Dennett, R. E.	At the Back of the Black Man's Mind: or, Notes on the Kingly Office in West Africa	1906
Atundaolu, H.	Awon Enia Inu Bibeli	1906
Tugwell, Herbert	Constitution of the Synod and Other Regulations for Diocese of Western Equatorial Africa	1906
Unknown	The Twenty- Fifth Report of the Lagos Church Missions for the year 1906 (Western Equatorial Africa)	1906
Unknown	The Twenty-Sixth Report of the Lagos Church Missions for the Year 1907	1907
Tepowa, A.	A Short History of Brass and its People	1907
Lijadu, E. M.	Orunmla!	1908
Page, J.	The Black Bishop : Samuel Adjai Crowther	1908
Gansallo, S. J.	Ojo Ohun Kekere tabi Oro Iyanju Latenu	1908
Elgee, C. H.	The Ife Stone Carving	1908
Lijadu, E. M.	Iwe Irohin Ti Ise Edun Meje Ekini Ti Egbe Ajihinrere-Iofe	1908
Odumosu, J. J.	Iwe Egbobi	1908
Gansallo, S. J.	Akojo Eko Ninu Awon Ilana Isin Mokandilogoji ti Ijo Endiandi	1908
Kuye, J. G.	English Principia; or, Grammar Gesi. For Primary and Private Tuition	1908

Author	Title	Year
Parkinson, John	Yoruba Folk-lore	1909
Carr, Henry	Christian Marriage	1909
Unknown	Life and Story of Another Black Bishop who is Sierra Leonean - The Right Rev. James Johnson, D. D., Assistant Bishop in Southern Nigeria.	1909
Dennett, R. E.	Yoruba Salutations	1909
Howells, M. A.	Akanse Iwasu	1909
Dennett, R. E.	Nigerian Studies, The Religious and Political System of the Yoruba	1910
Calvert, Albert Frederick	Nigeria and its Tin Fields	1910
Kuye, J. G.	Iwe Allaworan Keji	1910
Dennett, R. E.	Notes on the Land Laws in the Western Province of Southern Nigeria	1910
Bunyan, John	Ilo-Siwaju Ero-Mimo	1911
Agbebi, Mojola V. D. B.	The West African Problem	1911
Harris, J. H.	Report of Rev. J. H. Harris to the Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society	1911
Sowande, E. J.	Dictionary of Yoruba Language: English-Yoruba	1911
Unknown	State Service on the Coronation Day	1911
Struck, Bernhard	Linguistic Bibliography of Northern Nigeria: Including Hausa and Fula, with Notes on the Yoruba Dialects	1911

Author	Title	Year
Unknown	Review of Dennett's Nigerian Studies	1911
Unknown	Iwo L'o Mo! Tabi, Asaro Fun Iwamimo	1911
Unknown	Iwe Kika Ekarun Li Ede Yoruba	1911
Macaulay, H.	The Lagos Land Question	1912
Unknown	Itan Isuju Inu Aiye	1912
Frobenius, L.	The voice of Africa	1913
Johnson, James	A Brief Outline of the Story of my Life	1913
Unknown	A dictionary of the Yoruba language	1913
Dennett, R. E.	A Common Basis of Religion: Or, the Order in Genesis One with the Order in the Categories in West Africa	1913
Losi, J. B. O.	Iwe Itan Eko	1913
Brounger, S. G.	Nigeria Past and Present: Some Reminiscences	1913
Kuye, J. G.	Colloquial English, or, Ede Gesi	1913
Philips, T. K. E.	Yoruba Church Music: The Beauty of Yoruba Music, Its Relation and Similarity to the European Medieval Music and Its Development for Worship	1914
Dennett, R. E.	West African Categories and the Yoruba Language: Part I - The Vowels	1914
Gaye, J. A.	Yoruba Grammar	1914
Gaye, J. A.	Yoruba Composition	1914

Author	Title	Year
Adeyemi, M. C.	Early Church History, in Yoruba	1914
Adeyemi, M. C.	Iwe Itan Oyo-Ile ati Oyo Isisiyi abi Ago-dOyo	1914
Akinsowan, Akidele	Iwe Itan Ajase	1914
Jones, Melville	The religion of the Cross and the religion of the Crescent - a comparison	1914
Lijadu, E. M.	Iwe Keji Awon Arofo-Orin ti Sobo Aro-bi-Odu	1914
Unknown	So O Fun Jesu	1914
Philips, T. K. E.	Yoruba Church Music: the beauty of Yoruba music, its relation and similarity to the European Medieval Music and its development for worship	1914
Unknown	God save the Queen	1914
Akinyele, I. B.	Iwe Itan Ibadan	1914
Losi, J. B. O.	History of Lagos	1914
Unknown	Bulletin of the Agricultural Department of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria - Arun irugbin ati bi iti wo won san	1914
Howells, M. A.	Kateskismu ti Ijo pelu Itamo die	1914
Unknown	Eko nipa Oluwa wa	1915
Coker, Jacob Kanyinde	Polygamy Defended	1915
Unknown	Awon Imale ti o ndi Onigbagbo ni Ile miran	1915
Unknown	Itan Momodu	1915

Author	Title	Year
Unknown	Iwe Ifa	1915
Deniga, Adeoye	African Leaders	1915
Unknown	Ilana Eko Bibeli fun lilo Ile-Eko Igbimo Ijo pelu Asayan Adura ati Orin	1915
Harwood, T. H.	Moral Instruction	1915
Unknown	Ofin ati Ilana Fun Awon Egbegbe Ijo	1915
Vaughan, J. W.	Urugin Kekere	1915
Howells, M. A.	Awon Akanse Iwasu	1915
Smith, R. S.	A Handbook of Christian Doctrine	1916
Unknown	Awon Orin Asayan fun Akanse Ise Emi ni gbogbo Ile Oba Gesi	1916
Unknown	Synod Report 1916-1917	1916
Adeyemi, M. C.	The History of Ibadan, Iwo, Ikinu, Oshogbo and Oyo	1916
Various	Iwe Kika Ekarun	1916
Unknown	Ranti, Ma Gbagbe	1916
Lakern, J. A.	Awon Owe Ile Wa	1916
Ajisafe, A. K.	Life of Fadipe	1916
Ajisafe, A. K.	Itumo, Ijinle, Ibapada	1916
Ajisafe, A. K.	History of Abeokuta	1916

Author	Title	Year
Ajisafe, A. K.	Asaro Kukurú Fun Awon Imale	1916
Unknown	Imole Ojojumo	1916
Dennett, R. E.	The Ogboni and Other Secret Societies in Nigeria	1916
Folarin, A.	Demise of the Independence of Egba-land (The Ijemo Trouble)	1916
Dennett, R. E.	Christianity in a Nutshell: The Christian's psychological Table of Periodical Law	1916
Dennett, R. E.	My Yoruba Alphabet	1916
Unknown	Iwe Ayarabiasa	1916
Ogunbiyi, T. A. J.	Iwasu	1917
Unknown	Memorial Service for the Late James Johnson	1917
Paulissen	Iwe Kika Ekeji Li Ede Yoruba	1917
Coker, S. A.	The Rights of Africans to Organize and Establish Indigenous Churches Unattached to and Uncontrolled by any Foreign Church Organization	1917
Lugard, F. D.	Ojo Wa	1917
Akintan, E. A.	Training in English	1917
Leigh, Joshua Abiodun	The History of Ondo	1917
Unknown	Katekismu L'Ede Yoruba, a Se Itumo Katekismu Ti Camrai Lati Owo, Awon Ojise Olorun Ti Lyon Ti Mbe Ni Africa	1917



Author	Title	Year
Dennett, R. E.	How the Yoruba Count: and the Universal Order in Creation	1917
Dennett, R. E.	How the Yoruba Count (continued)	1917
Unknown	Nigeria and the Great War	1918
Oke, G. A.	Itan Ijo Omo Ibile, Ti Enia Dudu	1918
Oke, G. A.	A Short History of the U. N. A	1918
Pakenham, E. T.	Imole ati Otito tabi Eko fun awon Akeko	1918
Unknown	Calendar and Short Biography of the Late right Reverend Bishop James Johnson, D.D.	1918
Unknown	Ifarapa Aisan	1918
Campbell, J. G.	Observations on some topics during the administration of Lugard	1918
Unknown	Iwe Itan Bibeli	1919
Abiodun, M. A.	Okuru Olorun	1919
Unknown	Oro Iwasu	1919
Unknown	Yoruba Dictionary	1919
Unknown	Fourah Bay College Calendar for 1919	1919
Liverpool, J. Ben	The Story of Hygeia	1919
Dennett, R. E.	Agricultural Progress in Nigeria	1919
Akintan, E. A.	Prince Eleko and the Government: Being a Report of the	1919

Author	Title	Year
	Proceedings of the Formal Suspension of His Royal Highness, and his Subsequent re-Instatement	
Beyioku, Akin Fagbenro	Education and the Press	1919
Unknown	Eclipses of the sun	1919
Unknown	Irohin Kukurú ti Ipade Sinodu	1920
Ojelabi	"U.P.C.S." Return	1920
Unknown	Katekismu Ekeji Ti Wattí: Lí Ede Yoruba, a Te Iwe Yi Fun Egbe Church Missionary	1920
Unknown	Katekismu Kekere L'ede Yoruba	1920
Sowande, E. J.	Awon Arofo-Orin ti Sobo Arobiodu	1920
Ajisafe, A. K.	Oyel'Agbaiwo	1920
Unknown	Katekismu Tabi Eko Ninu Eyiti a Tumo Awon Pataki Otito Ihin-Rere a Si Yo Eri Pupo I I Lati Inu Bibeli Wa: Papa Fun Ilo Ile Eko Ojo Isimi Ati Ile Eko Miran	1920
Jones, Melville	Isin Kristi	1920
Unknown	Iwe orin Mimo Fun Ilo Ijo Ti Metodisti Ni Ile Yoruba	1920
Lijadu, E. M.	Si gbogbo Ijo Awon Ajihinrere-Iofe	1920
Losi, J. B. O.	Iwe Itan Abeokuta	1921
Johnson, Samuel	The History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate	1921
Kerr, D. L.	Notes on Parsing and Analysis	1921

Author	Title	Year
Ajisafe, A. K.	Kil' e P'oyinbo Se?	1921
Deniga, Adeoye	Nigerian Who's Who, for 1922	1921
Ajisafe, A. K.	Enia Soro	1921
Unknown	Constitution of the Diocese of Lagos (Synod Constitution)	1921
Ajisafe, A. K.	Tan t'Olorun	1921
Ajisafe, A. K.	Aiye Akamara	1921
Unknown	Yoruba Reading Sheets with Pictures	1921
Oke, S. A.	Marriage in the House versus Marriage in the Church: Claims of the Native and the English Ideas	1921
Unknown	West African Churchman's Pamphlet for 1921	1921
Unknown	The Revised Constitution of United Native African	1921
Wyndham, John	Myths of Ife	1921
Unknown	Synod Report for 1921	1921
Unknown	The Easy Reference Almanac for 1921	1921
Unknown	Education in Africa	1922
Unknown	Report of the Diocesan Synod of Lagos for 1922	1922
Akintan, E. A.	Our Children and their Education	1922
Ajisafe, A. K.	Akanse Adura	1922

Author	Title	Year
Unknown	Tropical Hygiene for African Schools	1922
Deniga, Adeoye	Aiye-Eeso	1922
Hughes, D. A.	Charge delivered to the General Conference	1922
Deniga, Adeoye	Oluwa-Jare	1922
Buckle, L. J.	Race-Consciousness in Africa and Abolition of Forced Labour	1922
Unknown	The Nigeria Handbook for 1922-23	1922
Unknown	West African Health Reader	1922
Unknown	West African Churchman's Pamphlet for 1922	1922
Aboyade-Cole	Adura Ebe (African Church Litany)	1922
Blaize, Olu	The Intellectual Soldiery	1922
Ajisafe, A. K.	Orin Mimo Ti Ohum Ile Wa	n.d.
Folarin, A.	Iwe Eko Fun Asikoyi Omo Araiye Soro	n.d.
Rayner, T. C.	Land Tenure in West Africa	n.d.
Wood, J. Buckley	The Inhabitants of Lagos: their Characters, Pursuits and Languages	n.d.
Deniga, Adeoye	Yoruba Titles and their Meanings	n.d.
Deniga, Adeoye	Necessity for a British West African Conference	n.d.
Deniga, Adeoye	Notes on Lagos Street	n.d.

Author	Title	Year
Deniga, Adeoye	What is Religion	n.d.
Temple, C. L.	Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Pvinces of Nigeria	n.d.
Ajisafe, A. K.	Agba D'owo Re	n.d.
Ajisafe, A. K.	Gbadero Alake	n.d.
Bada, S. O.	Bibeli ko Tako Ara re Apa Kini	n.d.
Unknown	Nigeria the Unknown	n.d.
Unknown	Review of St. Paul's Church Breadfruit	n.d.
Obasa, D. A.	Owo Koko	n.d.
Miller, W. R.	Hausa Notes	n.d.
Various	Iwe Kika Ekerin Li Ede Yoruba	n.d.
Various	Iwe Kika Ekerin	n.d.
Ojo, A. S.	Iwe Itan Saki ati Saki Keji	n.d.
Lugard, F. D.	Report in the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria and Administration 1912-1919	n.d.
Amu, J. W.	Oral History Book	n.d.
Babamuboni, I. E.	Itan Ewi Elekole	n.d.
Epega, David O.	Iwe Itan Ijebu ati Awon Ilu Miran	n.d.
Unknown	C.M.S. Bookshop Pocket Almanack and Kalendar	n.d.

Author	Title	Year
Phillips, S. C.	Political Nigeria: Some Suggestions	n.d.
Lawal, M.	Iwe Itan Ma Fi Omo Bu Mi Olorun Lo Nse Omo	n.d.
Beecroft, W. S.	Language Studies in Yoruba	n.d.
Kerr, D. L.	West's Revised English Grammar for Beginners	n.d.
Campbell, J. G.	Brief History of Ayesan 1881-1918	n.d.
Shopekan, J. O.	Holy Names of God	n.d.
Akinjogbin, I. A.	Ife	n.d.
Akindele, J. M.	Itan Li Ede Yoruba	n.d.
Oluwole, I.	Agba Ogoji Odun	n.d.

## Appendix II: Database Entry Forms

### Lagosian Books and Pamphlets

Title:		<input type="text"/>	
Author	<input type="text"/>	City	<input type="text"/>
Author II	<input type="text"/>	Publisher	<input type="text"/>
Language	<input type="text"/>	Year	<input type="text"/>
		pp	<input type="text"/>

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Copy <input type="radio"/> In File <input type="radio"/> Not In File	<input type="radio"/> Hard Copy <input type="radio"/> Electronic copy <input type="text"/>	link: <input type="text"/>
Status <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ok <input type="checkbox"/> Problem	<input type="text"/>	Code <input type="text"/>
		<input type="button" value="Tese"/>

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Books quoted

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Lagosians mentioned

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Impact in the Lagosian intellectual network

Newspapers' articles that mention this title ☐

Researched WNA ☐

Unreg Newspapers

Total Newspapers

Books that mentioned this title ☐

gistro: 248 de 248 Sem Filtro Pesquisar

## Newspapers That Mention Lagosian Books and Pamphlets

Ref abrev   in file ☐ Link

Referencia completa

vol.  issue  p.

Article title  Author

Notes



### Appendix III: W. T. G. Lawson's 1885/7 Lagos Map