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Picturing the Modern Self: Politics Identity and Self Fashioning in Lagos, 1861-1934

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Abstract

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This dissertation traces the introduction and deployment of photograph in colonial Lagos by its varied and diverse populations, all negotiating “strategies of power” through the medium and its myriad applications and readings. This project is situated within the context of other colonial (political and periodic) practices, such as the British colonial Raj and colonial American slavery that suggest parallels in the local adaptations of and imperial struggles with the interpretational opacities of photographs. These notions of multi-vocality of photography are particularly useful when thinking about the use of the medium in colonial Lagos, where the uber-diverse population (consisting of repatriated slave, Muslims, indigenous peoples, European colonials and merchants, and other Africans) inhabited in a complex and ever shifting socio-political landscape. To this point, this project addresses how photographic portraits allowed these subjects to express their multi-positionality and social projects through a medium which was prone to similar opacities. These portraits documented and informed the self and group fashioning projects of black Lagosians and provided aestheticized readings into the intra- and extra-local negotiations that these populations undertook in their colonial milieu.

Moreover, this project engages with the ways in which British colonial administration and their agents similarly deployed photography in the attempt to consolidate their colonial project in the city, and gather Lagosians into the colonial archive. Troubling the works of Allan Sekula and John Tagg, I examine how Lagosians who acted as policing agents of the British colonial state were subjected to controlling and surveilling photographic practices, perhaps even more so than the majority of the population. I also consider the ways in which the archive may be read to give meaning to these photographs and the album-collections into which they are often incorporated. Finally, this dissertation engages with the work of the black African photographer, Neils Walwin Holm and the Lagosian portrait painter, Aina Onabolu to trace how, in the process of acting as visually arbiters for their Lagosian clients, these image-makers also pursued and attained their own independent social projects.

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Introduction: Tracing the Trajectories of Photography in Colonial Contexts: The Concomitant Cases of India, America, and Nigeria

This introductory chapter explores concomitant narratives of photographic portrait practices in mid-nineteenth century colonial India, the United States, and Nigeria, by situating these distinct geo-political locales in broad theoretical relation to each other and pose a series of interrogative questions about how portrait photography was deployed and engaged in these milieus. That is, how (and with what success) was photography mobilized as a state controlled apparatus of hegemonic power production? What were some of the slippages that occurred during this production process? How were colonized subjects able to engage these processes and/or negotiate counter-hegemonic agendas of fashioning? To what degree were these agendas filled or unfulfilled? The politico-ideological parallels in photographic engagements in India, the United States and Nigeria, produce conversational insights into how the genre was mobilized to reflect and influence fashioned identities and relational dynamics within the power differentials of colonial milieus.

This chapter also enlists Sherry Ortner's concept of "serious games" to excavate the ways in which even subjugated subjects pursue their agencies of projects (including visual self-fashioning) from the margins where they are relegated.¹ Ortner's subjects resisted this relegation in the same ways that their portrait photographs resisted fixed interpretations and articulated myriad sanctions that allowed them to do the work of multiple, potentially contradictory projects. That is, these portraits were not simply activated by their social projects or cultural practice of their subjects or their photographers but rather by the "field

¹ Sherry Ortner, *Anthropology and social theory: culture, power, and the acting subject*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006).

of power around the camera”.² To this point, this chapter engages with photographic portrait production with a methodological reflexivity that examines the historical gazes/looks that have activated these photographs, resists the urge to overwrite them with the critical positions of the project and re-articulates the (at times, ambiguous) voices of long silent photographic portraits of marginalized groups in the colonial photographic archives.

Introduced to India in 1840 during the rule of the East India Company, the daguerreotype was initially deployed as an apparatus of surveillance and documentation, largely concerned with picturesque architectural and landscape views, not unlike those obsessively compiled with regards to Egypt.³ After the First War of Independence in 1857 (alternately called the Mutiny of 1857), the rule of the British Raj (1857-1949) began and colonial photographic interest shifted from picturesque architectural and landscape views to include wide-ranging ethnographic studies of indigenous groups (presumably with the aim of better identifying allies and enemies among the populations). Often completed by amateur British colonial officers and agents, these reconnaissance projects, such as *The People of India*, contributed to a growing photographic archive on colonized peoples while excluding these very people from the processes of archival construction.⁴ By the 1870s, large commercial photographers still held much of the lucrative colonial, expatriate, and affluent Indian patronage and continued in the colonial picturesque aesthetic tradition. However, small photographic studios had increased significantly in number and entertained a substantial

² Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photograph* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); 96.

³ Sophie Gordon. “The Colonial Project and the Shifting Gaze,” in *Art and Visual Culture in India, 1857-2007*, edited by Gayatri Sinha (Mumbai: Marg Publications; [New Delhi : Exclusively distributed by Variety Book Depot.], 2009): 58; Julia Ballerini, “Rewriting the Nubian Figure in the Photograph: Maxime Du Camp’s ‘Cultural Hypochondria’” in *Colonialist Photography: Imag(In)ing Race And Place*, edited by Eleanor M Hight; Gary D Sampson (London: Routledge, 2002): 30-50.

⁴ Pinney, 37-40. In fact, there were often little formal or compositional differences between the early works of the European and the local-trained Indian photographers so there was no defining or distinguishing character within the work of either group.

middle class clientele.⁵ These smaller operations also began to experiment with unconventional photographic processes that recombined formal Victorian portrait composition styles with illusory techniques like collage, composite prints, and over-painting. Practiced increasingly in the late nineteenth century milieu, these techniques injected layers of complexity into portrait compositions by flattening planes, introducing unnaturally vibrant colors, and manipulating perspective. These manually altered, reconstituted portraits dislodged their subjects from the frames of colonial archive portrait and relocated them to liminal, retouched photographic spaces that better conveyed unique individuated, sovereign subjects. These popular, local recalibrations of the portrait photograph created an entry point into a locally rooted visuality that evolved, yet stood apart from colonial aesthetics.

This chapter also engages institution slavery in the United States, another former British colony, which escaped this circumstance only to turn its former oppression onto “minority” populations.⁶ Even though this particular “colonial” experience was constituted differently from others, it boasted the same subjugations and racial discourses. Many of the earliest photographic likenesses of black Americans reinforced this dynamic through the voyeuristic and pornographic surveilling, typing, and degrading of these populations. However, even this particularly heinous condition of enslavement during this colonial period was not without its ambiguities and nuances. For one, “autobiographical” slave narratives of the late eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries represented a literary freedom that

⁵ Gordon, 58-71.

⁶ Here, the example of Native American Indian populations also comes to mind. There are a great deal of photographs of various tribes taken by European photographers, however, there is an unfortunate dearth of evidentiary portraits (photographs, engravings or paintings) that arguably suggest *self-fashioning*. This absence makes it difficult to make a case for visual self-fashioning within these communities. James Faris expressed some understandable skepticism about the “possibilities of liberating existing images of Native Americans by Westerners or of reclaiming them to progressive ends” (“Navajo and Photography” in *Photography’s Other Histories*, edited by Christopher Pinney and Nicholas Peterson, Durham: Duke University Press, 2003: 85-99). And I tend to agree. Alternatively, Anne Maxwell makes a slim case for the “direct look” in response to the viewer’s gaze in these portraits as an attempt at resistance by the subjects. However, this argument lacks depth and consistency. [*Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the ‘Native’ and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999): 96-132]

gave their freed or escaped authors a platform from which to articulate past wrongs and continued subjugations enacted against them. However, even this concept of literary freedom was based on the promise of liberal democracy and the over-determined racist socio-structures of colonial society. The authoring of these texts represents an enacted freedom that is further materialized in the frontispiece portraits that often accompany these volumes. These author portraits are particularly interesting visual enunciations of authoritative self that recast subject identities and imbued them with social sanctions and authorities that challenged the master-slave narrative of the savage, shiftless, irredeemably ignoble black subject.⁷ This section addresses the author's construction of a counter-self that challenged the status quo of subjectification through confrontational visuality and textuality. Although this section is situated within the political context of colonial United States, it emphasizes the nuanced practices of British abolitionist movements that, for all their fervency, existed in ambivalent simultaneity with the continued imperial project of the Crown. While portraiture visually articulates the aestheticization of the concerns of its subjects in relation to their writings, it also reveals more ambiguities than it clarifies.

These preceding instances speak to the proposed analyses of portrait photography practices from the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth century in the British colony of Lagos, Nigeria. As an independent, indigenously-governed trading port city and cosmopolitan urban center, Lagos was a bustling amalgamation of interests and populations well before the British reduction of 1851 and later, the annexation of 1861. The city was home to indigenous Yoruba sub-ethnicities from the interior, Muslim and European merchants, myriad West African traders, colonial agents, repatriated slaves from Sierra Leone and Brazil, and their descendants. In this intensely diverse and intermingled setting, it

⁷ Lynn A. Casmier-Paz, "Slave Narrative and the Rhetoric of Author Portraiture," *New Literary History* 34.1 (Winter 2003); 91-116.

is imperative to consider the overlapping socio-cultural categories and functional sanctions by which photographic portraits might be filtered, organized, and understood. While portraits may be framed by the socio-cultural categories that their subjects inhabit –ethnicity, politics, religion, class, gender, and education- these groupings intersect in unquantifiable ways that leave each image with its own particular framing. Similarly, these photographs work under shifting sanctions -missionary, commercial, colonial government, scholastic, touristic- that often interact to create countless lenses through which portraits articulate pluralities of meaning. Ultimately, the variability of socio-cultural categories and sanctions within which photographs work underscores the un-fixedness of the medium. As articulated by Siegfried Kracauer:

“a photograph, whether portrait or action picture, is in character only if it precludes the notion of completeness. Its frame marks a provisional limit; its content refers to other contents outside that frame; its structure denotes something that cannot be encompassed – physical existence”.⁸

Photographic portraits was subject to the same opacities that the medium itself brings about; that is, the capture and transmission of intended/unintended content, resistance to interpretational fixity, and elusiveness of finite readings. To this point, portrait photography functions within a myriad of conflicting and converging agencies and authorities that make the subgenre unavailable to finite annotations—a point that makes these visual materials particularly poignant to the complexly nuanced spaces of colonial encounters and the ensuing unequal power hegemonies.

⁸ Siegfried Kracauer, “Photography” in *Classic Essays about Photography*, edited by Alan Trachtenberg. (New Haven, Conn; Leete’s Island Books, 1980); 264.

1. *New Sights: Photography, Portraiture and Imperial Tourism in the Nineteenth Century*

In 7 January 1839, Louis Daguerre announced the invention of daguerreotype positive photographic method to the world, edging out his British counterpart, William Fox Talbot, who would announce and patent the calotype, a rival negative photographic process, in 1841.⁹ Although these initial methods were expensive, complicated, and cumbersome, they were quickly improved upon.¹⁰ In 1849, Abel Niepce de Saint-Victor's albumen process emerged as the first practicable photographic method but even though the exposed plate could be stored for up to two weeks before being developed, the exposure times for the process were still uncomfortably long.¹¹ Frederick Scott Archer's 1851 wet-collodion process yielded faster exposure times but the preparation and development of the glass plate required that the photographer have access to a darkroom during the entire process, a proposition that was not always possible.¹² Patenting the carte-de-visite (or CDV) in 1854, Andre Adolphe Eugene Disderi, made the mass production of portrait photography cheaper and more widely available to previously excluded populations.¹³ With the 1871 invention of the dry-plate method, the darkroom was no longer necessary to the photographic process as plates could be sent outside of the studio to independent photograph developers, thus making the medium less expensive for practitioners and more appealing for clients.

⁹ Later in January, after Daguerre's announcement, Talbot held an exhibition of several photographs that he had printed several years earlier, in an effort to establish his own claim to the invention. Talbot's calotype had the capacity to produce several positive prints whereas the daguerreotype could only produce the one positive image. Interestingly, the claim for the first successful invention of a photographic method was repeated by a few scientists seeking to claim the prestige of the discovery for their own nations. [Ian Jeffrey, *Photography: A concise history*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981; 15; Liz Wells, *Photography: A critical introduction* (New York [u.a.]: Routledge, 2006); 49-50]

¹⁰ While the patent restrictions of Talbot's process made it expensive to work with, Daguerre's process was patent-free and produced more detailed prints. [James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*. (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); 29]

¹¹ Jeffrey, 17.

¹² Jeffrey, 17.

¹³ In fact, CDVs of famous individuals, royalty, and celebrities were often circulated, cheaply for purchase by the local fans and admirers. [Audrey Linkman, *The Victorians: Photographic Portraits* (London; New York: Tauris Parke Books, 1993); 61-3]

Because of the cumbersome equipment involved in the process, stationary studios were an early and lucrative vehicle for the medium and the already established portrait tradition in Europe and England made portrait photography a particularly well received subgenre of this new technology.¹⁴ With the arrival of the cheaper wet collodion process, photographic portraits became available to a broader population and the genre gradually evolved into something more than a process of chemical capture.¹⁵ Tagg describes the significance of the portrait as

... a sign whose purpose is both the description of an individual and the inscription of social identity. But at the same time, it is also a commodity, a luxury, an adornment, ownership of which itself confers status. The aura of the precious miniature passes over into the early daguerreotype.¹⁶

While on the one hand, the photographic portrait precisely reproduces a fixed moment in time, the process also inscribes sitters with particular identities that derive from codified social conventions and categories that “confer status”. The repetitiveness of photography perpetually reinforces these codifications, and legitimizes a particular set of constructed identities, the social meanings attributed to them, and mores that they symbolize.

In Britain, photographic portraits helped to visually codify “types” of social identities that evolved from a set of moral, normative ideals (i.e. male, Caucasian, heterosexual, physically and mentally healthy, law-abiding, etc) that defined national character and identity.¹⁷ These normative identities contrasted with inferior or deviant social identities (i.e. female or child, non-white, queer, physically or mentally disabled, criminal, etc) that were

¹⁴ In Britain, coal retailer and patent speculator, Richard Beard became the driving force behind the commercialization of the early daguerreotypist process, establishing the Royal Polytechnic Institution in 1841, and controlled the granting of daguerreotypist licenses in England and Wales until 1853. (Linkman, 23-27)

¹⁵ In fact, “it is estimated that more than ninety percent of all daguerreotypes ever taken were portraits” [John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988); 43]

¹⁶ Tagg, 37.

¹⁷ Ryan, 167.

defined in oppositional, often negative, terms of non-belonging. Portraits of these deviant groups often attempted to read immorality, character deficiencies, and similar markers of otherness into these likenesses: “all photographs of ‘types’ were framed by a wider cultural discourse which marked and read human character through visible signs of the human body...theories of physiognomy, the reading of ‘character’ in physical features...and phrenology.”¹⁸ The cultural discourses of difference that framed the construction of ‘types’ were eventually exported to colonial contexts where the same techniques used in Britain were deployed to mark colonial subjects as an irrefutable, and irredeemable other.

By the nineteenth century rise of colonialism, deviant identities were subordinately ordered to normative British identities in the same way that colonial subjects were othered with respect to the British Empire. Ryan writes that

...in the minds of many Victorians, ‘Zulu Kaffirs’ and ‘the insane’...were equally ‘other’ to the white, male and middle-class norm of Victorian culture. It was thus social identities within Britain as well as around the Empire that were implicated in the construction of such ‘others’, often labeled simultaneously as uncivilized, non-white, effeminate, and childlike...the world of the lower classes and criminals at home in ‘darkest London’ could thus be subjected to the processes of exploration and objectification as that of the ‘savage’ traces of ‘darkest Africa.’¹⁹

Although it is unlikely that “‘Zulu Kaffirs’ and the ‘insane’...were *equally* ‘other’” in relation to British normative identities, Ryan rightly recognizes the processes of documentation, cataloguing and objectification that both groups were subjected to through similar techniques of photographic typing. To this point, the hugely popular subgenre of travel photography commercialized these techniques to create a popular photographic archive of

¹⁸ Ryan, 147.

¹⁹ Ryan 145-6.

sensationalized types outside of the Empire, allowing British viewers to project distilled notions of alterity and difference outwardly, beyond their national boundaries and onto those who more clearly bore the physical marks of otherness, such as in India.

2. *India: Racial Indexing, Portrait Retouching, and the local adaptation of portrait Photography*

--The People of India:

In 1840, just one year after its debut in Europe, the daguerreotype method arrived in British East India Company controlled India.²⁰ The medium was “taken up...by amateurs, aspirant professionals, individuals with ‘scientific’ agenda...” including commercial and Indian-run studios.²¹ Under the aegis of the East India Company, early photography was deployed as a tool of surveillance and documentation that attempted a “‘comprehensive photography’ [as] a means of mastering space.”²² In what Christopher Pinney described as the “detective paradigm”, the Company attempted to amass as much information as possible on India and its people in order to better rule its people and pursue their economic interests.²³ Commercial photographers, amateur Indians, Company and colonial agents alike contributed to the photographic documentation of terrain, architectural structure of interest, and landscape views. As Peter D. Osborne argues, the objective of this exercise was the “classifying, recording, census-taking, mapping, displaying and licensing of everything, so rendering it knowable, imaginable and controllable by means of European systems on British

²⁰ “As early as January 1840, Tachker, Spink and Co. of Calcutta advertises imported daguerreotype cameras in the daily *Friend of India*. The earliest known image is a daguerreotype of the Sans Souci Theatre in Calcutta and in 1841 the Bengali newspaper *Sambad Bhaskar* was advertising the willingness of an English resident of Armani Bazaar to make daguerreotype likenesses.” Pinney, 17

²¹ Pinney, 17, 72

²² Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester and New York; Manchester University Press, 2000); 39.

²³ Pinney, 45. Pinney also writes of a particular incident when, “in 1854, the East India Company directed the Bombay Government’s attention ‘to the use of photography on paper, to expedite and economize the labors of the Cave Committee’ which had until then been employing artists to produce archaeological paintings of the cave temples of western India, and further offering to supply photographic equipment for such work”. (57)

terms”.²⁴ Like colonial forays into various other locale, the presence of the British in India was one of orderly indexing of a foreign place into the catalogs of the colonial library.

When indigenous military soldiers of the Bengal Army revolted against British commanders and officers in 1857, their grievances varied from unwanted assignments/posts, to displeasure with pay and promotions, to the annexation of the Oudh region which unseated several high-caste *sepoys* soldiers in the army.²⁵ While the conflict was characterized as a “mutiny” and “insurrection” by British sources because of its origins in the army, it was soon joined by disillusioned rural princes, merchants, landlords, and peasants, in the southern region, while secondary conflicts broke out in the north-western areas.²⁶ By June 1858, the revolt was quelled by the British with help from loyal indigenous groups; however, the violence and surprise of this conflict resonated with the British public and government, putting into doubt previously accepted parameters of the Crown’s relationship with her Indian subjects, for the unanticipated nature of this event made it clear that British agents did not truly know those whom they governed.

After 1858, the British East India Company transferred direct rule in the region to the British Crown and the colonial rule of the British Raj officially began.²⁷ Former Governor-General, Charles John Canning, became the Viceroy of the new colonial holding and put his avid interests in photography to work in his new posting as the head of administration in the colony. His was the impetus behind a new ethnologic photographic campaign to locate, photograph, and compile the various ethnic groups of the new colony in a text that could be used as a colonial reference guide to India and its populations. This

²⁴ Osborne, 40.

²⁵ Barbara Daly Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of India*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); 100.

²⁶ Metcalf and Metcalf, 100-2.

²⁷ The fact that colonial sources referred to the event as “mutiny” and “insurrection” indicates what Britain understood their relationship with India under the East India Company to be and how much of a betrayal they considered the events of 1857-8.

campaign was a marked shift from the preexisting photographic focus on picturesque landscape views and symbolic possession of Indian land to a systematic indexing, typing, and categorizing of Indian peoples and cultures. Although ostensibly proposed as a project of ethnologic, scientific inquiry, the project had underlying imperial implications:

While the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake was the explicit motive for the surveys which had been instituted soon after the beginnings of British rule, they also came to form an integral part of an ideology to tabulate, systematize, and ultimately control the culture of a subcontinent, expanding their concerns to envelope not merely the physical and administrative complexities of India, but also the cultural and historical structure of the country.²⁸

Viceroy Canning and his wife, who were already fans of the medium, had expressed a wish to “carry home with them, at the end of their sojourn in India, a collection, obtained by private means, of photographic illustrations, which might recall to their memory the peculiarities of Indian life.”²⁹ This personal wish to possess a tangible souvenir of distant peoples and cultures is directly related to colonial ideologies of expansion, control, and possession and the Victorian obsession with Travel photography. Moreover, in the wake of the brutal and unexpected violence of the “Mutiny” of 1857-8, such a collection of empirical actionable information could be useful in governing the diverse populations of the country. Canning’s initial desire and its potential colonial applicability inspired an ambitious eight volume photographic project entitled *People of India*, which was published at intervals from 1868 through 1875.³⁰

²⁸ Metcalf and Metcalf, 55. Later, I will elaborate on British influences on local indigenous painting and the establishment of formal, western-style art schools in India in the mid-nineteenth century.

²⁹ Pinney, 34.

³⁰ John Falconer “A Pure Labor of Love: A Publishing History of *The People of India*” in *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, edited by Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson (London and New York; Routledge, 2002); 52.

Entirely photographed, compiled, and published by British officials, *People of India* featured over four hundred and eighty photographic portraits of Indian ethnic groups, along with accompanying descriptive letterpress. Because the focus of the project was never clearly defined, the process was a haphazard one, plagued with administrative setbacks and unplanned expenditures that delayed the final publication of the volumes until 1875. These larger issues manifested in the material content of the volumes, via inconsistencies in the photographic portraits and accompanying letterpress. Because the photographs were taken by different individuals (fifteen of which were acknowledged in the preface), they comprised an inconsistent “mixture of full-face quarter-length portraits, full-length formal portraits with studio paraphernalia and group shots in varying degrees of formality.”³¹ (figs. 1, 2, 3) As expected from ethnologic portraits, individual subjects were given little attention except as examples of their larger socio-ethnic groups.³² These portraits were accompanied by descriptive letterpress captions that also conveyed inconsistencies vis-à-vis the ethnic identifiers used to classify these groups (“caste”, “tribe”, “sects”). However, in spite of these variations, these identifiers did the work of typing these photographs and laying them bare and available for categorization by the British colonial photographic archive, and in the furtherance of the colonial project. Moreover, the way in which these captions consistently evaluated subjects and their affiliated ethnicities in terms of their “capacity for disorder”, “political unreliability” and subject loyalty call attention to how this project could be deployed politically, to identify potential threats to colonial rule, and possibly prevent future uprisings.³³ However, in doing so, these evaluations of loyalty also revealed contradictions between the ways in which subjects were visually homogenized and stereotyped but

³¹ Pinney, 35.

³² Pinney, 44, Falconer, 79.

³³ Pinney, 37, 40.

politically differentiated and individuated, simultaneously subjugated and singled out for purposes of control.³⁴ Although this project was executed entirely within the authority of the British colonials, the discrepancies in the images and texts of *People of India* indicate a deeper, tension inherent in this totalizing photographic catalogue. That is, the photographic volumes showed pluralities not homogeneity, confusion not authority in the various depictions, terminologies, and political distinctions associated with the colonized people that this project sought to index.

--Over-painted portrait photographs:

In addition to its state use in projects like the *People of India*, photography was also practiced by large commercial ventures, small-scale local studios, and a few amateurs from the early 1840s onwards. Early commercial studios often depended on lucrative government commissions, maintained multiple locations across the country, and kept numerous Indian and British photographers on staff.³⁵ Small-scale studios depended on British residents, tourists, upper-class Indian clients for patronage. These businesses often ventured outside of the studio for special occasions like sports events, regal visits, and ceremonies. Because these early commercial and smaller studios had such diverse staff, it is difficult to differentiate their production by ethnic identity

The attempt to sort images and practitioners into categories of ‘Indian’ and

‘Western’...is fraught with difficulties since many Indian studios had largely

³⁴ John Tagg provides a more thorough discussion of the ways in which ostensibly excluding practices serve a power and knowledge producing purpose for the state in which they are mobilized. However, as the medium of photography itself is subject to the “power relations which invest it” and state practices produce their own resistance, these photographs may also work outside of the dominant narratives of power production through which they are activated. (87-8)

³⁵ Gordon, 61.

European clientele, and many studios had mixed ownership or became Indian-owned without visible changes in the product.³⁶

However, this marking out makes it clear that Indians participated in photography as clients and practitioners, actively contributing to the evolution of the photographic tradition in the country. By the 1850s, several small Indian-run studios were established in Calcutta and Bombay, and by 1857, thirty out of one hundred members of the Photographic Society of Bengal were Bengali.³⁷ Of these, many were upper-class university-educated amateur photographers that pursued the practice as a hobby. In addition to these amateurs, photography “appealed to the princely classes, with a number of them either learning the technique themselves or employing court photographers”.³⁸

In spite of the variety of regions and clients served by early photographers, the European aesthetic dominated the early works produced by these individual photographers, small, and commercial studios. Perhaps this is not so surprising considering that many early photographers were trained in this Western-originated medium by British teachers and manuals with expertise “ensconced in a repertoire of pre-existing practices that were easily replicated”.³⁹ However, even though the medium of photography was new to India and replicated Victorian aesthetics, there was a long-established painting and portrait tradition in the country that predated the British Raj by centuries and was particularly active, especially among the Mughal, Rajput, and Rajastani, among others.⁴⁰ (figs. 4, 5) By the end of the eighteenth century, affluent Indian patrons of these painting traditions (nawabs, maharajas,

³⁶ Pinney, 95.

³⁷ Malavika Karlekar gives a discussion of early photography in Bengal and its role in the construction of social and family histories. (*Re-Visioning the Past: Early Photography in Bengal; 1875-1915* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

³⁸ Gordon, 62.

³⁹ Pinney 72. That is, just as Victorian portrait photography in Britain derived many conventions from the pre-existing traditions of portrait painting, so did the transmission of photography to other contexts -colonial India- take from the originating milieu – Victorian England.

⁴⁰ Joan Cummins, *Indian Painting: from Cave Temples to the Colonial Period*. Boston: MFA publication, 2006.

and merchants) had developed a taste for naturalism and British Academic Style prompting indigenous artists to begin experimenting with these styles and ideas of artist progress.⁴¹ In the 1850s, an ambitious art policy was initiated by the Raj that established art schools all over the country and trained local artists in British styles, media, and techniques.⁴² Painters engaged with both indigenous and colonial forms that resulted in new articulations of local painting traditions, the demand for which would begin to falter by the later quarter of the nineteenth century.⁴³

In the late nineteenth century, these local painting traditions found another route of expression in the growing demand for retouched portrait photographs, particularly those of Indian subjects. As described earlier, photographic portrait studios were compliant spaces where subjects could visually construct their self-image and perform desired identities. These stagings were then captured by the print or glass plate and granted authenticity by the rhetorical photographic “transparency” of the medium.⁴⁴ However, one particular technique of over-painting added a layer of material and conceptual opacity to these portraits that undermined “transparency” and called attention to the original in-studio performances and fantasies that brought these portraits into being in the first place. This doubled manipulation (first in the studio, then in the over-painting) situated these portraits in a materially and conceptually liminal visual space that was accentuated by the dissonances of flattened picture fields, unnaturally vibrant colors, and manipulated perspective (fig. 6) Compared to the

⁴¹ Partha Mitter, “Indian Artists in the Colonial Period: The Case of Bombay” in *Art and Visual Culture in India, 1857-2007*, edited by Gayatri Sinha. (Mumbai: Marg Publications; [New Delhi : Exclusively distributed by Variety Book Depot.], 2009): 24-5

⁴² Mitter; 24-39.

⁴³ When photography emerged later in the nineteenth century, many of these painter were retrained as photographers, a crossover that plausibly “led to direct overlaps between painterly and photographic practices and imagery.” (Pinney 95) In fact, photographers who were not adept would often hire artists or send their prints out of their studios to be painted. [Judith Mara Gutman, *Through Indian Eye: 19th and early 20th century Photography from India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); 105-115]

⁴⁴ Tagg, 35.

intensity and frequency of the practice in many parts of India, similar retouching techniques in British portrait photographs in England were relatively modest.

for Indian practitioners, the application of paint to the surface of the photographic image did not appear to raise the same paradoxes that it did for many European practitioners... numerous Indian examples dating from the 1860s deploy paint as much more than a supplement to the photographic image; rather, the overlay of paint completely replaces the photographic image in such a way that all or most of it is ‘obscured’.⁴⁵

As in the portrait of “The Raja from Patiala” (c. 1875) (fig. 7) over-painting reduced descriptive photograph to a mere outline, a sketched canvas atop of which a more evocative, hyper-real layering of color, shades, and tones was added. As thickly applied paints obscured the identifying visual traits of the photograph, they also confused the classification of the portrait: is the portrait a photograph? Does the intensity of the overlay make it a painting? Can the portrait be both simultaneously and neither all at once? In the portrait of “The Raja from Patiala” the Raja’s head was rendered in an extremely painterly manner that left no trace of the photograph underneath; however below the neck, the subject was rendered in alternating photographic, painterly, and mixed styles. While the Raja’s robe and sleeves were completely over-painted, his hands and lower body retained traces of the photographic base. The royal robes were painted in conflicting patterns that rendered each fold in a different perspective field, creating a troubling optical illusion. In this same vein, the large gold bejeweled broach on the Raja’s robe was painted such that it seemed to occupy the same plane as the robe itself, as if it were embroidered unto the fabric and not a separate object altogether. The portrait background was lightly painted over in uniform darker neutral color,

⁴⁵ Pinney 77, 79.

allowing the brightly rendered figure of the Raja to stand out with a striking contrast that could not be accomplished in conventional photographic portraiture. Ultimately, these material manipulations allowed portrait photographs, like that of the Raja, to resist the fixity of conventional material definition and directly implicate the subject in this defiance of interpretational fixity.

Over-painting was a relatively populist trend in portrait photography in India that represented a distinctive, locally-rooted, aesthetic sensibility, both evoking pre-colonial traditions of painting and portraiture and incorporating the technological advancements of photography. Unlike the typing and categorizing effected by the ethnographic portraits in *People of India*, these portraits de-prioritized documentary verisimilitude, and emphasized the specificity of the subjects as individuals occupying uniquely rendered, customized, hyper-real, visual spaces. These intense, locally-adapted over-paintings made photographic portraits appear “unnatural” and surreal, while speaking to oft repeated complaints in British colonial administrative and anthropological literature that “in India, nothing is as it seems.”⁴⁶ Over-painted portraits were a poignant example of one way in which photography was adapted to Indian aesthetic sensibility while also resisting the colonial demands for representational and interpretational fixity.

3. Subjects and Authors: Slavery, Scientific Daguerreotypes, and Author Portraits in the colonial United States

--Agassiz' Daguerreotypes:

In June 1850, Louis Agassiz, professor of zoology and geology at Harvard University, traveled to Columbia, South Carolina to find evidentiary proof for the theory of polygenesis. Along with Dr. Samuel Morton, Agassiz theorized that “the races of mankind

⁴⁶ Pinney 20.

had been separately created as distinct and unequal species,” and therefore, non-Caucasians (especially those of African descent) and Caucasians were not races of the same species, but completely different species altogether.⁴⁷ While this theory received criticism from religious sectors for its anti-creationism implications, it was immensely popular among pro-slavery circles, who considered it to be scientific substantiation of their politico-economic subjugation of African-American slaves; for if black slaves were not the same *species* as free whites then they were not entitled to be treated with the same socio-legal rights. However, Agassiz’ theory had to be proven with scientifically quantifiable evidence and methods, which he found in Columbia, South Carolina where he toured several plantations and selected seven slaves as study specimens.⁴⁸ Friend and colleague, Robert W. Gibbes hired the photographer J. T. Zealy to daguerreotype the selected African-American slaves and forwarded the plates to Agassiz in Boston, Massachusetts. (figs. 8-14)

One of the few extant photographs of African-American slaves from this period, these daguerreotypes were framed and sanctioned as objects of scientific scrutiny with none of the individualism accorded to typical “portraits” made of free, white subjects. Each subject was captured in five standard poses, divided into two series; the first series showed front, side, and back views and the second series showed close facial and torso studies, which were meant to expose these slaves to scientific study and measurement and extrapolate “assessments of moral character, manner and social habits”.⁴⁹ In contrast to the Victorian conventions of portraiture whereby the photographic studio was inscribed as a

⁴⁷ Brian Wallis, “Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz’s Slave Daguerreotypes” *American Art* 9.2 (summer 1995); 42.

⁴⁸ The slaves were identified by name, country of origin, plantation, and owner: Renty, Congo. Plantation of Benjamin F. Taylor, Esq; Alfred, Foulah, Belonging to I. Lomas, Columbia, SC; Jack, Guinea, Plantation of B. F. Taylor, Esq.; Drana, Jack’s daughter, Plantation of B. F. Taylor, Esq.; Delia, Renty’s daughter, PB. F. Taylor, Esq.; Fassena, Mandingo, Plantation of Wade Hampton II; Jem, Gullah, Belonging to F. N. Green. (Wallis, 43-47)

⁴⁹ Wallis, 49.

space for performing social identities and status, the space in which these daguerreotypes were taken exaggerated the subjectification and dehumanization of these African-American slaves such that no individuating identities were possible. These images represented the polar opposite of the portrait conventions that were reserved for free whites, the normative against which the deficiencies of enslaved people were measured. Stripped and impassive, these slaves were placed before dark, unornamented backdrops, arms hanging at their sides, eyes staring directly into the camera and out at the viewer. Compelled to participate in their own debasement, their unflinching confrontational stares suggest an unspoken challenge that their enslaved condition undoubtedly prevented them from expressing outright. Constrained from self-expression, divested of clothing and socio-cultural rights, Agassiz's theory sought to further dispossess these slaves by challenging their universal humanity on the basis of pseudo-scientific speculation.⁵⁰ Stripped of any agency and re-inscribed as proprietary subjects, they were physically possessed by their owners, scientifically co-opted by Agassiz, and ideologically objectified by both pro- and anti-slavery movements in the United States.

Although Agassiz' "portraits" of these African-American slaves were created specifically for his ontological, scientific study, these daguerreotypes provide access into significant political debates around the continuation of slavery. In his insightful article "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz' Slave Daguerreotypes", Brian Wallis suggests that

...these proslavery images functioned as a type of pornography...that other regime of photography so central to the 1850s (at least in Europe) and so exclusively concerned with the representation of the tactile surface of the human body. While there is no absolute connection between photographs of the nude body and

⁵⁰ Agassiz also had an extreme personal prejudice against people of African descent. (Louis Menand, "Morton, Agassiz, and the Origins of Scientific Racism in the United States" *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 34 (Winter 2001-2); 110-113)

pornography, the vaguely eroticized nature of the slave daguerreotypes derives from the unwavering, voyeuristic manner with which they indiscriminately survey the bodies of the Africans, irrespective of the subjects' lives.⁵¹

By limiting his reading of the eroticized voyeurism of these slaves to a visual-sexual consumption of naked bodies, Wallis performs an uncritical surface reading of the nudity in these portraits that evokes Greenblatt's notion of "wonder", which is described as "the power of the displayed object to stop the view in his or her tracks, to convey an arresting sense of uniqueness, to evoke an exalted attention".⁵² He neglects to interrogate the deeper socio-historical and ideological "resonance" of the link between sexual exploitation, institutional slavery, and concurrent cultural practices and movements, wherein "resonance" is contrastingly defined as "the power of the displayed object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which it will be taken by the viewer to stand".⁵³ I contend that the pornographic potential of these images did not simply lie in their physical nakedness but rather in how they were ideologically resituated and mobilized.

Building on Wallis' tentative reading of Agassiz' daguerreotypes, I argue that these portraits were simultaneously inscribed as pornographic fantasies of hegemony that reproduced the depraved oppression of institutionalized slavery and pornographic battle cries of philanthropy that nurtured the sanctimonious patronage of anti-slavery activism. As

⁵¹ Wallis 54.

⁵² Stephen Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder" in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); 42. Interestingly, in *Reading American photographs: images as history, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*, Alan Trachtenberg attempts a reading of Agassiz' daguerreotypes that indirectly engages the problematic slave-master dialectic within which these portraits are set by theorizing the nakedness of the slaves together with their naked stares, as indicative of the "public masks" or personas that they lack. Further, Trachtenberg discusses the ways in which this nakedness of body, sight and mask implicates viewers in their own entrapment within a system of representation just as the slave subjects are trapped within a system of institutionalized slavery.

⁵³ Greenblatt, 42.

fantasies of hegemony, these daguerreotypes rearticulated the absolutism of white “colonial” controls over these subjects who had no recourse but to submit to the humiliations of this objectifying photographic process and any other to which they might be subjected. As such, these daguerreotypes visually reproduced the euro-hegemonic agenda of pro-slavery factions while fueling its ideological stances. On the other hand, these portraits also spoke to contrasting abolitionist positions that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, embraced the religious, puritanical rhetoric of “predatory avarice” and “sinfulness” to describe and condemn the institution of slavery.⁵⁴ These rhetorical attacks invoked libidinous sexual transgressions that were often perpetuated upon slaves by their masters and linked these depraved episodes to the exercise of hegemonic power that sustained the institution in the first place, urging slave owners to renounce these pornographic desires.⁵⁵ While many abolitionists did not necessarily question the intellectual and biological inferiority of African-American slaves, Agassiz’ daguerreotypes represented pornographic propaganda through which sanctimonious philanthropy towards these groups could be articulated. That is, abolitionists often peddled works like these daguerreotypes to exploit the traumatic experience of slaves, call attention to the immorality of the institution, and ultimately, perform their own redemptive positions. Agassiz’ daguerreotypes demonstrate how inextricably African-American slaves were connected with the abject subjugation by both pro- and anti-slavery camps.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Carol Lasser, “Voyeuristic Abolitionism: Sex, Gender, and the Transformation of Antislavery Rhetoric” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 28 (Spring 2008); 83-114.

⁵⁵ Ronald G. Walters, “The Erotic South: Civilization and Sexuality in American Abolitionism” *American Quarterly* 25.2 (May, 1973); 177-201.

⁵⁶ To reiterate this point, Rachel Hall describes how “abolitionists made and circulated persuasive images of two idealized slave types; the suffering and the redeemed slave. They distributed iconic images and sentimental portraits of slaves together with vivid narratives to elicit empathetic identification in white listeners. . . it is possible to see multiple traditions of photographic and discursive ventriloquism, wherein the black body bears diverse white messages.” (“Missing dolly, Mourning Slavery: The Slave Notice as Keepsake” *Camera Obscura* 61 21.1, (2006); 70-103)

While there was no *self-fashioning* impetus in Agassiz' daguerreotypes on the part of the featured South Carolinian slaves, there were other contemporaneous circumstances in which African Americans in slavery era were able to engage in self-directed portraiture projects. In particular this section examines the way in which slave narratives functioned as articulations of citizenship, assertions of free selves, and autobiographical self-fashioning projects that spoke for the author. However, rather than reading these narratives simply as written texts, I attempt to engage with them through Henry Louis Gates' notion of "speakerly" texts which

... privilege the representation of the speaking black voice, of what the Russian Formalists called *skaz* and which Hurston and Reed have called "an oral book, a talking book" (a figure which occurs, remarkably enough, in five of the first six slave narratives in the black tradition).⁵⁷

As Gates writes, early slave narratives were often written in a vernacular, oratory style that privileged the "speaking black voice", thus making these texts less like written documents and more like "an oral book, a talking book."⁵⁸ To this point, the orality of these texts allowed them to *speak* for authors, in the same way as the frontispiece portraits and prefatory notes that preceded the main text, and corroborated the voice of the author. These portraits and prefatory endorsements were necessary genre components that authenticated the voices

⁵⁷ Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "The "Blackness of Blackness": A Critique of the Sign and the Signifying Monkey" *Critical Inquiry*, 9.4 (Jun., 1983); 698-9.

⁵⁸ Of the two authors discussed in this section, Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass, only Truth was actually illiterate and so had to dictate her narrative to her neighbor, Olive Gilbert to document them. Although this was not the case in Truth's narrative, she was often quoted by newspapers and other authors speaking in a vernacular "Negro dialect" that marked her as an illiterate, ignorant product of slavery. To this point, the speakerly characteristic that I refer to concerning these texts lies in the fact that they *tell* the life histories of the author in storytelling forms that evoke the conventions of oral traditions, not in the dialect that they use (Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American photographs : images as history, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 1989); 52-60)

of ex-slave authors to their readers before their stories were even presented. Prefatory notes, which were predominantly written by white supporters, guaranteed the authenticity and moral character of the author to the largely white readership, while frontispiece portraits depicted these authors as genteel and well-integrated members of society. However, despite the roles of frontispiece portraits in framing ex-slave authors as respectable and believable voices, figures, and citizens, these images are rarely studied with as much vigor as the narrative text, the *written* portrait. As Lynn A. Casmier-Paz writes,

...the author portraits become, in some cases, persuasive tools for abolitionist arguments... since the portraits appear before, or outside, the texts, as such they are ‘paratextual’ elements, whose “threshold, or zone of transaction” functions to persuade the reader regarding the (auto) biographical objectives of slave narratives as life writings... The portraits become meaningful when readers bring to them an ability to read the signs of race and class, privilege and bondage.⁵⁹

Activated by the contexts in which they are deployed, these portraits are mutable artifacts that attempt a dramatic re-inscription of the author’s identity from enslaved to sovereign individual. In this section, I scrutinize the integral role that portraiture played in these narratives and the larger self-fashioning projects of two ex-slave authors, Frederick Douglas and Sojourner Truth, paying close attention to the ways in which their likenesses articulate or silence these projects, and speak to broader developments in self-fashioning among African-American populations in the colonial United States.

--Frederick Douglass:

Although his literacy enabled Frederick Douglass to maintain sovereignty over his literary voice in his 1845 *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave, Written by*

⁵⁹ Casmier-Paz, 91.

Himself, his portrait depiction in the text was a much less satisfactory matter. Born into slavery in Maryland in 1818, Douglass was taught to read by Mrs. Auld, his first master's wife.⁶⁰ By the time Douglass escaped bondage in 1838, Douglass was literate enough to pen his autobiography which was published in 1845 by the American Anti-Slavery Society. Douglass' *Narrative* was a hugely popular account of the life of the ex-slave that sold 5,000 copies within its first four months, and 30,000 by 1860.⁶¹ The two prefatory notes that preceded the text of the narrative were written by William Lloyd Garrison, an avid abolitionist and Douglass's erstwhile mentor, and Wendell Phillips, Esq, both very active member of the abolitionist movement.⁶² These recommendation letters were accompanied by an engraved frontispiece portrait (fig. 15) that depicts a young Douglass, with signature parting in his long, combed hair. He wears his typical well-fitted dark suit and vest, with a cloth loosely tied around his neck and although his surrounding are voided in this portrait, Douglass rests his right forearm on an unseen surface, drawing it across his body and enclosing the bust-like portrait. The engraving was rendered in a half-shaded manner that left Douglass' arm and torso area unattended to, thereby giving the likeness the appearance of being incomplete.

A comparison of this engraving to a selection of Douglass's other extant portraits reveals some interesting aesthetic themes in the author's portrayal. The frontispiece portrait engraving was very similar to an unattributed painted portrait of Douglass dating to 1844, just before the *Narrative* was published. (fig. 16) The painting was very evocative of the engraving, save for the fact that it was rendered in color and Douglass' entire bust has been fully painted and articulated. Colin S. Westerbeck suggests that the engraved frontispiece

⁶⁰ John W Blassingame, "Introduction" in *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave, Written by Himself*. (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2001; xvii.

⁶¹ James Matlack, "The Autobiographies of Frederick Douglass." *Phylon* 40.1 (1st Qtr., 1979): 15.

⁶² Blassingame, xvii.

portrait and the painted portrait of Douglass may have originated from a now lost daguerreotype but, without corroboration, he concedes that,

All that is certain is Douglass' unhappiness with the engraving. "I am displeased with it not because I wish to be," he wrote to his Glasgow publisher, "but because I cannot help it. I am certain the engraving is as good as the original portrait. I do not like it."⁶³

What did it mean that Douglass disliked the engraved portrait that was so prominently featured in his *Narrative*? While the portrait performed the basic purpose of identifying him to his audience, Douglass deemed it lacking in aesthetic appeal thus diminishing the value and efficacy of this likeness, in relation to the autobiographical self-fashioning objective of his *Narrative*. Perhaps it was the incomplete rendering of the engraving that Douglas so disliked or perhaps it was the lack of intensity and presence that some of Douglass' other daguerreotypes easily exuded. (figs. 17-18) Two later photographic portraits show Douglass gazing intently out of the picture frame directly at the viewer (or rarely at an imaginary beyond) with looks of gravity, resolve, and focus. However, unlike these daguerreotypes, the engraving and painted portrait soften Douglass' look to the point where his features are almost romanticized. Whatever the reason for Douglass' opinion on the engraving, the level of awareness that he expressed in proclaiming his dislike was significantly absent in, for example, the case of Agassiz' South Carolinian slave subjects. However, in both cases, the results were still the same; that is, unsatisfactory portraits that served the basic purpose of representation, but silenced rather than reflected the subject's own aesthetic desires.

⁶³ This situation is an interesting reversal to expected norms because the daguerreotype is the fleeting medium in this situation, and the establish media of painting and engraving outlast the technology as remnants copies. (Colin S. Westerbeck Frederick Douglass Chooses His Moment", *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 24.2 African Americans in Art: Selections from The Art Institute of Chicago (1999): 148)

While in his own case, Douglass' dislike of the portrait derived from his aesthetic perception of the work and the medium in which it was rendered, he later expressed reluctance to cede control over his photographic portrait to just any mediator. He was preoccupied with retaining control over his own literary and visual representation:

Negroes can never have impartial portraits at the hands of white artists...It seems to us next to impossible for white men to take likenesses of black men, without grossly exaggerating their distinctive features.⁶⁴

Douglass' self-consciousness about depictions of his person was endemic of his deep-seated suspicion of ceding his agency and his desire to mediate his own history and cultivate credibility as a free man. Through his *Narrative*, he attempted to establish the sort of *authority* and credibility that had long been denied to him because of his race and status. To this point, it seems likely that he considered the portrait extricable from the written narrative itself:

...Douglass knew well that the central problem he faced was to establish credibility. To do so he adopted several strategies. First he placed a daguerreotype of himself on the book's frontispiece and signed his name below it. Before the reader had even begun the *Narrative*, they had seen a reproduction of the author and of his handwriting, evidence of his literacy...⁶⁵

Linked together on the frontispiece of the narrative, Douglass' portrait and signature invoked his credibility and conveyed the double significance of his likeness and literacy; where the absence of one or the other could potentially dilute the efficacy of Douglass' autobiographical self-fashioning project, as a whole.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Westerbeck, 155.

⁶⁵ Blassingame, xxxii-xxiii.

⁶⁶ Westerbeck also evokes Douglass's "most often-repeated talks...entitled "Self-Made Men by which he meant those capable of Horatio Alger success stories but also of a more transcendental vision of individual freedom such as that described in Emerson's famous 1841 essay "Self-Reliance". It would follow from Douglas' views

On the one hand, Douglass' *Narrative* was an accomplished critique of the slavery institution, an articulation of his equal humanity and citizenship, and a chronicle of his struggle from slave property to freedman in American society; on the other hand, the text also *re*-inscribed Douglass as an enslaved individual. Douglass' autobiography was so popular that he soon became well-known in the United States, thereby exposing him to the threat of recapture and re-subjugation under federal laws. For the state, Douglass' *Narrative* was a confession of his illegal escape from bondage, and his frontispiece portrait (that he so disdained) became a criminal mugshot, which, more than anything, *visually identified* him as the writer of the text.⁶⁷ That is, in addition to fashioning Douglass as an intelligent, individuated, free individual, the *Narrative* and frontispiece portrait (with Douglass' signature) also exposed him to the institution that he had once escaped, returning him to slave subjectivity.⁶⁸ The danger was such that shortly after *Narrative* was published in 1845, the American Anti-Slavery Society arranged for Douglass to go a speaking tour to Great Britain, where there was "too pure an air for a slave to breathe in",⁶⁹ ostensibly to promote the

that one's portrait too, must be self-made." (134) If so, Douglass' rejection of this portrait effectively dislocated it from his approved repertoire of self-making or self-fashioning devices.

⁶⁷ Tagg has written extensively on how photography has been used to produce and reinforce state power, particularly through the institutions, like asylums, hospitals, courts and prisons. In an interesting these ideas, the way in which Douglass' author portrait was re-inscribed as a sort of mugshot of an escaped slave, demonstrates how likenesses are subordinated to the power relations that invest them. By using Douglass' portrait to identify his criminality, the likeness is displaced from his individuating self-fashioning project (slave narrative) and relocated under the umbrella of state regulative controls.

⁶⁸ Rachel Hall describes the runaway notice for a slave named "Dolly" which was posted by her owner, Louis Manigault in 1863, which featured a photograph of the missing slave, in addition to a detailed description of her physical attributes, personality characteristics, and possible causes for her absconding (i.e. bad influences from Yankees, running off with a romantic interest, etc.) The inclusion of Dolly's photograph is evocative of John Tagg discussion of photographs to identify criminals, the insane, poor, etc Like Douglass' portrait, Dolly's portrait is both indicates that escape is possible but also marks the subjects with racialized, criminality for simply control her own movements.

⁶⁹ In the 1772 case of *Somerset v. Stewart*, the judge Lord Mansfield determined that once the slave Somerset was brought to England voluntarily by his owner Stewart, he could not then be coerced in England on the basis of American law. Although the ruling stopped short of declaring slaves free in England, it opened the door for that broad interpretation, or to the suggestion that slavery could only be supported by positive English law. The idea that "England was too pure an air for a slave to breathe in" came from this ruling, and suggested both that "slavery is inconsistent with the English idea of freedom but also that slavery itself is a contaminating or

autobiography but undoubtedly to protect him from recapture, as well. Douglass stayed in Britain for twenty-one months during which time, his “supporters... raised funds and paid \$710.96 to purchase his emancipation from his legal owner in Maryland, thereby scandalizing many Abolitionists who condemned payment for human flesh on any pretext”.⁷⁰ That Douglass received the sympathies of British supporters was an ironic development considering the aggressive, racially motivated imperial expansionist agenda of Great Britain into Africa and Asia, at this time.⁷¹ Ultimately, the purchase of Douglass’ freedom by his white supporters demonstrated that, in spite of his claims and aspirations to self-attained individuation, Douglass was still marked as a proprietary body and subjected to the objectification of slavery.⁷²

--Sojourner Truth:

In contrast to Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth was slightly more successful and proficient in maintaining and parlaying her reproductive control over her likeness into benefits for herself, while her *authority* over her literary voice was much less secure. Born into slavery in New York around 1797, Truth, also known as Isabella Van Wageningen, was emancipated by law in 1827. In perhaps her first act of self-fashioning, Isabella changed her name to Sojourner Truth in 1843, after being born again under the guidance of Methodist

polluting influence”, thereby marking the slave as its agent. (Cheryl I. Harris, “‘Too Pure an Air’: Somerset’s Legacy from Anti-Slavery to Colorblindness” *Texas Wesleyan Law Review* 13 (2007); 439-458)

⁷⁰ Matlack, 16.

⁷¹ Interestingly, the abolitionist movement in Britain and the United States had the same socio-religious overtones as the colonialist drive of the mid through late nineteenth centuries, that is, to redeem slaves to the Christianity and draw them into the fold of civilized society.

⁷² However this indelible inscription was not restricted to the time of colonial slavery alone. As Saidiya V. Hartman’s argues, even in the post-Emancipation Period, freed African-Americans were still conscripted by a “burdened individuality” that left them with an illusory, incomplete freedom that functioned analogously as the conditions of slave bondage. Hartman writes that “...Although emancipation resulted in a decisive shift in the relation of race and status, black subordination continued under the aegis of contract. In this regard, the efforts of Southern states to codify blackness in constitutions written in the wake of abolition and install new measures in the law that would secure the subordination of freed black people demonstrate the prevailing disparities of emancipation.” [Saidiya V. Hartman. *Scenes of subjection: Terror, slavery, and self-making in nineteenth-century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); 119]

Pentecostal preacher, Prophet Mathias.⁷³ In response to the increasing popularity of slave narratives in the 1840s, Truth began writing her own *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* in 1846.⁷⁴ Her illiteracy made it necessary for her to collaborate with her white abolitionist neighbor and member of the Northampton Association of Education and Industry, Olive Gilbert, to whom she dictated her story.⁷⁵ During the dictation process, Gilbert's interjected her own opinions and comments into Truth's recitations. Among some of her most egregious interventions, Gilbert dismissed Truth's pronouncements of forgiveness towards her owners, embellished the narrative with stories from other quarters, and questioned Truth's fitness as a mother.⁷⁶ That these problematic revisions to Truth's self-asserting narrative were perpetuated by Gilbert (Truth's white mediator) puts into question the value of prefatory notes—here, written by Truth's, editor Frances Titus—as guarantees of the black author's morality and veracity, while exempting white contributors from similar policing. In spite of the compromised integrity of Truth's *Narrative*, the text sold well and later editions were printed in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s.⁷⁷

Like Douglass' text, Truth's *Narrative* featured an unattributed frontispiece portrait of Sojourner Truth in her prior life as Isabella Van Wagenen that paled in comparison to Truth's later interest in commissioning her own portraits (fig. 19). While the close-up frontispiece of Sojourner Truth seemed like her enough to have been copied from a photograph, Nell Irwin Painter writes that although the frontispiece portrait was thought to be derived from “a photograph of Truth as Isabella ... no such photograph was ever

⁷³ Shirley Wilson Logan (editor), *With Pen and Voice: A Critical Anthology of Nineteenth-century African-American Women*. (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1995): 18; Nell Irwin Painter, *Sojourner Truth A Life, A Symbol*. (W. W. Norton & Company: New York, 1996); 73-6.

⁷⁴ Painter (1996), 185.

⁷⁵ Painter (1996), 102.

⁷⁶ Nell Irwin Painter “Introduction” in *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* (Penguin: New York, 1998); xv, xvii.

⁷⁷ Having printed the first edition on credit through the independent printer, George Brown Yerrinton, “the debt weighed heavily on Truth until she was able to repay it fully in the early 1850s”. The success of the *Narrative* also allowed Truth to pay the mortgage on her own home. (Painter (1996), 110-1)

taken... [The] drawing by an unknown artist is from imagination and appears in all editions of the *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*’.⁷⁸ This portrait exercised the same inventive license that Gilbert’s used in recording Truth’s narrative, and is equally unconnected to the author’s own desires and sensibilities. While a faithful enough representation, this frontispiece was nothing compared to the photographs and cartes-de-visite that Truth commissioned of herself and sold to the public of her own volition.

Cheap, portable, and easily reproducible, cartes-de-visite (or CDVs) were a hugely popular photographic format in the United States in the 1860s. CDVs spanned a wide range of categories including publicity photographs of celebrities, anti-Confederate propaganda, and fund-raising devices for various causes. When Sojourner Truth began to engage the format in 1863, the photographic portraits that she commissioned portrayed her as a respectable, pious, matronly, comfortably settled woman, nothing like the stereotypical images that the American public had come to associate with slaves (vis-à-vis Agassiz’s portraits).⁷⁹ In one of her first photographic portraits, Truth is dressed modestly in the Quaker style: a dark dress, with a white shawl thrown over her shoulder, and her hair neatly wrapped in a small white scarf (FIG 20). She sits genteelly in a small chair, with her knitting needles in her left hand, and her frail right hand curled awkwardly around a loose thread of yarn in her lap. Her left elbow rests casually on a small table which also holds a vase of fresh flowers and a small book. Even though she was illiterate all of her life, the photograph depicted her with this book and wearing a set of spectacles; markers of the formal education

⁷⁸ Painter (1996), 109.

⁷⁹ Deborah Poole elaborates on the phenomenon of the CDV writing that “for the subject, the decision to pose for a carte-de-visite was a momentous one. The image that would be captured and immortalized through the lens—and circulated through society—would remain unalterable testimony to his or her moral, spiritual, and material achievement. It was an image in which the individual was expected to transcend her worldly self and to reconfirm the moral and physical beauty that would stand as evidence of her soul’s unique, immortal essence. [Deborah Poole, *Vision, race, and Modernity: A visual economy of the Andean image world* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); 109-110]

and intelligent authority that she was denied all her life. Throughout her life, Truth had been characterized as an ignorant, uneducated example of blackness, most famously by Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose 1863 article in the *Atlantic Monthly* entitled “Sojourner Truth: The Libyan Sibyl” publicly recounted a story of an 1853 visit that Truth made to Stowe’s Andover home. In this article, Stowe described Truth as a specimen of exotic “African” otherness, calling attention to Truth’s physique, writing her words in “Negro dialect”, and underscoring her political naïveté.⁸⁰ By commissioning and selling her own CDVs, Truth attained

...an intangible independence, liberating her from the printed words of others. She sat for her first photographic portraits within a month of the publication of Stowe’s “Libyan Sibyl.” Truth could not write, but she could project herself photographically.⁸¹

For Truth, who was illiterate, these photographs were a way to articulate her own concept of self, without relying on the literary mediation of others. Moreover, the photographic medium was more accessible than the literary narrative form, because it did not require the sitter or audience to be literate and it was often more affordable than texts. In her photographs, Truth chose to project herself, not as an ignorant ex-slave as others had insinuated, but as a matronly African-American example of femininity and gentility, taking on an endearing and sympathetic social identity that was often denied to African-American subjects (vis-à-vis Agassiz’ portraits of South Carolina slaves). Much like she had changed her name to reflect her religious transformation, Truth photographically re-visualized her self-image to reflect her evolving perception of self and social standing.

⁸⁰ Painter (1996), 151-55.

⁸¹ Painter (1996), 198.

Viewers were subtly urged to both believe and purchase this likeness with a short caption that accompanied many of Truth's CDVs: "I Sell the Shadow to Support the Substance. Sojourner Truth." This phrase was adapted from a well-known marketing slogan what was first attributed to daguerreotypist William C. North who advertised his arrival at Amherst, Massachusetts with an advertisement in the Amherst's Hampshire and Franklin Express on 10 December 1846. The ad read:

William C. North, Daguerrian (sic) Artist, takes this method to inform the citizens of Amherst and its vicinity that he has taken rooms at the Amherst House, for the purpose of executing Daguerreotype Miniatures in his acknowledged superior style... These Likenesses are true to nature, which renders them valuable, particularly so to the surviving friends of the deceased. *Secure the Shadow ere the substance fades.*⁸²

(emphasis added)

North's phrase was originally designed to encourage clients to commission *memento mori* portrait photographs of deceased loved ones, wherein the shadow (the likeness) was captured before the substance (body of the deceased) faded. Truth adapted the phrase to imply that by purchasing her shadow (likeness) her supporters and admirers were helping to sustain her substance (earthly needs, activism, and historical legacy). This was an apt characterization of the reality because when Truth began to produce these CDVs in 1863, she was in her mid-sixties, in ill-health, and nearly housebound in Battle Creek, Michigan.⁸³ She lived off of donations, proceeds from her book sales, and the sales of her CDV photographs. In this ironic parallel to her years as a slave, Truth inscribed her likeness with the same proprietary value that was once assigned to her body. However, unlike her lack of

⁸² Mary Elizabeth Kromer Bernhard, "Lost and Found: Emily Dickinson's Unknown Daguerreotypist" *The New England Quarterly* 72.4 (1999): 595.

⁸³ Painter (1996), 197.

sovereignty during her early years as a slave, she was able to control the dissemination of and profits from these photographs, thus establishing some modicum of agency.

For both Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass, their attempts at self-fashioning through the literary narrative and photographic portrait forms represented the socially-constructed contradiction of the “writing slave” and the civilized savage while also producing varied and nuanced readings that extended beyond the bounds of texts. As Casmier-Paz has argued, author portraits in slave narratives were an interpretational threshold that allowed reader audiences to reconcile the contradictory idea of “writing slaves” (civilized savage) by visually identifying familiar cues and signs of status and respectability that guarantee the belongingness, humanity, and authenticity of the author.

...the frontispiece portrait of the slave narrative prepares the reader to understand the African struggle for nationalist identity, class status, piety, and his clearly evident sentience/humanity...we can say that the portraits function ideologically to resolve contradictory social relations and to assert the author’s understanding, acceptance, and utilization of dominant codes and institutional standards of human being.⁸⁴

These portraits served an important meditative function between the text and the reader by making slave authors *appear* more familiar and socially palatable to the reader. In doing so, these portraits depicted slave authors using visual tropes, portrait devices, and photographic spaces that were previously restricted to them. With access to the dominant visual vocabulary of portraiture, the self-fashioning projects of these slave authors seemed more possible, though they remained incompletely fulfilled. However, even with these imperfect self-fashioning projects, the integration of these authors into the dominant visual vocabulary

⁸⁴ Casmier-Paz, 97-8.

of portraiture represented a partial inclusion that began to erode the visually codified notions of difference, which facilitated institutional slavery.

4. Sanctions and Social Criteria: Navigating the Pluralities of portrait Photography in Lagos, Nigeria

In this brief exploration of photographic portraiture practices in two differently constituted colonial contexts (India and the United States), this chapter surveyed some ways in which the technology was introduced, colonially deployed, locally adapted, and mobilized for different sanctions, including commercial, scholarly/scientific, popular, and interests: where the scholarly/scientific and political sanctions are represented by *People of India* and Agassiz' South Carolinian slave daguerreotypes and the popular and commercial interests are represented by Indian over-painted portraits, and slave narrative author portraits. These two locales give invaluable insights into the diverse array of foreign and local concerns that informed early practices of photographic portraiture and the way in which these practices were mobilized for individual and collective self-fashioning projects. I examined the slippages in each project; from the haphazardness of the orderly colonial catalogue in *People of India*, to the pornographic content in Agassiz' scientific specimens, to the illusionistic over-painted photographic portraits of India, and finally, the silences of speakerly texts/portraits in Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth's slave narratives. The incompleteness of these projects, each in its own way, exposes the fragility of self-fashioning processes, especially when attempted through a media/device with the interpretational opacity of photography. The examination of India and the United States provides critical insights that are particularly constructive to looking closely at photographic portraiture in socio-politically complex milieus like that of colonial Lagos Nigeria. This section attempts to introduce the intricacies of photographic portrait practices in Lagos through a brief discussion of the specificity of

the political and social milieu, the impetus for self-fashioning in the city, and the myriad sanctions that activated these photographic portraits.

Like India and the United States, Lagos was also a major British colonial outpost, although it was acquired later with the annexation of 1861 and directly (and erratically) governed by the British, while the interior remained relatively undisturbed until the 1890s. In the early decades of colonial rule, Lagos was a booming port city and cosmopolitan center that boasted a diverse population of indigenous Yoruba (who had occupied the region since the sixteenth century), various West African immigrants (who, from the eighteenth century, sought economic opportunities in the city), Sierra Leonean and Brazilian repatriates (who began returning to Lagos in the 1860s), and European expatriates (missionaries, merchants, and colonial agents). Relatively insulated from each other, these groups were internally distinguished by sub-ethnic categories, religious beliefs, economic class, generational differences, and varying levels of formal education. However, socio-cultural practices, indigenous Yoruba patronage system, capitalist colonial economy, and constantly shifting political landscape in Lagos enabled individuals and collectives (with resources and significant effort) to move between and through these categories of ethnicity, religion, class, etc.

These creative adaptations of localized practices and institutions are broadly affiliated with anthropological analyses outlined in practice theory. In response to criticisms of these analyses, Ortner's "serious games" subtly reframes the parameters of practice theory by specifically underscoring the complex social relations (power) and subjectivity (agency) between individual participants. In articulating some nuances between these two considerations, Ortner writes:

In probably the most common usage, “agency” can be virtually synonymous with the forms of power people have at their disposal, their ability to act on their own behalf, influence other people and events, and maintain some kind of control in their own lives. Agency in this sense is relevant for both domination and resistance...The agency of (unequal) power, of both domination and resistance, may be contrasted with...intentions, purposes, and desires formulated in terms of culturally established “projects.” This agency of projects...is disrupted in and disallowed to subordinates...flourishes as power for the powerful, whose domination of others is rarely an end in itself but is rather in the service of enacting their own projects—that the less powerful seek to nourish and protect by creating or protecting sites, literally or metaphorically “on the margins of power”...Here, the notion of agency as individual “intention” and “desire” comes to the fore, although one must never lose sight of the fact that the goals are fully culturally constituted. But many projects are full-blown “serious games,” involving the *intense play of multiply positioned subjects* pursuing cultural goals within a matrix of local inequalities and power differentials...

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Ortner’s agency of projects is particularly interesting way to frame the socio-political negotiations that take place in colonial context, both between the colonizers and the colonized, and within the ranks of the colonized themselves. This, and the broader concept of “serious games”, are particularly germane to colonial Lagos where indigenous, repatriate and miscellaneous populations actively attempted to penetrate the vulnerabilities in British colonial hegemony over the city.⁸⁶ While Ortner rightly points out that subjects interacted

⁸⁵ Ortner, 143-5.

⁸⁶ Ortner makes further distinctions between “soft” agency—which tend to avoid issues of intentionality—and “hard” agency – which positions intentional actions and routine practices at two ends of a spectrum. Whereas intentional actions occur as conscious decisions are made with desired outcomes, routine practices occur

with their differently positioned counterparts, I further argue that individuals themselves inhabited multiple positions, that factions of Lagosians pursued agencies of projects (individual and collective) while occupying both positions of power (dominating over their subordinates) and positions of resistance (dominated by emerging colonial structures). That is, these individuals and groups simultaneously attempted to restrict access to “margins of power” available to their subordinates while manipulating the “margins” available to them vis-à-vis the colonial administration. Photographic portraiture provided an opportunity for visually capturing and validating these agencies of projects, through a visually codified portrait-making language that (although it was rooted in Victorian tradition of portrait painting) was adapted and deployed by individuals and groups of colonized Lagosians.

As in India and the United States, photographic portraits may be activated by myriad overlapping sanctions –including but not limited to colonial, missionary, commercial, scientific/scholarly, documentary, amateur, and commissioned interests. They may also be framed by the varied socio-cultural categories that their subjects inhabit –ethnicity, politics, religion, class, gender, and education. Together, these labels intersect in unquantifiable ways that leave each image with its own particular subjective framing, which shifts depending on contexts. Photographs have often been described as commodities that moves from hand to hand, or from context to context, based on subjectively assessed exchange and use values: a description that evokes Igor Kopytoff’s work on the life of objects, whereby objects follow biography of use, enacted by one sanction after the other as they move from context to context.⁸⁷ Contrary to Kopytoff’s notion, this project works under the assumption that

without reflection. Ortner’s writes with the assumption that “hard” agency is at work during these “serious games.” (136)

⁸⁷ Igor Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as a Process,” in *The Social life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1986); 64-91

photographic objects may be enacted by any number of sanctions simultaneously within a single context, for instance, that of colonial Lagos.

The following chapters aim to explore the diverse and often incomplete fashioning work that these portraits do for their subjects, the power differentials that they reinforce and undermine, and the varied sanctions that activate them. Using the abovementioned parameters, the chapters one and two examine photographic portrait practices in colonial Lagos, situate these object-images within the shifting socio-political milieu of Lagos, while highlighting the variability un-fixedness of the medium itself. These portraits documented and informed the self and group fashioning projects of black Lagosians and provided aestheticized readings into the intra- and extra-local negotiations that these populations undertook in their colonial milieu. Chapter three engages with the ways in which British colonial administration and their agents similarly deployed photography in the attempt to consolidate their colonial project in the city, and gather Lagosians into the colonial archive. Troubling the works of Allan Sekula and John Tagg, I examine how Lagosians who acted as policing agents of the British colonial state were subjected to controlling and surveilling photographic practices, perhaps even more so than the majority of the population. I also consider the ways in which the archive may be read to give meaning to these photographs and the album-collections into which they are often incorporated. Finally, chapter four engages with the work of the black African photographer, Neils Walwin Holm and the Lagosian portrait painter, Aina Onabolu to trace how, in the process of acting as visually arbiters for their Lagosian clients, these image-makers also pursued and attained their own independent social projects.

Chapter 1: Unpacking the Visual Economies of Photographic Portraiture in Colonial Lagos, 1861-1892

While the preceding chapter explored the ways in which photography was deployed for various often overlapping sanctions in colonial contexts, this chapter is specifically concerned with how photography was integrated into individual and group fashioning practices from the beginning of the colonial period in Lagos through the beginning of the twentieth century. This study begins from the 1861 annexation that politically redefined Lagos as a colony of Britain, through the 1886 politico-economic separation of Lagos from the Gold Coast colonies, and finally, ends with the increasingly racist policies in colonial governance starting around the 1890s. These historical moments significantly shifted the socio-political landscape of the city and recalibrated the relational dynamics among Lagosians, readjusting fashioning concerns and practices in response to changing conditions. Even before the annexation of the city, fashioning practices in Lagos were complex amalgamations that influenced and were influenced by existing indigenous practices, diverse ideologies of self, myriad aesthetic sensibilities, and intersecting socio-political sanctions.

From the mid-nineteenth century, indigenous Yoruba populations shared the island with a diverse population including repatriates from Sierra Leone and Brazil, and British colonial officials, and various miscellaneous groups. Although these populations interacted economically and politically, they remaining largely socially segregated from each other, pursuing independent and often conflicting agendas and social projects. Before examining the visual negotiations that are at the heart of this project, it is important to consider how various subgroups of Lagosian actors positioned themselves within this ever-shifting and complex landscape, aligning and realigning themselves as they found need. This chapter

considers some ways in which preexisting socio-cultural institutions, historical precedents of inclusivity, colonial policies and missionary conversion efforts combined to complicate the fashioning practices and responses (and sometimes) resistances to colonial rule, between indigenous, Sierra Leonean repatriate and Brazilian *emancipados* population in Lagos

With the introduction of photography, these socio-cultural complexities were compounded by interpretational opacities engendered by the medium, further complicating the ways that fashioning practices were enacted and deployed in this already dense milieu. To engage these convoluted matrices, this chapter takes its cue from Deborah Poole's analysis of visual economies by tracing the techniques, production, and circulation of portraits in Lagos, at beginning and after the introduction of photographic practice.⁸⁸ However, while Poole's project was restricted to Andean and European visual culture exchanges, this project attempts to penetrate the interlocked narratives between indigenous Yoruba Lagosians, Sierra Leonean repatriates and Brazilian *emancipados*, and European interests that inhabited the city after the mid-century. Like Poole, I explore how photography imagined Lagos through government, missionary, and popular lenses while also consider the slippages in these imagined constructions. However, this chapter largely focuses on the ways in which local colonized groups used fashioning practices to envision and multiply position themselves in relation to each other and overarching hegemony of British colonial rule.⁸⁹ To this point, I examine *oríkì* praise poetry, an indigenous Yoruba form of fashioning that

⁸⁸ Deborah Poole, *Vision, race, and Modernity: A visual economy of the Andean image world*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); 8-10.

⁸⁹ This argument is taken from the reading of Sherry Ortner's notion of "serious games" that was discussed earlier in chapter one, that is, while Ortner rightly points out that subjects interacted with their differently positioned counterparts, I further argued that individuals themselves inhabited multiple positions, that factions of Lagosians pursued agencies of projects (individual and collective) while occupying both positions of power (dominating over their subordinates) and positions of resistance (dominated by emerging colonial structures). That is, these individuals and groups simultaneously attempted to restrict access to "margins of power" available to their subordinates while manipulating the "margins" available to them vis-à-vis the colonial administration [Sherry Ortner, *Anthropology and social theory: culture, power, and the acting subject*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006)]

constructs and distributes aggrandized oral portraits of subjects that are mobilized in life and preserved as legacies in historical memories. Based on this indigenous oral form, I suggest some ways that photography spoke with orality that paralleled these practices, and served comparable functions, while also performing ancillary sanctions. I consider the fashioning practices of Sierra Leonean repatriates and Brazilian *emancipados*, who, although they were descended from indigenous Yoruba groups, returned to Lagos with strongly anglicized beliefs and attitudes which they selectively comingled with indigenous ideals in their day to day lives. Together with colonial and indigenous practices, these co-minglings complicated already disparate fashioning ideas that circulated in the colony, and resisted totalizing or ontological rationalizations or readings, just like the photographic portrait practices that framed and launched them.

Part I-- Fashioning Lagos: Populations, Interactions and Photographic Portraiture 1851-1886

Lagos Island was initially settled in the early sixteenth century by several, largely independent communities, and serves as a diasporic settling place for the Awori people who migrated south from the inland town of Isheri to Ebute Metta to escape regional conflicts.⁹⁰ The island was strategically separated from the mainland, Lekki peninsula, and two nearby islands (Iddo and Victoria) by a series of lagoons that also facilitated early trade and transportation in the region. In the 1860s, the population of the city consisted of about 25,083 people; three hundred or less Sierra Leonean repatriate families, one hundred thirty Brazilian *emancipado* families, less than fifty Europeans, with indigenous populations making

⁹⁰ Robert Sydney Smith refers to this conflict (or possibly series of conflicts) as “Ogun Ajakaiye, or “war of the world” [*The Lagos Consulate: 1851-1861* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 4].

up the remaining majority.⁹¹ In 1871, the majority of the 28,518 people living in the city were still indigenous Lagosians, but the remaining populations had swelled with 1500 Sierra Leonean repatriates, 1200 Brazilian *emancipados*, and still a nominal count of Europeans.⁹² By 1881, of the 37,458 Lagosians, the population of Sierra Leoneans had been overtaken by Brazilians which numbered around 3,221 with Europeans counted at 111.⁹³

Indigenous Yoruba Lagosians remained a majority population throughout the nineteenth century and lived mainly in the Isale Eko, the northwest side of the island. The geographic and cultural isolation of Isale Eko from the other districts (who participated in lucrative “legitimate” local and foreign trade) put the indigenous populations at an economic disadvantage that fed their antagonism towards repatriates and Europeans.⁹⁴ Located centrally on Lagos Island, the Brazilian Quarter (also known as Popo Aguda and Popo Amaro) was like the other districts in that it was inhabited exclusively by Brazilian *emancipados*. Coming from Bahia, the *emancipados* (many of whom had bought their manumission) had little capital with which to venture into trade, and instead pursued technical occupations as tailors/seamstresses, carpenters, architects/builders, and later, as clerks or catechists.⁹⁵ They were less politically active, less wealthy and more culturally Yoruba in their customs than Sierra Leoneans, and so they were more tolerable to British administrators and indigenous sensibilities, respectively. Sierra Leonean repatriates (also

⁹¹ Richard D. Ralston, “The Return of Brazilian Freedmen to West Africa in the 18th and 19th Centuries” *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africaines* 3.3 (Autumn 1969): 583; Pauline H Baker, *Urbanization and political change: The politics of Lagos, 1917-1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) 2; Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *A preface to modern Nigeria: the "Sierra Leonians" in Yoruba, 1830-1890* (Madison, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1965): 171; Patrick Cole, *Modern and traditional elites in the politics of Lagos*. (London; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975): 204n5; Titilola Euba, “Chapter 10: Dress and Status in 19th century Lagos” in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, edited by Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri, and Jide Osuntokun. (Lagos, Nig: Lantern Books, 1997); 146

⁹² Cole 204n6

⁹³ P. D. Cole, “Lagos Society in the Nineteenth Century” in *Lagos, Development of an African Country* edited by A. B. Aderibigbe. (Lagos: Longman, 1975); 42; Cole, 204n6

⁹⁴ Baker, 24-25

⁹⁵ Kopytoff, 95

known as Saros) settled in Olowogbowo district near the southwestern side of the town, which was also called Saro Town. Equally as insolated and insular as the indigenous populations, this group thrived on its self-sufficiency, even running its own schools, churches, courthouse, and police force. The Saros' exposure and dedication to English culture allowed them to serve in a variety of middleman capacities; from posts in the colonial government, to working successfully as petty traders between Lagos-based merchants and the interior, to missionaries in the Anglican or Catholic Churches, all the while pursuing and protecting their own interests.⁹⁶ Finally, the minority European population which included British administrators, European merchants and agents, missionaries, numbered at just around 250 in 1900, a huge jump from the 111 counted in 1881.⁹⁷ Traders and administrators tended to live all along the Marina on the southeastern coast of the island which was convenient to their work and duties, while missionaries, who were seeking to convert indigenous peoples lived in closer to those populations.⁹⁸

And although indigenous “animist” religions and secret societies remained as dominant as the indigenous population, there were significant changes in the membership of Islam and Christianity. That is, in 1868 of the 27,189 people in Lagos, 14,797 were “animist” as opposed to the 3,970 Christians, and 8,422 Muslims, with Islam leading the religious conversions in the city, to the chagrin of Church Missionary Society missionaries,

⁹⁶ Baker, 27; Repatriates were often regarded as potential bridges between Europeans and indigenous Lagosians and often holding positions as clerks, interpreters or attachés, which allowed them to lay claim to advantageously centric positions that they frequently manipulated for their individual self-benefit. Lawrance, Osborn, and Roberts write that

“Mission-educated Africans were often quick to produce their own histories, not just in European languages but also in ways favorable to their particular interests. Samuel Johnson’s posthumously published *History of the Yorubas* is one example...Indeed many African clerks drew on their scholarly training to shore up the colonial project even as they promoted their own interests.” [*Intermediaries, interpreters, and clerks: African employees in the making of colonial Africa*. (Madison, WI : University of Wisconsin Press, 2006); 22] In any given situation, prominent repatriates who were in the position to do so, expediently and alternately aligned themselves with Europeans, Lagosians, or ethnic groups further inland, using and cultivating their influence in a wide range of issues.

⁹⁷ Aderibigbe, 42; Cole, 204n6

⁹⁸ Baker, 29

especially.⁹⁹ By 1872, out of 28,518 Lagosians, there were Muslims compared to less than five thousand Christians and over 14,000 traditional worshippers.¹⁰⁰ Of the 37,458 Lagosians in the city in 1881, the number of Muslims had increased to over 14,000.¹⁰¹ Much of this new population of Muslims came from conversion although a modest number of Muslim Sierra Leoneans repatriates and *emancipados* assimilated into the local Lagosian Muslim community, by virtue of shared religious ideals.¹⁰² However, even though these Muslims shared a religious belief, “this religious brotherhood did not always extend to political matters”.¹⁰³ E. A. Ayandele writes that Muslims were very involved in indigenous politics, with several prominently supporting different factions of the Lagosians ruling class. For example, in the succession struggle between Kosoko and Akitoye, many Lagos Muslims who supported Kosoko fled into exile with him when his bid for the throne failed with the 1851 British bombardment.¹⁰⁴ Many of these Muslims returned after Kosoko’s 1868 return to Lagos, and set about reintegrating the Muslim community in the city.¹⁰⁵ However, in 1875, the Muslim community split over the dogmatic question of whether or not the Quran alone should be the basis of teaching Islam or whether it should be supplemented by Tafsir or commentaries from other sources.¹⁰⁶ And so, even though Muslims populations of Lagos were religiously integrated, they had as many internal political divides as their Christian counterparts.

⁹⁹ Cole, 45. Kopytoff, 247-251; Jide Osuntokun, “Introduction of Christianity and Islam in Lagos State” in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, edited by Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri, and Jide Osuntokun. (Lagos, Nig: Lantern Books, 1997); 152

¹⁰⁰ Olakunle A. Lawal, “Islam and Colonial Rule in Lagos” *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 12.1 (Spring, 1995): 71

¹⁰¹ T. G. O. Gbadamosi, *The growth of Islam among the Yoruba, 1841-1908*. (London: Longman, 1978); 180

¹⁰² Marianno Carneiro da Cunha and Pierre Verger, *Da senzala ao sobrado : arquitetura brasileira na Nigéria e na República Popular do Benim = From slave quarters to town houses : Brazilian architecture in Nigeria and the People's Republic of Benin*. (São Paulo, SP : Nobel: EDUSP, 1985); 30

¹⁰³ Titilola Euba, “Shitta Bey and the Lagos Muslims Community, 1850-1896” *Nigerian Journal of Islam* 2.2 (1972-4); 9

¹⁰⁴ Euba (1972-4), 8-9: Ayandele, 54.

¹⁰⁵ Lawal, 69-70

¹⁰⁶ Lawal, 70

The Christian populations of the city consisted of two dominant groups; Anglican Christians linked to the Church Missionary Society, and Brazilian Catholics who were served by visiting priests from Dahomey, and a local lay preacher (Padre Antonio) until the arrival of overbearing French Roman Catholic missionaries in the 1860s.¹⁰⁷ The Catholic population, comprised largely of Brazilians, was also fairly prominent and self-sufficient, even so far as building their own cathedral (Holy Cross Cathedral) with generous subscription money and running their own congregations.¹⁰⁸ However, the *emancipados* practiced a syncretic form of Catholicism that subscribed to aspects of indigenous religious and social practices, such as polygamy, and Ifa divination which simultaneously distinguished them from the Catholic Church and aligned them with the indigenous Yoruba socio-cultural milieu, but bound them to neither.¹⁰⁹ Like the Brazilians, the predominantly Sierra Leonean Anglican congregations of Lagos were insular aside from the zealous conversion agenda of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), which was also a prominent didactic presence in Lagos from the 1860s.¹¹⁰ Though Sierra Leoneans worked side by side with British missionaries, they were rarely promoted to higher rankings in the Church, with Bishop Samuel Crowther and Bishop Isaac Oluwole being the main exceptions. This recurring

¹⁰⁷ Lisa A. Lindsay, “‘To Return to the Bosom of their Fatherland’: Brazilian immigrants in Nineteenth Century Lagos” *Slavery and Abolition*, 15.1 (April 1994); 31

¹⁰⁸ Da Cunha, 48. Da Cunha writes that throughout the 18th and 19th centuries in Brazil, Catholicism was conducted by religious brotherhoods, constituted by community people, rather than by ordained priests from the church. The self-sufficiency of the Brazilians went against the sensibilities of French Catholic missionaries in Lagos who sought to gain control of Holy Cross Cathedral on different occasions.

¹⁰⁹ Robin Law, “Chapter 17: Yoruba liberated slaves who returned to West Africa,” in *Yoruba diaspora in the Atlantic world* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); 358.

¹¹⁰ By the beginning of the 1850s, there were a number of black African Church agents trained at the CMS Grammar School in Freetown, Sierra Leone and by 1851, the first missionary training school (a proper grammar school) for Africans in Nigeria was established by the CMS in Abeokuta. This school was founded “not to educate a few young gentlemen, but to make a model, self-supporting, educational institution, by combining industrial labour [with book learning].” In a private letter about the establishment of this school, Henry Venn, the Secretary of the CMS during this period, strongly suggested that the school “should be at Abeokuta...not at Lagos which is too iniquitous.” Venn to Townsend, 2 Dec 1852; CMS CA2.L1. CMS CA2/049: Also Buhler to Venn, 2 Nov 1857; CMS CA2.024 (J F Ade Ajayi, *Christian missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891; the making of a new elite*. (Evanston [Ill.] Northwestern University Press, 1965): 150).

complaint was indirectly responsible for a schism in the CMS Niger Mission in 1891 which will be discussed in the second part of this chapter. Many retained knowledge of Yoruba language and culture during their sojourns in Sierra Leone, and in addition to the education that they received in the British protectorate of Sierra Leone, they were armed with insights into both British and Yoruba cultures. Sierra Leone had long been a site for British experimentation with testing the economic and moral potential of post-Abolitionist Africa.¹¹¹ These early attempts at permanently socializing rescued Africans using European (specifically British) standards of literary and industrial education produced a varied group of literate, Christian, black Africans who were also well-tutored in the new political economy.¹¹²

Through the nineteenth century, Lagos was an economic center of the West African coast in large part due to the slave trade which even though it began in 1704 with Oba Akinsemoyin, did not boom until the 1800s, from which time it continued with fluctuations through the British bombardment and reduction of 1851.¹¹³ While the bombardment of Lagos stabilized indigenous political unrest in Lagos, it also enabled the British to effect some changes to the economic system of the city, by doing away with slavery and enacting”

¹¹¹ Jean Herskovits, “The Sierra Leonians of Yorubaland” in *Africa and the West: Intellectual Responses to European Culture*, edited by Philip Curtin (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press: 1972): 77-8; Philip Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, 1964): 123-142.

¹¹² Though there was some disagreement about how to achieve desired results (between racially conservative and progressive minded groups), the emphasis on education had the overall effect of creating a “colonial education policy hoped to create loyal Africans who knew their place in gendered colonial and racial hierarchies.” A premium was placed on indigenizing this objective such that African subjects would not blindly imitate Europeans and lose all sense of heritage. [P. S. Zachernuk. “African History and Imperial Culture in Colonial Schools.” *Africa*.68.4 (1998): 484-505] This early approach to educating colonial subjects (mostly in West Africa) eventually gave way to more stringent racially based separatist practices. Many repatriates who moved from Sierra Leone to resettle in Lagos were of Yoruba birth or descent and chose to return to the city either for trade, proselytizing, permanent settlement, or to reunite with their families. Jean Herskovits Kopytoff further indicates that many early immigrants of Egba descent (especially those from Sierra Leone) chose to settle in Abeokuta rather than Lagos. However, the monikers assigned to Sierra Leonean and Brazilian repatriates by indigenous peoples (Saro, meaning stingy or miserly, and Amaro, meaning ‘those turned away from home’, respectively) indicate the level of ostracization that they faced from both cities. [Kopytoff (1965), 36-43, 86; Cole (1975), 45]

¹¹³ Ogunba Payne, *Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History*, 1893; 1; Kristin Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, (Bloomington, Indianapolis; Indiana University Press, 2007); 38-44. Mann summarizes the varying factors that contributed to the fluctuations in the slave trade in the first half of the nineteenth century, from local wars, to international laws, to changing market demands, and supply.

legitimate commerce” such as agricultural and commodities trade in the colony.¹¹⁴ By 1855, this scheme had attracted agents and factories for several large scale European trading firms to the colony, who conducted business with traders from the hinterland through indigenous or Sierra Leonean repatriate middlemen.¹¹⁵ Palm oil, ivory and other commodities soon replaced the slave trade, and continued through the 1890s with some significant fluctuations, due to shifting market demands, internecine wars in the interior, and an economic depression that hit the city in the 1880s.¹¹⁶ The economic depression of the 1880s and the 1892 consolidation of the hinterland are two significant historical moments that shifted the economic status quo for many affluent local traders and businessmen while bringing the political concerns of the hinterland closer to prominent, politically-aware (but perhaps not yet fully involved) Lagosians. This period undermined the socio-economic positions of many affluent Saro and indigenous Lagosians, which in turn inspired these subsets to become more politically involved in an effort to strengthen their influence in the colony. As these newly politicized individuals and select groups began to agitate more directly for self-governance (“Lagos for Lagosians”) at the end of the century, so did the fashioning sensibilities of the city begin to gain momentum.

¹¹⁴ Ayodeji Olukoju, “The Politics of Free Trade Between Lagos and the hinterland, 1861-1907” in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, edited by Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri, and Jide Osuntokun. (Lagos, Nig: Lantern Books, 1997); 84-86

¹¹⁵ Akin Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria*. (London: University of London Press, 1968); 242; Mann, 121-2

¹¹⁶ Olukoju, 87; Mann (2007), 156-7. Mann writes that the palm oil trade diminished significantly in the late 1860s but recovered by the second half of the 1870s, only to shrink again from 1888 through 1889. The volatility of the trade bankrupted several African merchants while European firms with greater capital stores were able to survive these periods of instability, but not with a decrease in profits which they attempted to recoup by cutting out middlemen. It was largely for his reason that European traders joined voices with the missionaries (who had ulterior motive) in demanding that the British make available direct access to hinterland sources of trade goods, and the pacify of warring ethnic groups that often interrupted trade routes. This pacification would occur under Governor Carter in the 1890s. Furthermore, the late 1880s also coincided with the abrupt demonization of the cowries and the dollar, in favor of British coin, a move which decreased the wealth of many indigenous ruling class and Big Men who had large stores of cowry wealth.

1. *Indigenous Ruling Classes and Big Men*

The city was governed by *Oba*, an indigenous ruler, who was formally selected by *Eletu Odibo*, the head of the *Akarigbere* class of White Cap Chiefs with whom the *Oba* shared some ruling power.¹¹⁷ The death of *Oba Idewu Ojulari* around 1834 politicized a personal rift between one possible successor, *Kosoko*, and the *Eletu Odibo* of the *akarigbere* class, which resulted in *Kosoko* being overlooked as possible successor three times: first in 1834 in favor of his uncle *Adele*, then in 1837 in favor of his cousin *Oluwole*, then in 1841, in favor of another uncle, *Akitoye*.¹¹⁸ Seeking to reconcile with his nephew, the newly crowned *Oba Akitoye* invited *Kosoko* to return from exile, which he did, causing *Eletu Odibo* to leave the city in protest.¹¹⁹ However, the reconciliation would be short lived as *Kosoko* soon challenged *Oba Akitoye*'s ruling authority in a series of public marketplace taunts that resulted in a civil war that unseated *Oba Akitoye* in 1845.¹²⁰ While *Kosoko* ruled in *Lagos*, the deposed *Akitoye* was able to enlist the support of the Church Missionary Society and British consulate and navy to regain his throne and once again exile *Kosoko* to *Epe*, which was done in the bombardment and reduction of *Lagos* in 1851.¹²¹ In return, *Oba Akitoye* conceded much of his administrative power over trade, renounced the slave trade, and made significant military and missionary concessions to his erstwhile allies.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Smith, 6-7. There were three other classes of White Caps Chiefs, including the *Idejo* (who were altogether considered the original owners of the land and were headed by *Oloto*, ruler of northern *Iddo* island, *Aromire*, protector of the lagoon, and *Olumegbon*, who invested new white caps), the *Ogalade* (the priestly caste headed by *Obanikoro*, who had allegedly been sent by the *Oba* of *Benin* to look after the *Oba* of *Lagos* when he city was just founded), and the *Abagbon*, or *Ogagun* (headed by the *Ashogbon*, and consisting of war captains and military leaders).

¹¹⁸ Mann (2007), 47. *Kosoko* had allegedly married a woman that *Eletu Odibo* had hoped to marry for himself, thus insulting the powerful chief and creating a rift that would never be healed between the two men.

¹¹⁹ Smith, 16

¹²⁰ Mann (2007), 48

¹²¹ Mann (2007), 47-50

¹²² Jean Herskovits Kopytoff writes that on 1 January 1852, *Akitoye* agreed to a "end the export of slave...; destroy any buildings put up in future for the slave trade; to let British use force against any revival of this trade; to liberate any slaves then held in *Lagos*;...allow free, legitimate trade with British vessels, and to show no special privilege to those of other nations; to abolish human sacrifice, and to give 'complete protection to

One of the earliest known photographs of any indigenous ruling class Lagosian was taken of Oba Akitoye at some time during his reign (1841-1845, 1851-1853) (fig. 2.1). In the photograph, the ruler is shown wearing an English top hat (which had replaced the simple white caps previously favored by past obas), a long-sleeved white shirt, atop a compulsory white *gbariye* wrapper. This ensemble is covered by a damask wrapper, wrapped around the waist and thrown over Oba Akitoye's left shoulder. Although the photograph featured here is cropped, Titilola Euba provides a complete description of the full image,

“On his feet are a pair of wool embroidered slippers. A pair of socks adds ‘a touch of class.’ Most important ...is his staff, very new at the time for it was given to him by the British to mark the treaty that enabled him to regain his throne from his nephew Kosoko...”¹²³

The staff which Euba describe helps to date the photograph of Oba Akitoye to the two years after the bombardment of Lagos, and before his poisoning death in 1853. Oba Akitoye's adoption of various forms of European dress (top hat, damask cloth, white shirt) reinforced his power by proving his ability to access the visual economies of colonial Britain, just as much as they could access those of Lagos. This portrait reproduced Oba Akitoye, not as an ignoble “native” ruler but a savvy ruler who engaged with indigenous ideals and the conventional tropes of British Victorian portraiture.

The choice of photography as the portrait medium further advances the multi-positionalities that are staked out for Oba Akitoye within this image. That is, the use of photography marked him as a savvy, dynamic ruler who, despite clichés heaped upon indigenous, traditional rulers, was obliged to reproduce himself through innovative

Missionaries,’ helping them to build their houses, chapels, and schools, and in no way obstructing their work”. (79-80)

¹²³ Euba (1997), 142

technologies that distinguished him from his rivals and affiliated him with more powerful rulers and states. In fact in describing how variable Akitoye could be in his own self-representation, Takiu Folami recounts a story in which, accompanied by the British consul and “having disguised himself with a mask as a white man”, Akitoye infiltrated the Oba’s palace (or *Iga*) that was under the control of the usurper Kosoko and delivered a petition for his rescinding the throne. Though the petition was rejected, the mode in which Akitoye approached Kosoko, both in the presence of British consuls and “with a mask as a white man” suggest the indirect way in which Akitoye exploited the authority of white British colonials, even taking on their physical appearance to attain his own objectives.¹²⁴

Not just a photograph, the image of Oba Akitoye was a painted photograph that bore striking formal resemblance to those being produced in Britain around the same time; however the over-painting of this photograph has significant ideological connotations within the traditional cosmological construction of kingship among the Yoruba. Obas are considered divine kings who are chosen by *oriṣá* (indigenous pantheon of gods and spirits), through political selectors like the *Eletu Odibo*.¹²⁵ They are called *ekeji lehin orisa* (second only to the gods), giving them spiritual, proximity to both the *oriṣá* and *orun* (the supernatural realm inhabited by the *oriṣá* and their ilk). The execution of this painted portrait, with the smoothing and idealizing of Akitoye’s features, evokes Folami’s account of when the ruler

¹²⁴ Takiu Folami, *A history of Lagos, Nigeria: The shaping of an African city*. (Smithtown, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1982): 33. Whether or not this story is factual is not the point, but rather that it has been passed on as part of the myth and lore of Oba Akitoye and his own agency of social project by exploiting British agents to regain his throne.

¹²⁵ Olufemi Vaughan gives a brief recounting of the king-making process in typical Yoruba communities: “In the typical Yoruba town, power relationships were dominated by the competition between a divine king called the oba (*ekeji lehin orisa*-second only to the gods), and a council of chiefs. Obas were typically chosen from candidates presented to a council of kingmakers by eligible segments of royal lineages...As is often the case with divine kingship, Yoruba obas were far from absolute monarchs. Important political decisions undertaken by civil and military chiefs, and sanctioned by heads of powerful lineages, age groups and local priests, were proclaimed in the oba’s name by the council of chiefs. The council, both in practices and theory, reflected the interest of powerful lineages in its decisions...” So even though obas are considered *divine* kings, there are still subject to check and balances and reproofs from local, influential political and religious groups. [*Nigerian chiefs: traditional power in modern politics, 1890s-1990s* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006); 15]

masked as a secularly powerful white man to petition Kosoko, but here, instead, he seems to perform his spiritually empowered role as the *divine* king of the city and its inhabitants. The overall effect of the painted portrait inscribed Oba Akitoye with an ethereal identity, as divine king and *ekeji lehin orisa* (second only to the gods), thus allowing him to transcend earthly strictures.

In another undated photographic portrait of Oba Akitoye, the ruler is shown sitting stoically in a chair, wearing similar formal finery as the preceding portrait, carrying his cane visibly in his right hand, and surrounded on all sides by twelve men, including at least four White Cap Chiefs (identifiable by the caps) who sit at his feet on the floor. (fig. 2.2) Rather than a statement of Oba Akitoye's divine rule, as in the previous image, this portrait photograph situates the ruler within his secular political context, grounding him in the imperfect worldly maneuverings of his otherwise divine position. He is surrounded by his supporters and subordinates, who both authorize and check his power, and with whom he shares socio-political leadership.¹²⁶ To this point, this portrait depicts an alternate persona, a second performed identity of the *oba*, one that is activated by earthly sanctions. Moreover, this portrait must be read in the context of Oba Akitoye's weak rule, lack of influence over Portuguese and Brazilian slave traders, reliance on British military support, and post-bombardment concessions to rule, and continued challenges by Kosoko. The image of Akitoye, installed as *oba* and surrounded by his supporters, restate his rule and authority by visually fashioning him as strong, in control ruler. In line with common practice, this portrait would have been displayed prominently in a waiting area or a receiving room at the palace or

¹²⁶ This dichotomous relationship will be discussed later as it pertains to the formal patron-client relationship between rulers and their subjects and the informal version of these relationships as represented by Big Men and their clients. This upcoming discussion connects the accumulation of supporters and followers (as with the supporters surrounding Oba Akitoye in his portrait) with the patron/ruler/Big Mann's ability to amass and dispense influence, which in turn is performed through the indigenous oral fashioning practice of *oriki*, which moreover, shares many fashioning characteristics with photography.

iga of the oba of Lagos. Official visitors, political rivals, supporters who visited the palace would confront this portrait reinforcement of the Oba Akitoye's authority in his time of insecurity.

In 1853, after the poisoning death of Oba Akitoye, his son Dosunmu was appointed to the throne by the British consul, a selection that was blessed post facto by the *Eletu Odibo*.¹²⁷ In late 1861, annexation of the city was proposed by the acting consul and (after some convincing) approved by the Colonial Office for the purposes of stopping the slave trade, establishing legal trade economies, and curbing the aggressions of the king of Dahomey.¹²⁸ After a series of intimidation tactics and pressured negotiations, Oba Dosunmu (1853-1885) was persuaded to sign a treaty on August 6 1861, however the contentious reaction to the treaty illustrated a subtly enacted resistance of indigenous ruling class to colonial rule, as several White Caps and lesser chiefs openly disagreed with and discretely schemed to reverse the cession of city to the British. According to the British, the treaty stipulated that the Oba would retain his title, continue his legal jurisdiction over indigenous disputes, and have approval power over the transfer of lands in the city while the oba and his chiefs countered that they had only agreed to cede jurisdiction over merchants and immigrants.¹²⁹ Though a non-issue for the British who held the Treaty as binding, this disagreement was an ongoing point of contention among ruling class, many of who nursed

¹²⁷ Mann (2007), 97. Folami, 34. Kosoko resurfaced during Oba Dosunmu's reign, attacking the city with Egba allies until he finally signed a treaty with the British in 1862 to give up his control of Palma and Lekki in exchange for being allowed to return to Lagos.

¹²⁸ Mann (2007), 101

¹²⁹ Folami, 34; Mann (2007), 101-2. With this treaty, Lagos not only became a protectorate holding under the direct political rule but all of its lands were ceded to the British Empire. This interpretation of the treaty would cause significant turmoil, especially with the Oluwa Land case of 1920 which will be discussed in the next chapter.

the possibility of reclaiming the city from the British at a later date.¹³⁰ This will be further discussed in chapter three which touches on the Oluwa Land case and the Eleko Affair.

2. *Oriki*, Photography and the Orality of Fashioning Practices

In indigenous contexts, both ruling class chiefs and self-made Big Men were “fashioned” through performative forms like *oriki* praise poetry, which reproduced and aggrandized subjects’ reputations and status through the use of enduring oral histories and traditions. Various translated as ‘praises’, ‘praise poem’, ‘praise names’, ‘attributive names’, ‘verbal salutes’, ‘titles’¹³¹, *oriki* comprises complex, yet fluid, amalgamations of praise phrases and narratives that portray subjects through oral memories traditions that are very much rooted in community history and cultural cosmologies. To this point, Karin Barber writes that

Oriki are felt not only to encapsulate the essence of the subject, but also to *augment* its presence in the social and natural world. Towns, lineages, individual people, *oriṣá*, *egúngún* and even animals are enhanced in relation to-sometimes almost at the expense of other like entities through the performance of their *oriki*. Enhancement is

¹³⁰ Cole, 38, 40. For one, Chief Apena Ajasa, who acted as apena (chief justice) for Dosunmu from the latter’s installation as oba, a coveted position in which he wielded the only real power remaining in indigenous ruling system: that of the legal decision making and fine imposition. (Cole, 31-2) An ambitious seeker of power, Ajasa was also the spokesman for the powerful Ogoni society which was constituted of influential religious leaders and special priests from the community; he was Akishiku, officiant during funerary rites of important persons, and Ologun Atebo, a war chief title which put him on level with Oba Dosunmu. (Cole, 33-4) Pertinent to the Treaty of Cession, “Ajasa [implored] Dosunmu to hand over his stipend so that he [Ajasa] could go to England and persuade the Queen to restore Lagos to the house of Dosunmu. Ajasa was convinced of the unpopularity of the cession. He probably believed that if Queen Victoria knew how Dosunmu had been forced to cede Lagos she might relent and abrogate the treaty of cession; Ajasa concentrated power in his own hands in the hope that he might carry the weak and effete Dosunmu with him in his attempt to circumscribe British authority in Lagos.” In addition to all of this, during a power struggle between himself and his rival Chief Daniel Conrad Taiwo and his erstwhile patron Dosunmu, Ajasa was later accused of stockpiling weapons and seeking the Ologun Atebo title because he intended to fight for the independence of Lagos. This accusation brought the anger of the British administrator down on him and in response to some damning evidence collected against him in that and other transgressions, he was convicted of conspiracy and thrown into an Accra prison.

¹³¹ Thomas Lindon, “*Oriki* *Órìsà*: the Yoruba prayer of praise,” *Journal of religion in Africa* 20.2 (June 1990); 206.

construed in terms of profusion. The more *oríkè* a subject acquires, the greater its standing. The more epithets a performer can find to heap on the subject's head the better. Performers therefore raid the *oríkè* corpuses of other subjects to find more material; they may even raid other genres, such as Ifa verses, proverbs and riddles. When an important man is being saluted, references to other people help to augment his status, as 'father of,' 'husband of' or 'child of' a wide network of relatives. Genealogy is exploited to supply the performer with a source of names with which to *expand* the aura of her chosen subject. *A profusion of people is attributed to the subject in a way that obscures and jumbles the actual pattern of kinship and affinal ties in question, but which builds him up by placing him at the centre of it.*¹³² (emphasis added)

There are two important attributes of *oríkè* that emerge from Barber's characterization of the oral form: first, the tendency to not only chronicle, but augment the subject's life, character, and accomplishments with material borrowed from multiple sources, and second, the fact that in its construction and I argue, delivery, *oríkè* actually obscures the transparency of the oral portrait that is constructed, by layering it with so many amassed references.

First, Barber describes the way in which *oríkè* is constructed by raiding and amassing material from other subjects and genres, for the purposes of constructing and aggrandizing the subject because "the more *oríkè* a subject acquires, the greater its standing". Therefore, *oríkè* actually performs the subject's accumulative and additive capacity twice, first, through the proliferating way in which it is constructed and secondly, through its recitation. By "[raiding] other genres" and "[referencing] other people [to] augment...status" *oríkè* allows subjects to connect themselves to well-known, well-loved mythical and historical figures, and deploy these identities in the construction of their own status and identity. Ultimately, these

¹³² Karin Barber, "Oríkè, women and the proliferation and merging of òrìsà," *Africa* 60, no. 3 (1990); 315.

sources are only supporting players in the process: the subject has the starring role because the *oriki* is ultimately an *oral portrait* of him/her.

Second, in the way that it is constructed, delivered, and sustained, *oriki* is a fluid, free-form, variably interpreted practice that ultimately (as suggested above) represents an oral portrait of the subject. Content-wise, *oriki* are constituted by multiple sources—such as, the *oriki* corpuses of other subjects, religious authority of Ifa, and the nostalgic wisdom attributed to proverbs and riddles. These other sources activate the poems (and by extension, their subjects) through multiple sanctions, which are layered densely upon each other such that the *oriki* can be heard and interpreted from one or many access points. Moreover, while *oriki* can be a powerful tool of fashioning, aggrandizement and self-promotion, it is also a very ephemeral practice. That is, in conjunction with its improvised and often theatrical nature, *oriki* is a live performance that must be experienced in person and constantly invoked in order to be effective, but yet, it is rarely ever performed the same way twice. The fleeting practice and varied delivery of the performance means that every new recitation is both a trace of the first utterance, and an original performance in itself. Lastly, the subject of the *oriki* must remain pertinent and vital to the community in order for the *oriki* to be considered worthy of continued recitation. Prominent individuals depend on the recognition of their dependents and community members in order to attain and maintain their positions in society.¹³³ If these individuals fail to keep up their status or lose their followers, they would no longer be recognized by *oriki* and, in all likelihood, their oral portraits would not survive beyond *oriki* immediate generation.

¹³³ Karin Barber, "How Man Makes God in West Africa: Yoruba Attitudes towards the Orisa," *Africa* 51, no. 3 (1981): 736-8; A particularly poignant example of this tenuous balance is *oriki orisa*—a form of *oriki* that is specifically preformed for *orisa* deities by their devotees but very similar to *oriki inagije*, which is reserved for prominent individuals (Lindon, 2006). Unlike, prominent individuals, *orisa* cannot act on their own behalf and are therefore much more dependent on their devotees to promote and publicize their reputations. The loyalty and faithfulness of devotees plays a huge part in activating the powers of *orisa*. If devotees become disillusioned with their chosen *orisa* and cease to recognize them, that *orisa* might as well cease to exist. (740)

Interestingly, when conceived as an oral portrait, *oriki* actually shares many of the abovementioned attributes with the photographic portrait, that is, in construction, delivery and longevity, both practices exhibit levels of fluidity and opacity. Like *oriki*, photographic portraits comprise multiple layers of sanctions that are activated depending on the context that both object and viewer inhabit, such that these images have no one single totalizing reading but are multiply positioned. Moreover, photographic portraits recall fleeting *oriki* performances because even though the captured moment is recorded in reproducible formats, that original moment can never be literally repeated in the same way twice, yet as a trace, is reproduced anew with each copy. Martha Langford posits a further connection between photography and *oriki* by emphasizing the orality that is embedded in the articulation of each practice; that is

Sound, like the photographic moment is fugitive. Its utterance coincides with its disappearance. Recitation revives the original utterance, bringing it into a continuous present, just as the making and viewing of a photograph create a continuum with the past. Orality invests power in naming, which photography also does by the modern authority of mechanism.¹³⁴

Like *oriki*, the photograph is a recitation, a visual recitation that captures and articulates the subject in a fleeting moment, which is recontextualized with each viewing and each reproduction, but never fixed with the same lens or the same frame twice.

It is not difficult to see the resonances of *oriki* in the abovementioned portraits of Oba Akitoye and in fact, the specter of mutability in photography and *oriki* pervaded indigenous constructions of power and status in Yoruba-dominated Lagos society. While, on the one hand, this volatility required that powerful individuals remain ever vigilant and

¹³⁴ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The afterlife of memory in photographic albums*. (Montreal ; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); 122-8

generous in order to maintain their positions, it also meant that the less prosperous community members had the power of validation over their social superiors and myriad opportunities to advance themselves in society. Indigenous chiefs and Big Men were all inextricably tied to a precarious indigenous status system that allowed even those who were born to modest means to rise to prominent stations in life, with hard work and perseverance.¹³⁵ Ultimately, it was beneficial for a community to have many successful individuals because this meant that the formation of more patron-client relationships, increased economic activity, and consequently more potential for others to make their fortunes.¹³⁶ To some extent, this indigenous status system reinforces Ortner's claim that "hegemonies are... never total... because people always have at least some degree of "penetration" ...into the conditions of their domination..." as all Lagosians were very aware of the possibilities and access points within the social and political systems that they inhabit, however restrictive these systems may seem from an outside perspective.¹³⁷ These varied indigenous self-making strategies demonstrate mutabilities within Yoruba socio-cultural structures that echo those found in the fashioning practices (like *oriki* and photography) that orally and visually narrated Lagosian society in this time period. In fact, these practice coexisted alongside each other throughout the nineteenth (and twentieth) century amid an influx of new populations who enacted aspects of the same practices themselves within their circles, even as they vied for socio-economic footing in colonial Lagos.

¹³⁵ Adrian Peace, "Prestige, Power and Legitimacy in a Modern Nigerian Town" *Canadian Journal of African Studies* (Ottawa), 13.1-2 (1979): 29-30.

¹³⁶ P. J. Dixon, "Uneasy Lies the Head": Politics, Economics, and the Continuity of Belief among Yoruba of Nigeria" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33.1 (Jan., 1991):, 69.

¹³⁷ This also accounts for how modern elites were able to become actively involved in Lagos. In spite of their earlier difficulties finding acceptance in the society, the modern, educated elite (comprised of ex-slave émigrés from Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Brazil) were a contemporary manifestation of these indigenous models. As noted earlier, Jean Herskovits established that although many repatriates were rescued slaves by way of Sierra Leone, the majority were also Yoruba-speakers who originated in the areas surrounding Lagos and "clung to more tenaciously to their own way of life than did other groups, a feat largely possibly because of their numerical strength." [Philip D Curtin, *The image of Africa; British ideas and action, 1780-1850* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1964); 77]

3. *Envisioning Sierra Leonean and Brazilian Repatriates*

After the ostensibly stabilizing military and political actions of the 1851 bombardment and the 1861 annexation of Lagos, populations of Sierra Leonean repatriates and Brazilian *emancipados*, as well as other Africans and Europeans in city grew significantly. These groups brought with them commercial advantages and economic competitions that, in addition to the treaty concessions that Oba Dosunmu signed further weakened indigenous ruling class controls over capital, external trade and labor.¹³⁸

Many Brazilian returnees, also known as *emancipados*, Amaros or Aguda, were captured from the interior in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and exported to Bahia in Brazil (the largest single slave importing country. These *emancipados* identified as Egba, Ijebu, Ibadan, Ife, or Oyo ethnicities, and had no real familial ties to Lagos.¹³⁹ Not only were these *emancipados* removed from the familiarity of Brazilian society, they were also resettled in a city that was alien to their memories and heritage.¹⁴⁰ By the beginning of the consular period in Lagos, there were one hundred and thirty *emancipado* families out of the nearly thirty thousand person population of Lagos. The number had ballooned to 1200 by 1871, and again, to over 2700 *emancipados* by 1881 with more arriving through the end of the decade.¹⁴¹ Da Cunha suggests that this exodus was inspired in part by a 1835 law that allowed authorities to deport Africans from Brazil if suspected of insurrection, retroactively

¹³⁸ Kristin Mann, *Marrying well : marriage, status, and social change among the educated elite in colonial Lagos* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1985): 12-13

¹³⁹ Smith, 10; da Cunha, 20.

¹⁴⁰ The initial reception for Brazilian repatriates in Lagos was not enthusiastic—some returning to Brazil “because of the aloofness of the reception that they received or the suspicion and antagonism which they encountered.” Many early Brazilian repatriates resettled into the abovementioned interior groups or to Badagry after receiving hostile welcomes from the indigenous Lagos populations and ruling classes around the late 1830s and 1840s. However, before being fully, repatriates had to prove their loyalty and commitment to these communities by remaining with the group, participating in local practices, etc. (Ralston, 587-9, Da Cunha, 20, Cole, 49)

¹⁴¹ Ralston, 583, Kopytoff, 86, 171. The numbers of Brazilians immigrating to Lagos in the 1880s was greater than the number of Sierra Leoneans.

stripped all Africans of land ownership rights, and forced them to register and pay tax for living in the country.¹⁴² Moreover, just as the British reduction of Lagos was taking place in 1851, another law was passed which exempted Africans from taxation should they leave Bahia altogether. Many *emancipados* chose to repatriate to West Africa through free or paid manumissions, meritorious service or, after 1871, the Free Womb Act that freed slave children born after the date of the law.¹⁴³

Repatriated Lagosians continued many of the same occupations and cultural practices that they had become accustomed to in Brazil. That is, they remained a relatively insular community in the eastern part of the island, just north of the Marina and east of the Oba's palace, in an area varying known as the Brazilian Quarters, Popo Aguda, Popo Maro,¹⁴⁴ where they continued to live as they had in Brazil.¹⁴⁵ Soumonni describes this area as

“...a transposition of Brazil to the African continent, or more specifically, a reproduction of Bahia with its festivals and typical dishes. More significantly, the Brazilian quarter was also a business center with a great impact on the development of the city. Afro-Brazilians invested substantial parts of their savings to build houses, not only to live in, but also for rental...”¹⁴⁶

Their influence is apparent in the architecture of the city, from the Central Mosque financed by Shitta Bey and built by the prolific Joao Baptist da Costa to the State House, and various large houses that belonged to affluent repatriates.¹⁴⁷ However not all *emancipados* avoided the tricky trade markets, some, like the Brazilian João Esan da Rocha, were quite successful.

¹⁴² Da Cunha, 14

¹⁴³ Ralston, 579-580, da Cunha, 8

¹⁴⁴ Smith, 39; EA Ayandele, *Lagos: The development of an African city*. (Nigeria: Longman, 1975); 43

¹⁴⁵ Da Cunha, 18, 44; Kopytoff, 95, Euba, 146-7, Mann (1985), 17-18, 27-8

¹⁴⁶ Elisee Soumonni, “The Afro-Brazilian communities of Ouidah and Lagos in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Analysis”, in *Africa and the Americas: interconnections during the slave trade*, edited by José C. Curto, Renée Soulodre-LaFrance. (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005); 231-242.

¹⁴⁷ A B Laotan, “Brazilian Influence on Lagos” *Nigeria magazine*. no. 69 (August 1961); 156-165

One prominent family among the group of Brazilian repatriates was the da Rocha family, headed by João Esan da Rocha (fig. 2.3) who claimed Ekiti heritage but may have actually been born in Bahia.¹⁴⁸ Sold into slavery at the age of ten, da Rocha managed to buy his freedom at the age of thirty and resettled in Lagos with his wife Louisa Angelica Nogueira and oldest son, Candido, in 1872 (fig. 2.4).¹⁴⁹ da Rocha became a successful merchant in the cross-Atlantic trade between Brazil and Lagos, often chartering trade vessels and consigning goods to ships crossing the distance.¹⁵⁰ His commercial offices were located in Tinubu Square and lived in a bungalow called “Water House” located in the Brazilian quarters.¹⁵¹

Like many other *emancipados*, the sensibilities of the da Rocha family were very much rooted in nineteenth century, Portuguese influenced, Brazilian culture, where the institution of slavery was more permissive than in North America. Slaves had more freedoms to hire their labor out independently of their slave obligations, make and retain their own income, and ultimately pursue their own projects.¹⁵² This is apparent in the featured photograph of João Esan da Rocha was taken in Bahia, in 1870 just before he and his family settled in Lagos.¹⁵³ In a composition typical of late nineteenth century photographic studio portraits, da Rocha is shown wearing European dress, trousers, jacket and necktie, arms crossed, leaning against a prop pillar, before a painted backdrop of an wood paneled interior with decorative wall murals. Though he was likely still a slave or just recently manumitted, da Rocha looks the part of a well-to-do Brazilian gentleman, fully individuated, and integrated

¹⁴⁸ Mann, 126, Lloyd C. Gwam, “The Writings of Dr. Moses Joao da Rocha” *Ibadan* 25 (Feb. 1968): 41, da Cunha, 52. Based on family interviews, Mann writes that Joao Esan da Rocha was born into slavery in Bahia, however, da Cunha asserts that he only just became a slave when he was sold at the age of ten. Gwan further clouds the issue by asserting that da Rocha claimed to be Ekiti descended but does not clarify if he was actually born there or was simply distantly affiliated with that interior group as many traders tended to be.

¹⁴⁹ Gwam, 41, da Cunha, 52

¹⁵⁰ Mann (2007), 126

¹⁵¹ Mann (2007), 126

¹⁵² Jean-Claude Garcia-Zamor, “Social Mobility of Negroes in Brazil,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 12.2 (Apr., 1970); 242-254

¹⁵³ da Cunha, 52

into society by means of the affirming and moral social identity, which the portraits perform. His stance, appearance, and the studio ambience squarely situate his portrait within the conventions and spaces that were typically reserved for white European subjects, allowing his some small “penetration...into the conditions of his domination” as Ortnier described earlier. da Cunha suggests that this portrait was taken in Bahia before 1870, in the time between da Rocha bought his manumission and returned to Lagos. What was the event that inspired this fashioning exercise? Was it a commemoration of his newly bought freedom? Was it in honor of another significant achievement or for simply for a whim? With no evidence of his slave background in the photograph, da Rocha’s portrait represents the effacement of a disenfranchised slave identity and the performance of a socially legitimizing bourgeois identity.

Similarly, in another portrait, da Rocha’s wife, Louisa Angelica Nogueira and his eldest son, Candido, are pictured together in what appears to be a painted photograph of idyllic domesticity and socio-cultural mortar of the black Brazilian society. Senora da Rocha is seated on an ornately carved bench, dressed in a distinctively Brazilian cotton dress, with striped colored shawl thrown over her right, with a large rosary dangling low around her neck, and a small white scarf is wrapped around her head. Her dress gives her a monumental presence in the photographic frame as if she were the only portrait subject. With her right arm, Senora da Rocha clutches the much smaller figure of her eldest son to her side; where he sits with white jacket and short pants, high socks and boots. The neutral background of the portrait draws all attention to the mother and child, who together represent the reproductive endurance of families and societies at large, as well as the maternal and generational channels through which socio-cultural identities are propagated and transmitted, especially in diasporas of Brazil and Lagos. Indeed, Candido da Rocha would eventually

follow his father's footsteps and become a successful gold merchant in Lagos by the 1890s while his younger brother, Moyses Joao da Rocha emulated his uncle and name-giver, Dr. Moyses da Rocha, by studying at University of Edinburgh and becoming a medical doctor in 1913.¹⁵⁴

While these portraits serve a fashioning agenda for João Esan da Rocha, his family and his descendants, they are also sanctioned by the broader *emancipados* communities in Lagos and Brazil, and speak to aspects of community constitution in each locale. Held in private family collection of the da Rocha family, the portrait is imbued with intimate significances, and activated by the insularity of familial dynamics and histories. These images represent the da Rochas not as objectified slaves stripped of their agency and rights, but as subjective, socially integrated, private citizens, living normative lives within their own insular family and social groups.¹⁵⁵ For *emancipados* in Lagos, these images were both reinforced and activated by the cultural mores and beliefs they clung to in the early decades of their repatriation to Lagos.

However, *emancipados* were not the only group of repatriates in Lagos who clung to cultural practices and lifestyles that were foreign to the city. The colony of Freetown, Sierra Leone “had been founded at the end of the eighteenth century as a private venture by members of the anti-slavery movement in England to provide liberated slaves with a home on their own continent.”¹⁵⁶ On the one hand, anti-slavery activists viewed the success of the

¹⁵⁴ Gwan, 43, da Cuha, 52, Macmillan, Allister. *The Red Book of West Africa*. (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd., 1920), 130. The younger da Rocha son would eventually become a part-time journalist and very active participant in the nationalist movements of the early twentieth century, founding the Union of Young Nigerians in 1923, which, due to impractical execution of lofty ideals, lost much of its membership to the Nigerian Youth Movement in the 1930s.

¹⁵⁵ Greg Grandin, “Can the Subaltern be Seen? Photography and the effects of Nationalism,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84.3 (2004); 83-111

¹⁵⁶ Smith, 12

slave trade with moral trepidation and on the other hand, they could not manage to put a lasting global end to it. However, they did successfully lobby to have the trade outlawed in the Empire with the passing of the Slave Trade Act of 1807. Preventive Squadrons were dispatched to the West African waters to intercept slave ships of all nations and dock them in Sierra Leone, where the cargo and vessel would be dealt with by the British Mixed Commission Court.¹⁵⁷ Rescued slaves were given the choice of taking of apprenticeships in the West Indies (a short-lived proposal), enlisting with black regiments, or establishing themselves as farmers and tradesmen in Sierra Leone. After 1817, a number of these ex-slaves were also converted, educated, and technically trained by Wesleyan and Church Missionary Society missionaries.¹⁵⁸ In 1839, these liberated slaves began to return to their places of origin, such as Gold Coast, Abeokuta, and Badagry. By 1853, there were an estimated 300 Sierra Leonean families in Lagos, then 1500 individuals in 1871.¹⁵⁹ Some returned to work for the Church Missionary Society and the Anglican Church, but others returned in search of economic opportunities, more still seeking lost family connections in the interior. From the 1860s, it was apparent that these repatriates gravitated towards trade, colonial government, and religious clerical positions even more so than their Brazilian counterparts.¹⁶⁰

Although she did not sojourn in Sierra Leone after being rescued from enslavement, Ina Sarah Bonnetta Davies (nee Forbes) was one of the most well known and well respected

¹⁵⁷ Hugh Thomas, *The slave trade: The story of the Atlantic slave trade, 1440-1870*. (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1997); 686.

¹⁵⁸ Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *Preface to Modern Nigeria: The "Sierra Leonians" in Yoruba, 1830-1890* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965); 25, 34-5. Fourah Bay College opened in 1827 with Samuel Crowther as its first student: he would later become a foremost figure in CMS expeditions and missions in Niger and generally, a well-known and respected figure.

¹⁵⁹ Mann, (1985), 17-18

¹⁶⁰ Kopytoff 95, 170

ex-slave repatriates to Lagos in the beginning of the colonial period.¹⁶¹ In his 1851 memoirs, Captain Frederick Forbes wrote about his experiences in the British Navy as captain of the H.M.S. Bonnetta, interceptor of West African coastal slavers, and royal envoy to Dahomey. In particular, he recounted a relatively minor event resulting from one of several missions to Dahomey to petition King Gezo of Dahomey to cease slaving practices in the region. Though the ruler was unreceptive to Forbes' proposals, he presented the Captain with several gifts—including a small black African girl child (originally hailing from the Egba of Abeokuta).¹⁶² Captain Forbes named the girl Sarah (though she was often nicknamed, Sally) and took her back to Britain where she was adopted as a goddaughter to Queen Victoria. (fig. 2.5) The child was educated in missionary school in Freetown Sierra Leone (figs. 2.6, 2.7), and after completing her studies, she returned to Britain where she lived as a ward of the Queen (fig. 2.8). She eventually married James Pinson Labulo Davies, a successful ex-slave merchant tradesman, and moved first to Freetown, Sierra Leone then to Lagos, Nigeria where she lived until dying of consumption at Madeira in 1880.¹⁶³ (figs. 2.9 – 2.14)

The surviving portraits of Sarah Bonnetta Davies trace her life through shared photographic fashioning practices in Britain and Lagos; from the frontispiece engraving included in Captain Forbes' memoirs, to the photograph of her as a young girl, and the portraits of her as an adult just before and after her wedding. The first known portrait of Sarah Davies was an engraving reproduction that illustrated the memoirs of her savior and erstwhile guardian, Captain Forbes (fig. 2.5). With this corroborating portrait, Forbes describes his own gallantry in rescuing young, vulnerable Sally from certain death, even

¹⁶¹ Caroline Bressey, "Of Africa's brightest ornaments: a short biography of Sarah Forbes Bonetta: Parmi les ornements radieux d'Afrique: une brève biographie de Sarah Forbes Bonetta: Uno de los adornos más brillantes de Africa: una breve biografía de Sarah Forbes Bonetta" *Social & Cultural Geography*, 6.2 (April 2005); 260

¹⁶² Bressey, 253-4

¹⁶³ Eugene Stock. *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work, vol. II* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899); 108fn*; Ellis Wasson, *A History of Modern Britain 1714 to present* (London; Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); 235

suggesting that she was from noble birth (and therefore more worth the saving), and finally envisioning that “she may be taught to consider that her duty leads her to rescue those who have not had the advantages of education from the mysterious ways of their ancestors!”¹⁶⁴ The engraving depicts a young Sally with closely trimmed hair holding her bonnet or perhaps a flower basked in the crook of her elbow. She is dressed in an empire-waist Victorian gown with a single dainty shoe-clad foot peeking from under the hem, and a shawl casually thrown across her lap. Young Sally is sitting on a rock, outdoors with shrubbery to her right and a wide expanse of horizon and sky over her shoulder. Whether or not young Sally ever appeared in these clothes or pose or setting is moot.¹⁶⁵ However, the fact that the visual was constructed and the young girl fashioned in this way is especially telling of the imperial sanction this portrait; that is, as a visual offered to corroborate Captain Forbes’ own patronizing humanism, that of his Preventative Squadron command, and by extension, that of the Empire and the Queen.

Even free from historical substantiation, the visual offered by this idyllic portrait seems to belie the caption of the engraving “Sarah Forbes Bonnetta: An African Captive”, or rather, the caption begs the question; what kind of a captive is young Sally and who exactly is her captor?¹⁶⁶ Admittedly, the caption was most likely meant to reference young Sally’s proprietary objectification as a slave to the villainous King Gezo however it might also be useful to consider how, as a slave girl, young Sally simply changed hands and became the property or “ward” of the British Empire, as personified by “godmother” Queen Victoria.

¹⁶⁴ Frederick E. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans; Being the journals of two missions to the king of Dahomey, and residence at his capital, in the year 1849 and 1850* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851); 206-7

¹⁶⁵ It is unlikely that the engraving was made from a photograph of any kind due to the lack of detail in the rendering of the engraving, the neutral yet soaring outdoors setting, and the signature of Captain Forbes in the lower left corner which suggests that he was the artist who sketched young Sally, not an uncommon skill for sailors and travelers at this time.

¹⁶⁶ These questions may also be engaged through the portrait itself, perhaps considering how an image of a particular individual can be said to *captures* that individual’s essence or moral soul, as discussed in chapter one.

Moreover, by accepting a black slave gift into the symbolic domestic heart of the British Empire, as ward and goddaughter, the Queen staked a claimed to ownership while simultaneously carrying out a (mediated) act of inclusion, with Sally's young body as the proxy for the colony. While on the one hand, the rhetoric of the colonial mission asserted the necessity of 'saving' colonial subjects from a perceived doom (much like Forbes saved Sally from certain death at the hand of King Gezo), this ambiguous philanthropy belied the tension of the project: it was important not to draw the other so close as to blur the boundaries of difference, or push them so far away as to make civilizing objectives unattainable.¹⁶⁷

Following with Captain Forbes' hopes that young Sally be *taught* to do her duty and "rescue those who have not had the advantages of education" the young girl was enrolled in Sierra Leone Church Missionary Female Institution in 1851, less than a year after being first brought to London.¹⁶⁸ (fig. 2.6) In this Museum of London illustration, the school is depicted as a place where orderly, disciplined, and *collected* (read: proprietarily marked) young African students are taught by African surrogate, overseen by an authoritative, seated white teacher. The portrayal of the students and teachers gathered together and engaged in a map

¹⁶⁷ Pushing back against Captain Forbes' familiarizing portrayal of the young Sally, the watercolorist Octavius Oakley, who was known as a painter of gypsies and celebrities completed a portrait of the young girl, dressing her in a wrapper, which left her right breast, legs and arms bare, with a bushel of tall grass in her arms. The portrait was set in an exotic, outdoor space, with a woven straw basket atop a nearby table and the wide expanse of land and coastal water reaching into the horizon.

¹⁶⁸ Caroline Bressey writes that in January 1851, Charles Phipps, Keeper of the Queen's Privy Purse, wrote to Rev. Henry Venn, of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to inquire about schooling Sally in West Africa, due to concerns about her health in English weather. Venn in turn wrote to Miss Julia Emily Sass, Head Teacher of the CMS Female Institution in Freetown where Sally stayed through 1853 and possible until the late 1850s. (256) Interestingly, concerns about Sally's health dovetail with the discussion in chapter one concerning the 1772 case of *Somerset v. Stewart*, wherein the judge Lord Mansfield ruling stopped just short of declaring slaves free in England, but it opened the door for that broad interpretation, or to the suggestion that slavery could only be supported by positive English law. The idea that "England was too pure an air for a slave to breathe in" came from this ruling, and suggested both that "slavery is inconsistent with the English idea of freedom but also that slavery itself is a contaminating or polluting influence", thereby marking the slave as its agent. (Cheryl I. Harris, "'Too Pure an Air': Somerset's Legacy from Anti-Slavery to Colorblindness" *Texas Wesleyan Law Review* 13 (2007); 439-458)

lesson evokes the discussion in chapter one of the compiling and mapping nature of the colonial project. The illustration only performs this epistemological reading of the colonial archives but it also begs a critique of the indoctrination process by which the colonized become so not just physically, or politically, but psychologically and culturally, through a colonial state sponsored “re-education” often mediated by Africans themselves.¹⁶⁹

Likely taken in the mid to late 1850s, just after she left school at Sierra Leone and returned to Britain, an undated portrait of young Sally in her adolescence is the first actual extant photograph of her. (fig. 2.7) In the image, Sally sits dressed in a voluminous pleated gown, which is laced at the cuffs, a bracelet dangles from her wrist, her hands folded genteelly in her lap, with a knitting/embroidery basket sitting on the covered table to her right. Rather than the outdoors setting of her earlier childhood portrait by Captain Forbes, this portrait seems to be set indoors as it is framed with a neutral backdrop typical of professional photographic studios. The portrait is a marker in young Sally’s ongoing refashioning process from proprietary slave to an identity of domestic femininity; both forms of socially constraint thought the latter was more legitimate in British colonial society.

Sally’s transformation into British Victorian domestic femininity seems close to complete in a later photograph taken at the photography studios of Merrick and C. sometime during her stay in Brighton around 1862 just around the time of her wedding to Captain James Pinson Labulo Davies, an “African merchant” with whom she would later relocate to Lagos. (fig. 2.8)¹⁷⁰ In this portrait, Sally, now a young woman, stands in a

¹⁶⁹ Bressey 255. Interestingly, the school was so overenrolled that it formed the policy of rejecting illegitimate children of Europeans and preferred to accept the fully African children of the middle class (often rescued x-slave) population of the city. This specific targeting of African children marks the school even more so, as a space of conversion and indoctrination. However, it is not to totally ascribe the impetus for these spaces solely to the colonial project because West Africans had a huge part in promoting education to their compatriots, believing that it would bridge the perceived divide of intellect between the African and the colonial power.

¹⁷⁰ Bressey, 258. Bressey writes that having returned from Freetown sometime in the late 1850s, Sally stay for sometime in Brighton with Miss Welsh, who was likely her governess. *The Official Guide to Black History*

sumptuous hooped gown with billowed white sleeves peeking from the cuffs, accessorized with a long beaded necklace around her neck and black cloth pinned to her hair. She holds a hat in her left hand while the right is poised at her chin, elbow resting on a tall ornately carved table holding a small decorative statue. Behind Sally is a large classical pillar and draped cloth which together, transform the interior studio space into a performance of the aesthetic grandiosity of a British visual portrait language that is reserved for affluent patrons, especially extended members of the Royal family. With a small smile on her face, Sally seems bemused by the theatricality of the portrait event itself, allowing the viewer to penetrate her performance and staging somewhat. Reproduced as a CDV by Merrick and Co, advertised in the local gazette, and sold to the public liberally, this portrait was widely circulated and viewed, and thereby sanctioned, not only as a private bridal portrait, but as a souvenir of a public, even national event.¹⁷¹

These ceremonial portraits were repeated again one month after the Brighton wedding in the London photographic studio of the renowned photographer Camille Silvy. Six more portraits of the couple were produced in their new domestic spousal roles; two of Sally, two of Captain Davies and two of the couple together (figs. 2.9 -- 2.14). Staged in similar but significantly grander, romantic style as those of Merrick & Co. Brighton, these photographs pose the couple in opulent scenes, with dignified intimacy, and fashionable nobility. Posed with various props—what seems like a personal bible in Sally’s hands, her ladies’ fan, Captain Davies’ rolled parchment – that indicate their social status, literacy,

[http://www.kenttrustweb.org.uk/UserFiles/ASK/File/Improvement Inclusion/SIP/SIP_Bulletin_17/Black_History_Month/Prompt_cards.pdf](http://www.kenttrustweb.org.uk/UserFiles/ASK/File/Improvement%20Inclusion/SIP/SIP_Bulletin_17/Black_History_Month/Prompt_cards.pdf), (Accessed 8/23/2008)

¹⁷¹ The CDV was likely sold for some time and then later re-advertised in the 25 September 1862 issue of the Brighton Gazette to capitalize on the recent event of Sally’s marriage and draw customers to the studio. The ad read:

“PORTRAITS of the AFRICAN PRINCESS (Mrs. James Davis), Married at Brighton, August 15, 1862. Photographed by command of Her Majesty, by Merrick – carte de visite size. Duplicates to be obtained, at 1s 6d each of MERRICK AND CO., Photographers 33, Western Road, Brighton”

gentility, and indisputable identify them as privileged upper class citizens of the state, made celebrities by virtue of their own novelty and connections to the Queen. Like the portrait produced by Merrick & Co, these portraits were also sold as CDVs for public consumption and perusal. The commoditizing effect of the CDV format circulated Sally's portrait under several sanctions; ideological, as a successful example of the colonizing mission, familiarly, as an intimate document of impending marriage, popularly, as a spectacle of exoticism, and royally, as reiterating a codified corpus of Royal portrayal and demeanor.

It is interesting to note that, these CDV recalls the earlier discussions in chapter one concerning how Sojourner Truth reclaimed her proprietary body by reproducing and selling CDVs "shadows" of herself, in order to support and sustain herself. However, in this case, these portraits were not controlled by Sally but by the Royal family, and indirectly, her godmother and guardian, Queen Victoria. Here, Sally is both property of the Britain, by virtue of being goddaughter to Queen Victoria, the personification of the Empire, and photographically captured commodity to be bought and sold, not unlike her prior slave identity. However, that is not to say that Sally did not reap some benefit (or as Ortner would say, maneuver "penetration" ...into the conditions of [her] domination...") as her connection to the Royal family made her a celebrity both in London and upon relocating to Lagos. In the end, Sally parlayed her proprietary status as the black ward of the Queen, towards her own social project, such as an elevated social status in the elite society of Lagosian repatriates, and British colonials.¹⁷²

Sarah Davies' story is a compellingly extreme example of a pattern of (voluntary and involuntary) diasporic movement that was indicative of the range experiences endured by her

¹⁷² Mann (2007) writes that Sally and Bishop Samuel Crowther were the only two Africans that the British navy was authorized to evacuate should the need arise. (125)

contemporaries.¹⁷³ Davies' story introduces the complexly embedded issues of gender, education, socio-economic categories and redistributions of power that surfaced from (collective and individual) during the colonial period in West Africa but more specifically in Lagos. Her status as ward of the Empire was a specially crafted position that existed beyond the rhetorical and restrictive categories of "colonized"/"colonizer"¹⁷⁴: as a woman of Egba descent, an educated repatriate, and an honorary member of the British royal family, Davies personified all of the major populations and special interests at play in Lagos from the 1850s through the 1930s. While Sally undoubtedly experienced the advantages and constraints of being a godchild to the Queen, she was neither agent, nor victim but rather as Ortner describes, a subject within the hegemonic socio-political structures of the colonial milieu, working towards her own agency of social project, as did her husband.¹⁷⁵

During the Davies' years in Lagos, the city felt the brunt of a series of economic and military crises, deriving from the situations in the interior and largely between the Egba, Ibadan, and Ijebu people. Moreover, the city was merged with West African Settlements in 1866 but still administered separately, then it extracted and joined with Accra in 1872 to

¹⁷³ Though these issues were at play all over the continent, the Caribbean and South America, Lagos is especially distinctive in that the sixteenth century founding of the city was due to the migratory movements of the first settlers, just as its growth was based on an institutionalized approach to interethnic cultural inclusiveness that survived through to the nineteenth century. This will be discussed in more detail in the following pages.

¹⁷⁴ Here, I cautiously invoke variations on the categories of 'colonized/colonizer,' 'self/other' as a strongly influential concepts in the articulation of colonial difference, but also as problematic categories, closely aligned with essentialist readings of colonial realities, which are fraught with more tensions and slippages than these terms imply.

¹⁷⁵ Cole 48-9, 58. Though his commercial ventures would eventually lead him to declare bankruptcy in London courts in the 1870s, , Captain Davies was for some time, the wealthiest men in Lagos. He owned his own export shipping line, shops in Abeokuta, and a political presence in the city. His success and influence were in large part due to the beneficial economic conditions of the 1860s and 1870s, the commercial training that he received during his sojourn in Sierra Leone, the ease with which he was able to obtain land grants which he parlayed into capital but undoubtedly also due to the fame and prestige of his wife. [Antony G. Hopkins, "Property Rights and Empire Building: Britain's Annexation of Lagos, 1861." *The Journal of Economic History* 40.4 (Dec., 1980): 792]

form the Gold Coast Colony. Lagos lost its independent administration and Legislative Council in this second reorganization and was more even more closely administered from Gold Coast Colony center in Accra, especially with an 1883 patent that joined the governing of Accra and Lagos even more tightly together. In 1886, Lagos was finally separated from the Gold Coast and granted its own administration again. However, the damage had already been done to the economic and political structures of the city.¹⁷⁶ Around the 1870s, the economy began to decline in part due to demand and supply asynchrony in the palm oil trade, but also due to the administrative merger of Lagos with Accra, which meant progressively longer lags in official responses to urgent crises, like the Ekiti-Parapo War which closed off trade into the interior from the 1870s through 1886. It was not until the separation of Lagos in 1886, the brief appointment of Governor Moloney, and Governor's Carter's expansionist expedition efforts with the Ijebu-Ode and Abeokuta in the 1890s that the politico-economic situation in the interior (and, by extension, in Lagos) began to recover.¹⁷⁷

The crises were not only economical but religious as well in the matter of the Niger Mission of the Christian Missionary Society. In 1890, a Sudan Mission Party on a tour of the West African Missions visited the newly formed Niger Mission in the Delta, which was led by Bishop Ajayi Crowther. Subsequently, the visiting group filed an official report that accused the Bishop, his black African subordinates and the Mission as a whole, of financial and moral improprieties without cause or evidence. Despite the outrage and indignation that these accusations cause among Lagosians, these visiting missionaries offered no apologies or explanations and similarly, the CMS declined to censure them. Outraged, Rev. James Johnson --the strict disciplinarian pastor of St. Paul's Breadfruit in Lagos, who had long been

¹⁷⁶ Mann (2007), 104-5

¹⁷⁷ Kopytoff, 162; Cole, 53-72

agitating for nationalist consciousness among Lagosians-- urged his friend and erstwhile sponsor, Bishop Crowther to break from the CMS and in 1891, the Lower Niger Mission was reconstituted as the Delta Native Pastorate.¹⁷⁸ This cession was strongly supported by a handful of prominent Lagosians but even though a compromise was later brokered (which led to the formation of an African branch of the Anglican Church), this event marked the missionary version of an across the board negative shift (more superior and less conciliatory) in European policies towards African counterparts beginning from the early 1880s and dragging through the 1890s.¹⁷⁹

Part II: 1886-1890s

1. *Unsettling the Church Missionary Society (CMS)*

Although the new Mrs. Sarah Davies did not return to Lagos to proselytize to her kinsmen as Captain Forbes had hoped she would, there were many other ex-slaves, who did so. As Sierra Leoneans began to migrate to Lagos and the interior, missionaries and priest followed after, disregarding the failure of the Niger Expedition of 1841 and other early failures and disappoints in the region for the chance to convert and minister.¹⁸⁰ In 1846, C. A. Gollmer took charge of the mission in the coastal town of Badagry, where he became

¹⁷⁸ F Ade-Ajayi, *A Patriot to the Core: Bishop Ajayi Crowther*. (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd, 2001): 134. Johnson was previously known to Crowther who recommended him for his position at Breadfruit, in Lagos.

¹⁷⁹ Soon after this time, the Niger Mission attempted to recruit West Indian missionaries (whom they perceived as better bridges between Europeans and Africans) but many of these candidates objected at being granted less rights and compensations than those of foreign (European) agents. In short, they saw themselves as equal to their European employers, of a superior class to their Sierra Leoneans counterparts, who in turn saw themselves as exalted from their indigenous cousins. At an impasse, the recruitment program eventually collapsed in 1925. [Waibinte E Wariboko, "I Really Cannot Make Africa my Home: West Indian Missionaries as 'Outsiders' in the Church Missionary Society civilizing mission to Southern Nigeria, 1898-1925" *Journal of African History* 45 (2004); 221-236]

¹⁸⁰ Smith, 13; Ade-Ajayi, 128. Then Rev. Samuel Crowther was a part of this Expedition and was one of the few members left behind to maintain the mission after the European members of the expeditionary team fell ill and had to return.

embroiled in political and economic changes underway in that town.¹⁸¹ The environment became hostile enough to warrant his relocation to Lagos in 1852, to the first every mission ever established in the city which would sprout into four more until he left for furlough with Henry Townsend in London in 1855.¹⁸² After a brief stay with Gollmer in Badagry in 1846, Henry Townsend was been stationed with Samuel Crowther among the Egba in the inland town of Abeokuta in 1847.¹⁸³

Of the three early missionaries in Yorubaland, Samuel Crowther was the only African. (fig. 2.15) He was born near Iseyin in Yorubaland, traded into slavery in 1821, only to be liberated in Sierra Leone a year later. After his emancipation, he was briefly taken to England by a CMS missionary in 1826 and returned to Freetown in 1827, at which point he became the first student in the newly established Christian Institution which would be renamed Fourah Bay College in 1843¹⁸⁴. Crowther was ordained as deacon in 1843 after graduating from Church Missionary College in Islington.¹⁸⁵ After serving with Townsend in Abeokuta, Crowther accompanied a Niger Expedition in 1854, only to return to Abeokuta and Lagos a year later. He was made head of the newly founded Niger Mission in 1857 after

¹⁸¹ J D Y Peel. *Religious encounter and the making of the Yoruba*. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000); 124. Interestingly, when Akitoye was exiled by Kosoko to Badagry, he was befriended by the missionaries there, who became convinced that the deposed ruler would take steps to end the slave trade were he reinstated. When British Consul Beecroft visited Badagry in 1851, this idea was related to him by CMS missionary Gollmer who would later penned a formal letter on behalf of Akitoye to the consul requesting British protection. (Smith, 11-2)

¹⁸² Peel, 125-6, 132. The original mission was established in Faji and soon followed a second near Olowogbowo (Saro area), a third in Ebute Ero (north near indigenous settlements), and another in Ota, (in between Lagos and Abeokuta), all established by 1855.

¹⁸³ In each location, the missionaries became embroiled in the local political and policy making processes, making recommendations to the British government about what courses of action might best soothe these group. Significantly, the work of these missionaries in opening up new interior spaces often contributed to the trade and commercial economic interests at the same time which tended to follow closely behind the missionaries' movements

¹⁸⁴ The school would later become a degree granting institution from which many Lagosians and their children would matriculate. [Carole Boyce Davies, *Encyclopedia of the African diaspora: origins, experiences, and culture*. (Santa Barbara, Calif. : ABC-CLIO, 2008).; 448]

¹⁸⁵ Ade-Ajayi. 128.

being consecrated as Bishop of West Equatorial Africa in 1864, the first African ever honored by that ranking in the Anglican Church.¹⁸⁶

Crowther's promotion in the 1860s punctuated a period of increase in the number of African agents working on behalf of the CMS—upon Crowther's recommendation, James Johnson became pastor of St. Paul's Breadfruit in 1874, the mission started by Gollmer in the 1850s.¹⁸⁷ (fig. 2.16) Conversely, the number of European missionaries dropped gradually over the following decades-- from sixteen in the 1860s, to about eight in 1874, to six in the 1880s.¹⁸⁸ However, in spite of this increased presence of predominantly Sierra Leonean black Africans in the CMS, the society leadership continued to resist the notion of “native agency”, which had been earlier supported by Henry Venn, and which Crowther worked to promote at the Niger Mission, with his all-African staff.¹⁸⁹ There was a visceral opposition among many European missionaries to the promotion of black agent to positions higher than Archdeacon. In fact, Crowther was ordained with objections from his colleague Rev. Henry Townsend who resented being under the Episcopal authority of a black African, and argued that the prestige of the mission would suffer from having a black Bishop.¹⁹⁰ Later in 1880, the CMS decided not to proceed with the consecration of James Johnson, who had had charge of the interior missions on a probationary basis from 1877 through 1880, due to his vocality on the topic of African nationalism, racial equality, and independence. These types of oppositions to the advancement of black Africans in the CMS made Crowther's pursuit of “native agency” even more implausible, in addition to the fact that the concept itself was already flawed.

¹⁸⁶ Kopytoff, 285

¹⁸⁷ Ade-Ajayi, 134; Peel 142; Ayandele writes that J. P. L. Davies, who was the leader of laity opinion at St. Paul's Breadfruit, praised Johnson as a disciplinarian but also as a “hard worker” (Emmanuel Ayankami Ayandele, *Holy Johnson, pioneer of African nationalism, 1836-1917* (London, Cass, 1970): 89, 93

¹⁸⁸ Peel, 141

¹⁸⁹ Peel, 143

¹⁹⁰ Ade-Ajayi, 132; Peel, 143

“Native agency “conveyed the sense of ambiguity by which the native, even when designated a principal, exercised not his own but only delegated power, and acted not from his own conviction but in dependence on others”.¹⁹¹

That is, “native” agent or churches would never truly be independent as long as they remained under the hierarchical umbrella of the euro-centered Anglican Church. However when Crowther and his Niger Mission ceded from the CMS in 1891 to become the Delta Native Pastorate, the mission effected such a complete independence that make idea of “native agency” seem plausible.¹⁹²

The documentary and at times exhibitory photographic portraits from the official album of the CMS Lagos Mission belie these abovementioned tensions within the Society and instead reveal the divide between African CMS agents and the indigenous populations with which they engaged, that undermine Crowther’s seemingly utopist ideas of “native agency”. For example, in an uncaptioned portrait from this album, Archdeacon Henry Johnson is pictured with his family engaging with the internal and pervasive cultural and class disparities that underpinned multiple levels of interaction in Lagos at this time. (fig. 2.17) Dressed in his liturgical clothes, the Archdeacon stands between his seated wife and a younger woman (both dressed in dark modest Victorian gowns), who each have a young child (a boy wearing light jacket and trousers and a girl wearing a light colored dress) sitting at their feet on a mat.¹⁹³ Behind the family, the neutral backdrop which appears to be a sheet,

¹⁹¹ Ade-Ajayi, 144

¹⁹² Ayandele (1970); 235-244

¹⁹³ Archdeacon Henry Johnson, namesake of early CMS missionary Henry Venn, was born in Hastings Sierra Leone to Rev. Samuel Johnson, a former farmer who was brought into the CMS by Henry Venn around 1857. Archdeacon H. Johnson was the eldest of two sisters four brothers, among whom were Rev Nathaniel Johnson, of Palm Church at St. Paul’s, Obadiah Johnson, author and Ibadan Council Member, and Rev. Samuel Johnson (Jr.). The Archdeacon married the widow Lydia Johnson at St Paul’s Breadfruit in 1888. Records indicate that they had no issue however, it is possible that the children pictured in this portrait are widow Johnson’s from her previous marriage. However, in light of the lack of substantiating evidence, I refer

it held up by three boys, who from their clothing and bare feet look to be house help, laborers, or indigenous church members, who are less well-to-do than the Archdeacon and his family. Inadvertently included in the portrait, these three young boys crane their heads around the edge of the backdrop, forcibly inserting themselves into image but are in fact, literally and socially peripheral and anonymous by comparison with the centrality and prominence of the Archdeacon's family. Engage through Barthes' notion of "punctum," these young boys open up a denser, unintended reading of the portrait, giving the viewer a glimpse into the intimate depiction of the often impersonalized sub-ethnic, educational, and class divides among black Lagosians populations. Far from being a cohesive, unified group, Lagosians were a disparate, and multiply positioned population, who, like the boys in this portrait found ways to access power from their positions at the margins, through the notion of "serious games" that Ortner described in chapter one. That is, even from their relegated positions, these boys (like various social, class, educational, generational subsets of colonial Lagosians) found ways to negotiate their own fashioning projects, thereby make themselves visible even as normalizing conventions (such as cropping and hegemonic social structures) attempted to exclude them (from fully participating in portraits or their colonial milieus).

Various portraits from the CMS album reveals further markings of difference between the "native" agents of the CMS and those indigenous populations that they were meant to convert, and even those already converted. A comparison of two pages from the album shows how these differentiations were further articulated through captions and codified portrait tropes. On one page a series of four photographs captured varied, yet predictable and clearly staged examples of indigenous subjects; the ruler with his attendant(s) captioned "Prince of Jebu Ode", an indigenous family titled "The family group", a market

to the group as "family" in following with the conventional familial construction of their portrait. (Dr. Kristin Mann's personal research records)

scene titled “Women selling Agidi”, and leisurely scene captioned “Game of Warre”. (fig. 2.18) The second page from the album also features four portraits of repatriated subject, all staged but with different and individuating captions; “Ms A. Lisbon”, “Mr. and Mrs. Oyebode, Catechist in Ibadan”, “Lucretia Smith”, and “CMS (old) Bookshop, Rev C. A. Gollmer, Mr. da Costa, Ojo”. (fig. 2.19) Following with the discussing in chapter one on the construction of cultural identities through stereotyped depictions, these portraits fashion indigenous subjects as deviant or inferior types while the repatriates are normative, in line with British Victorian moral ideals.

Accompanying captions contribute to these characterizations by only documenting the identities of the repatriates as worthy of such individuated recognition, while the indigenous individuals are relegated to broad undifferentiating descriptions of their titles, their activities and their groupings. By reading text as the third epistemic axis to the discussion of orality and photography outlined earlier in this chapter, these captions can be interpreted in similar “speakerly” terms as oral or photographic forms. Unlike the oral transmission or photography, the caption text is often a straightforward informative device that can be recombined with other evidence to extract interpretative resonance, vis-à-vis Greenblatt. That is, even with the minimal captions dismissively given to the indigenous subjects, one can gather relationships, socio-economic status, etc. For example, in ascetically titled “The Family Group” we can still discern that the pictured family is relatively comfortable, with the two adults wearing two different styles of expensive hand-woven local fabrics (the mother wears an excess cloth draped over her left arm in a show of plentitude) and the child between them wearing a combination of both their fabrics patterns. Interestingly, the father stands, wearing the Yoruba fabric hat (or *fila*) and yet he carries a broad rimmed European hat, similar to that worn by missionaries, in his left hand. Perhaps

the carried hat is a sign of affiliation, or a bid to visually align himself with missionaries influence, or simply a sign of wealth at his hat purchase, or a combination of any of these options? With these clues from within the portrait itself, we glean insights and inject resonance into how “The Family Group” interposed their own fashioning concerns into their diminishingly titled portrait, and pushed back against the oversimplified captioning of their photographic fashioning attempt.

2. *Turning Tides: British Colonial Administration and Early Lagosian Protests*

However, the trend of demoting or overlooking black African candidates for certain high-ranking positions was not just restricted to the CMS but increasingly symptomatic of the colonial administration as well. From their settling in Lagos since the early 1840s, repatriates from Sierra Leone, more so than Brazilian *emancipados*, held privileged positions as intermediaries between the indigenous factions (in Lagos and the hinterland) and the colonial government.¹⁹⁴ They worked as clerks, translators, missionaries, negotiators, and even intelligence officers.¹⁹⁵ Like their fellow repatriates, these black African civil servants lived and presented themselves according to British colonial ideals and standards, though many adopted indigenous practices like polygamy, and secret societies. For the most part they remained dedicated to their service in the administration, though they were not always beyond pursuing their own socio-economic or political interests, even if they went against the interests of the administration.¹⁹⁶ From the beginning of their participation in the colonial administration in the 1860s, these African civil servants envisioned themselves as heirs apparent to British rule in Lagos. However, after the 1886 return of Lagos to

¹⁹⁴ Kopytoff, 111-4; Osuntokun, 137.

¹⁹⁵ Kopytoff, 132

¹⁹⁶ Kopytoff, 164

independent colony status, the British colonial administration removed all African representatives from the Legislative Council. By 1892, Governor Carter had reinforced and expanded British holdings by forcefully “pacifying” Ijebu and Ibadan, extended economic trade into these regions, and demoted or replaced many black African civil servants with Europeans.¹⁹⁷ With the combination of these events, Lagosians gradually began to perceive their own excision from British plans in Lagos, and all of these indignities prompted their most prominent Sierra Leoneans and later, Muslims community leaders, and indigenous White Cap Chiefs to protest British activities in a more cohesive voice than ever before. First, in 1892, by denouncing Governor Carter’s right to force British rule on sovereign interior groups for the sake of economic interests alone in 1892, and then later in 1895, in response to the levy of Governor Denton’s “house-tax”.¹⁹⁸

While one side of the colonial project was concerned with the categorizing, typing and documenting foreign peoples and places to make them familiar and accessible to the colonizer’s gaze, another aspect captured the glory and valor of the imperial agents who carried out literal and visual conquests. To this point, there are several extant several photographs of the colonial agents who were responsible for governing Lagos after its 1886 return to independent colony and the officers involved in the Ijebu expedition of 1892 that give insight into the fashioning of the colonizer in colonial Lagos. Both sets of photographs were taken by the professional photographer Neils Walwin Holm who will be discussed in further detail in chapter five. In one photograph, taken in 1886 after the separation of Lagos Colony from the Gold Coast, features the Governor of Lagos at the time, Sir Alfred Moloney K.S.M.G. (1886-1891) with his staff and officers (fig. 2.20). In this photograph,

¹⁹⁷ Kopytoff, 225-6; P. D. Cole (1975); 52

¹⁹⁸ James S Coleman, *Nigeria. Background to nationalism* ([S.I: University of California Press, 1963): 178; Kopytoff, 224-5

Moloney sits comfortable surrounded, enjoying the dispensation of his power over the foreign environment which he governs. The portrait exudes a sense of unconcerned *laissez-faire* that was undoubtedly the domain of the uninvested colonial agents, moving from posting to posting with little true comprehension of each one. Indeed, Moloney's posting in Lagos would only last five years, barely enough time to learn the politics of the city, but not nearly enough to effectively govern. While the photograph is meant to convey the sanction of imperial power and surety, it exposes the smug ignorance of colonial agents who play at omniscience and with the lives of Lagosian residents.

The remaining three photographs were taken after the annexation of Ijebu by British forces in 1892 and feature various arrangements of then Governor of Lagos, Sir Gilbert Carter (1891-1897) with Colonel Scott, and the British military officers who were involved in the military action, and with his own officials (figs. 2.21 -- 2.23). Ryan writes that although the "practical requirements of photography, with its long exposure times and bulky apparatus, confined it to recording the aftermath of conflict. They did not necessarily inhibit a photographer's ability to portray the violence of warfare."¹⁹⁹ And while Ryan continues on to suggest that photographers gravitated towards sensational scenes of violence in documenting this aftermath, I counter that the wholesome, calm composure of the perpetrators of intimidation and fear can be just as evocative and chilling as sensational scenes of carnage. For instance, the two images of the Ijebu Expedition group show Governor Carter, Col. Scott, and his officers sitting and standing somberly but determinedly, with little affect or expression to indicate the gravity of their recent actions. The photograph is unframed and undecorated or distinguished in any way. In the deceptive innocuousness of their materiality and content of these portraits, there is nothing to indicate that they have

¹⁹⁹ James R Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*. (London: Reaktion Books, 1997): 76

subdued and colonized hundreds of thousands of previously free individuals. Within this appearance of acquitted innocence lies the revulsion of the aftermath of conflict.

In contrast to the photographs of the victors, Holm also photographed representative of the subdued Ijebu people in 1897 commission by Mr. J. A. Otunba Payne, a noted Sierra Leonean repatriate and cousin to the Awujale of Jebu during the visit of thirty-nine representatives from the Awujale on the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee (fig. 2.24).²⁰⁰ Unlike the simple unframed photographs of the Carter and his punitive force, this portrait of the Ijebu representative is ornately framed, stamped with Holm's insignia on the front in colored decorative, typeface and captioned on the back in bold font: "Chief Olowa and other representatives from His Majesty the Awujale of Jebu at the Durbar held at Lagos on the 22nd of June 1897 on the occasion of the celebration of Her Majesty the Queen's Diamond Jubilee Orange House Lagos, West Africa." As indicated by an accompanying note, the photograph was later sent to The Royal Colonial Institution by Payne: "With compliments from Mr. J. A. Otunba Payne, cousin of His Majesty, The Awajale of Jebu to The President and Council of the Royal Colonial Institute Northumberland Avenue London W. C. [from] Orange House, Tinubu Square, Lagos, West Africa July 9, 1897."

The photograph is a standard group composition, made more striking by the sheer number of delegates, in their best traditional dress, fixing the viewer(s) with a collective glare. Chief Olowa, the main delegate from the Awujale, sits in the centrally in an European style woven chair, with a large entourage seated on chairs to his left and right, on mats before him and standing behind him. Like the Chief, the other Ijebu representatives are dressed in

²⁰⁰ John Augustus Otunba Payne was a Sierra Leonean repatriate whose "father, an elder brother of the Awujale of Jebu had been captured and sold into slavery and later liberated in Freetown. The name Payne was an anglicized version of the original Yoruba name – Adepeyin; Otunba is a contraction of otun oba, meaning the senior assistant and adviser to the *Oba*." He was a prominent figure in Lagos politics and in addition to being the primary intermediary and interpreter between the Lagos government and the Jebu people, he also an active CMS supporter, the Registrar of the Lagos Supreme Court from 1877 through the 1900s, and a published author. (Kopytoff, 295-6)

voluminous traditional draped, hand-woven robes, almost all donning traditional Yoruba caps of different styles, with a few carrying costly, narrow folded lengths of hand-woven cloths on their heads. Standing directly behind Chief Olowa, in a position often reserved for a trusted aide, Otunba Payne is the only subject dressed in European attire, wearing a dark suit and skimmer hat. As such, he is easily identifiable from a similar portrait, dating from the late 1890s or early 1900s, displayed in the Glover Memorial Hall (fig. 2.25).²⁰¹

It is likely that this image was commissioned by Payne to an unknown end as his allegiances to either the colonial or Ijebu agenda had never been made clear. Born to the brother of the Awujale of Ijebu, who had been captured in war and sold as a slave to Sierra Leone, Payne was born in Kisse, Sierra Leone with the original Yoruba name of Adepeyin. He started his education in Sierra Leone, but he finished at the CMS Grammar School in Lagos, where he married a sister of J. P. L. Davies, named Martha. From 1863 onwards, he served in the colonial civil service as a Sherriff in the early 1870s, a Registrar of the Supreme Court in 1877, and Crown Prosecutor for some time, even publishing a short history of Yoruba event and an almanac in 1893 and 1894 respectively.²⁰² While Payne was a close relative of the Awujale, the ruler of the notoriously xenophobic Ijebu people, he was also a British citizen by virtue of his residency in Lagos, and he was his own person with his own social project. In light of these three coexisting concerns, Payne's agenda was not always clear when he began mediating between the British and the Ijebu representatives in 1871.²⁰³ Payne was accused of acting preferentially towards the Ijebu, even advising them on what demands to present to the British and returning escaped slaves to their Ijebu owners. Payne's

²⁰¹ In this second portrait of Payne, which appears to be a painted photograph, he stands floating in a space, in a middle distance with no plane markers around him. Payne was known to be a Freemason and a Forester so he could either be dressed in the costume for one of these groups or in a standard formal dress suit.

²⁰² Kopytoff, 295-6

²⁰³ Kopytoff, 191-2

official interactions with the Ijebu on behalf of the British were curbed for several years until 1892 when Ijebu chiefs specifically requested his interpreter skills and presence and he was allegedly forced to sign the treaty ceding Ijebu land to the British.²⁰⁴ However, even after this point, he maintained a friendly social relationship with the Ijebu chiefs and rulers.

“...in October, 1892, only months after the treaty was signed, “Prince Otonba Anobiekeh of Jebu Ode, cousin of Mr. J. A. Otonba Payne, accompanied by Elders Kumabasi, Eki, Bajo, Debote, Oduntayo, Odufala, Shibajo, Nusieve, and a retinue, in all of thirty persons, from Jebu arrived in the Colony on a visit to Mr. Payne at Orange house, Tinubu Square.”²⁰⁵

It is clear that Payne visited and was visited by Ijebu representatives and his own royal family members on a regular basis.²⁰⁶ It appears from this evidence and the accompanying caption and handwritten note that this portrait photograph can be read from familiarly, formally, and internationally stances. For one, as a member of the royal family himself, Payne belonged more within this portrait than his clothing suggested: not only was he an Ijebu man, he was also directly related to the Awujale. As the preferred interpreter of the Ijebu, Payne had a formal and official connection to the people with whom he is pictured as suggested by the ceremonial presentation of the assemblage and materially ornate framing of the portrait. Beyond the border of the city, this portrait and its myriad sanctions travelled to London to be recontextualized within the archives of the Royal Colonial Institute, marking all of these subjects as colonial subjects, in addition to their other multiple identities and social positions.

²⁰⁴ Kopytoff, 192; Cole, 66-67. In fact, in an effort to curb the trade disputes that led up to the 1892 Expedition, the Ijebu sent delegates to Lagos who, though strongly pressured to sign a prepared “treaty” by Governor Carter, refused to do so. The treaty was eventually signed by two colonial workers of Ijebu-descent, Mr. Jacob Williams and Mr. J. A. Otunba Payne. It was the Ijebu’s refusal to adhere to the terms of this illegally obtained treaty that led to the 1892 Expedition.

²⁰⁵ Kopytoff, 193

²⁰⁶ Kopytoff, 191

Conclusions

In considering photographic portraits in the milieu of late nineteenth century colonial Lagos, this chapter explored the compounded resonances that these image-objects, articulated for indigenous, Sierra Leonean and Brazilian repatriates, British colonials, and other miscellaneous groups who inhabited multiple positionalities in their social projects, and also in how they were fashioned for their portraits. Engaging with Deborah Poole's visual economies, I retraced the way in which the techniques of photography resonated with those of pre-existing fashioning practice such as *oriki*, through a shared orality. I further considered the economies of production for these images in how meaning was intimated through multiple (often contradicting) readings, and how these readings were activated through circulation to contexts. These considerations all took place in the complex milieu of colonial Lagos where the social projects of the individuals who used these media were as opaque and multiply positioned as the media itself.

The following chapter builds on this analysis of early Lagosian engagement with photography by extending the chronology into the early part of the twentieth century and focusing on the political developments within the city, starting with 1892 and ending with the 1931 resolution to the Eleko Affair. With the technological advances in the late nineteenth century, photography became a more accessible, affordable, and "democratic" medium widely available to the masses. Similarly, the increased political activities of middle and upper class Lagosians were not only directed towards obtaining autonomy for the city, but took a democratic trajectory by including indigenous groups, Muslims, non-Lagosians, and other elements of what would become Nigeria in 1914. Although the unified rhetorical nationalism that ensued had its roots in proto-nationalist activities of the late nineteenth

century, it also marked the end of the Lagosian heyday in visuality and politics, and a more complex multi-ethnic and deliberately organized and articulated anti-colonial era.

Chapter 2: Fashioning Nationalist Political Identities: A Portrait of Local Protests and Movements in Lagos, 1890s-1930s

The second half of the nineteenth century in Lagos was dominated by socio-cultural insularity, fluctuations in new “legitimate” trade economy, wars in the interior, and the political activities of colonial officials, missionaries (especially from the Church Missionary Society), and a zealous few Sierra Leonean repatriates. Throughout this period, black Africans in Lagos pursued fashioning projects that primarily advanced their self-focused, individuated social agendas, and positioned them advantageously within their ethnic enclaves and the diverse populations of the city. However, with the 1890s came a period of stronger British presence, the racist exclusion of black Africans from the colonial administration, military pacifying missions into the interior, and increased economic competition. The socio-political changes during this period motivated disparate groups of black Lagosians who had rarely collaborated in the past (indigenous Lagosians, Muslims, Sierra Leonean repatriates, and Brazilian *emancipados*) to join forces and mobilize against oppressive colonial policies. With varying degrees of success, these collaborations produced protests and political organizations that changed how local populations negotiated the hegemonic controls of colonial rule and performed emergent political group identities.

Specifically, this chapter considers three major political events; the Water Rate Agitation of 1908, the Land Protest of 1912-3, and the Oluwa Land Case of 1913-26 which led to the Eleko Affair of 1920-31. In response to unwanted tax proposals, municipal modernization projects, and attempts to interfere with indigenous land sovereignty, a relatively small but powerful group of indigenous, Muslim, and repatriate Lagosians came together to confront the increasingly racist and authoritarian policies of British colonial rule

in a more cohesive and organized manner than ever before. Loosely united by shared anti-colonial sentiments, these concerned Lagosians organized issue-specific protests, formal resistance groups, and sporadic moments of activism that added to the growing sense of cultural nationalism, proto-nationalism, and pan-Africanism among the inhabitants of the city.²⁰⁷ Layered atop existing ethnic loyalties, these activities helped to articulate early notions of the “Yoruba” nation that connected Lagosians to their cousins in the interior and contributed to an emergent Yoruba cultural identity in the 1890s. Anti-colonial activism began to take on proto-nationalist overtones in the early 1900s, just as the city was folded into the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1906, and later amalgamated into a single country in 1914. This period also touched on some pan-Africanist overtones, especially after the positive decision regarding the Oluwa Land case, which reverberated in land litigations across the continent for decades. This chapter explores how, with these abovementioned protests, Lagosians complicated their individuating projects by engaging with group causes that allowed them to articulate emergent politicized group identities and stronger anti-colonial positions.

Moreover, this chapter explores how these protests were organized and advanced by political organizations, such as the People’s Union (formed in 1908) and the Ilu Committee. Through these organizations, Lagosians from disparate ethnicities, religious circles, and socio-economic classes aligned themselves with a nascent anti-colonial front that represented a significant break from previous complacencies and complicities to colonial rule by indigenous and repatriates alike. Founded by Sierra Leonean repatriates Drs. John Randle

²⁰⁷ By no means unanimous, these political alliances were often countered by similarly diversely constituted pro-colonial Lagosians, such as Chief Obanikoro, Henry Carr, Sir Kitoyi Ajasa, Bishop Oluwole, and after 1915, J. K. Randle and Orisadipe Obasa. (Patrick Cole, *Modern and traditional elites in the politics of Lagos*. (London; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975): 131; Olakunle A. Lawal, “Islam and Colonial Rule in Lagos” *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 12.1 (Spring, 1995): 74)

and Orisadipe Obasa, the People's Union, (later known as the People's Party) was one of the first groups to mobilize indigenous masses, prominent repatriate, and high-ranking Muslim Lagosians in anti-colonial action and protest. This group contributed to early proto-national political identities in Lagos, and later, with their brief collaboration with the Lagos Auxiliary of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, took part in the Land Protest of 1912-13.²⁰⁸ The People's Union gives significant insights into how professional repatriates, who had previously worked with the colonial administration, began to agitate and work against its policies. The relatively quick decline of the People's Union after losing the allegiance of the indigenous mass membership also demonstrated how important this previously overlooked group became to political activism in Lagos. By comparison, the Ilu Committee, a pseudo-political organization of high-ranking indigenous elders and chiefs who advised Oba Eleko of Lagos, commanded and retained indigenous support throughout its long tenure.²⁰⁹ Although it largely functioned in an indigenous capacity, the organization took a prominent role in dealing with the international Eleko Affair of 1920-31. After joining forces with Herbert Macaulay's Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1923, the Committee became a rare collaboration of similarly politically aligned indigenous, Muslim, and repatriate Lagosians.²¹⁰

As economic depression and political discrimination in the colony made it increasingly difficult for Lagosians to negotiate their individuated, social projects in the

²⁰⁸ Rina Okonkwo, *Protest Movements in Lagos, 1908-1930* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995): 21-37.

²⁰⁹ Cole, 128-131.

²¹⁰ As will be discussed later, Herbert Macaulay was a strong personality and presence in the political dealings of Lagos in the early twentieth century and remained active well into the 1930s. Though he was a Christian repatriate, he was well regarded by traditional indigenous leaders, the indigenous masses, and prominently positioned member of the Ilu Committee, who, apart from him, were all Muslims. [Richard L. Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963): 45] However, even though Macaulay was affiliated with this political group, he, like many other Lagosians, pursued his own agency of projects in addition to fashioning a group identity through his affiliations with NNDP and the Ilu Committee.

colony, they began to pursue membership in politicized coalitions, simultaneous to their ongoing individuated fashioning projects. In particular, I consider how photographic portraits of these burgeoning political groups captured and expressed their shared ideologies while also reflecting the fractures, often through interpersonal conflicts, within these attempted group identity formations.

Part I: 1892-1914

1. J.K. Randle, The People's Union, and the Birth of Unified Protest Movements, 1890s-1910s

--The Ijebu Expedition and J. K. Randle

While formal, ideologically driven, political protest movement did not begin to gain momentum in Lagos until the late nineteenth century, the spirit of colonial resistance manifested earlier among ruling class populations just after the mid-century Treaty of Cession in 1861. Faced with overwhelming British military intimidation, the Oba of Lagos eventually signed this treaty but not before he and the White Cap Chiefs raised multiple challenges to its circumstances and its content. “Among the Oba and chiefs, opposition to the cession [rallied] and they began to ask whether the acting consul and the commander had authority for their proceedings...”²¹¹ In addition to this small defiance, the “Oba, his chiefs, and ‘certain natives’” addressed several letters of protest to Queen Victoria describing the intimidation tactics that Consul McCoskry and Commander Bedingfield had undertaken to ensure the Lagosians’ signatures, accusing them of creating panic in the city with their show of military force.²¹² Later, after a closer reading of the treaty document, they also accused the consul of misrepresenting the wording and interpretation of the terms of the treaty such that

²¹¹ Robert Smith, *The Lagos Consulate, 1851-1861* (Lagos and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, Ltd and University of Lagos Press, 1978): 124

²¹² Smith, 124.

it implied that the oba had ceded land granting rights to the British when in fact, those rights were never under his purview but instead belonged to the Idejo chiefs, who heartily protested.²¹³ In the end, these protests produced a compromise that allowed the oba to have power of approval over these land grants. Later, Chief Faro, an Idejo White Cap Chief from the Ojora family, pushed beyond the boundaries of these passive acts of protest when he continued to grant land as had been the right of the Idejo for centuries. He was deposed in 1864 by Governor Glover and accused of “attempting to “enforce his control over land, contrary to the established law”.²¹⁴ While the Treaty of 1861 and subsequent acts significantly stripped indigenous ruling class Lagosians of their sovereignty and primacy over their subjects and clients, the case of the Idejo chiefs and Chief Faro, in particular illustrate that these indignities did not go uncontested. However, these relatively passive acts of protest were subdued and confined compared to the inclusive, organized late nineteenth century movements that harnessed the combined discontent of repatriates, Muslims, indigenous ruling class Lagosians, indigenous masses, and black African merchants and traders.

In a series of intersecting and overlapping events from the 1890s through the turn of the century, Lagosians began to agitate more strongly and actively for their political positions and socio-political concerns. After two decades of poor colonial management from afar²¹⁵ economic depression due to market fluctuations in the 1870s and 1880s, and political strife caused by the Ekitiparapo War (1877-1886), Lagos finally regained its status as an independent colony in 1886.²¹⁶ While this change in colonial status was initially hailed as a

²¹³ John B. Losi. *History of Lagos* (Lagos: African Education Press, 1967): 47-8.

²¹⁴ A. Berriedale Keith and Smalman Smith, “Tribal Ownership of Land” *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 1.4 (Jul., 1902): 458.

²¹⁵ During this period, Lagos was consolidated with Sierra Leone resulting in the West African Colonies in 1866 and later, reconstitution into the Gold Coast Colony in 1872.

²¹⁶ Cole, 11.

turning point in the fortunes of the colony, the arrival of the new governor, Sir Alfred Moloney K.S.M.G. (1886-1891), actually marked the beginning of a particularly racist period in Lagosian politics, during which professional black Africans were removed or demoted from ranking positions and replaced by less-experienced or newly arrived British counterparts, who had begun to travel more freely with the discovery of the malaria pathogen in 1880.²¹⁷ Just a few years later in 1891, the United Native African Church broke from the Anglican Church due to controversial racist accusations leveled at the venerated Archbishop Samuel Crowther, first black Anglican Bishop ever ordained, the leader of the Niger Mission in the Delta, and a beloved elder figure to many Lagosians, Christians and others.²¹⁸ The handling of this incident called attention to the internally racist policies of the Church Missionary Society and the Anglican Church, both of which had come under internal and external criticism in the past for failing to promote black African clergymen into ranking positions. Economically, the colony also attracted increased attention from European trading firms who competed fiercely with local merchants, colluded with each other to rid themselves of black African middlemen, and lobbied the colonial government to attain access to the interior. As in preceding decades, indigenous Lagosian ruling class were still marginalized in colonial politics although Muslims had managed to maintain a level of internal coherence and political influence after the 1875 doctrinal schism in the community.²¹⁹ However, the 1892 British pacification of the Ijebu --which also brought neighboring groups under Pax Britannica-- was not well-received by any of these Lagosian subgroups who empathized with their interior cousins for reasons that derived from their

²¹⁷ Cole, 70; Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *Preface to Modern Nigeria: The "Sierra Leonians" in Yoruba, 1830-1890* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965): 208-9; Raphael Chijioko Njoku, "Poor Man's Trouble, Rich Man's Grave: A Study of Malaria and Epidemiological Sciences since the Nineteenth Century" in *HIV/AIDS, illness, and African well-being*, edited by Toyin Falola, Matthew M. Heaton (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997): 85.

²¹⁸ F Ade-Ajayi, *A Patriot to the Core: Bishop Ajayi Crowther* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd, 2001): 134.

²¹⁹ Baker, 103-5.

own positions of oppression. It was in this late 1890s period that all of these disparate groups –professional (Sierra Leonean repatriates, indigenous ruling classes, Muslims, and interior groups-- began to recognize the adversary that they all had in Britain. And while anti-colonial activism had been led by clergymen and merchants in the 1880s, the Sierra Leonean professionals who had been cast out of civil service posts took the lead, moving activism into a secular, proto-nationalist phase, and forging political identities that crossed local ethnic boundaries.

And while this chapter is concerned with the formation of inter-ethnic, anti-colonial political groups among the black Africans, it is important to recognize that some Lagosians were simply pro-colonial government (i.e. Sir Kitoyi Ajasa and Henry Carr), while others were employed by the colonial government, and others still supported British specific policies that undermined their ethnic rivals and benefited them in the process. These ethnicity-based politics were apparent in the bitter animosities between Ibadan-Oyo descended Lagosians like the Johnsons and the Willoughbys and their Egba counterparts, Rev. James Johnson and J. A. Otunba Payne.²²⁰ In fact, Abraham Claudius Willoughby, brother to I. H. Willoughby, was among the expedition troops deployed from Lagos in May 1892.²²¹ He was assigned as an assistant and interpreter to Captain Hardinge, who shared

²²⁰ E. A. Ayandele. *Holy Johnson: pioneer of African nationalism, 1836-1917* (London: Cass, 1970); 153-4. The Johnsons were a well known family that included Rev. Nathaniel Johnson, Dr. Obadiah Johnson, and Mr. Samuel Johnson while the Willoughby's were led by prosperous merchant Isaac Humphries Willoughby. On the Egba side, J. A. Otunba Payne was the most well known Lagosian, who, in addition to his role in the forced treaty that would lead to the Ijebu Expedition of 1892, was also a cousin to the Awujale of Ijebu and loyal to the kingdom through familial ties. Like their urban Egba counterparts, the Oyo-Ibadan Lagosians advocated for their interior cousins from their influential positions in Lagos political circles. Being cut off trading with Lagos as a result of the closings of trade routes by the Ijebu, the Oyo-Ibadan people in the interior were in need of advocacy. The aggressive tact that both Denton and Carter took towards the Egba was well-received by their Oyo-Ibadan rivals.

²²¹ Kopytoff, 209; Cole, 73. The Willoughby family was particularly well connected to the colonial government: I. H served as the clerk of the Criminal and Slave Courts and Superintendent of the Civil Police Force when they were established by Governor Glover. (Tekena N Tamuno, *The Police in Modern Nigeria, 1861-1965: Origins, Development, and Role* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1970): 17) He was so close to the administrator that he was often referred to as “second or little governor” (Mann (2007), 107). However, he was forced to resign in

command of the Ibadan Native Contingent with the Ibadan-descended Captain Akere.²²² In May 1892, Willoughby was killed in combat between the towns of Pasida and Mojoda in Ijebuland and two years later in 1894, a photographic portrait of him was unveiled at the Glover memorial Hall (fig. 3.1).²²³ In the portrait, Willoughby stands in a three-quarters pose wearing a dark top-buttoned jacket, small white neckcloth, dark waist coat, and lightly colored slacks. With his right hand rests on a nearby chair back, he gazes off into a distant imaginary beyond to his right. The entire portrait is captioned: “Abraham Claudius Willoughby, Killed in Action at Mojoda (Ijebu Expedition) 21st May 1892”. Because the colored photograph was retouched by the painter Aina Onabolu in 1919-20, the details of the backdrop and Willoughby’s figure are obscured by a thick layer of paint that effaces much of the photographic traits of the portrait, giving the image an airbrushed, expressionist, yet precisely detailed effect. Willoughby appears to be floating in a nondescript, ominous netherspace that reflects the luminal plurality of his socio-political positionalities. That is, Willoughby’s portrait exposes the complex balance that many Lagosians performed between their individual social projects, inter-ethnic identities and rivalries, and emerging proto-nationalist ideologies.

The caption and mode of display of Willoughby’s portrait frames his loss in terms of an ongoing inter-ethnic rivalry, rather than a private family matter, publicly implicating one rival side in the loss of this heroic public servant (as hinted in his pose and caption) and upstanding citizen (as indicated by his civilian clothing). The caption places the location and

1872 for hushing up robbery charges against his brother Emmanuel Willoughby (Tamuno, 21-3). Similarly, another brother, A. C. Willoughby acted as Gov. Glover’s private messenger in the 1860s and eventually went into the Civil Police Force as well, acting as Superintendent of Police, like his brother from 1884 through 1892.²²² Losi, 58. Interestingly, the Ijebu expedition army consisted largely of West Indians, Hausas and Ibadan soldiers, but no reported Ijebu descendants. To this point, this chapter will also discuss how Hausa soldiers were initially commissioned into constabulary and military service by Governor Glover in the early 1860s and how their role evolved within the increasingly inter-ethnic city by the early 1900s.

²²³ Losi, 62

blame of his death squarely on the Ijebu, transforming this memorial portrait into a device of political positioning for the Ibadan Yoruba of whom Willoughby was one. While these Lagosian inter-ethnic rivalries had long undergird the socio-economic and political family interactions between Lagosians, they were also very much based in familial heritage and histories. It was not until the rise of the proto-nationalist movement that Lagosians began to consider the viability of non-familial political alliances.

--The People's Union

In response to their gradual exclusion from the colonial government, professional repatriate Lagosians angrily and passionately articulated their discontent with colonial rule and began to pursue political action coalitions with like-minded, though politically divided, factions of the indigenous community. One of the most politically engaged sectors of professional service in the movement was the medical field, as illustrated by the activities and biography of Dr. John K. Randle, who, by the late 1890s had become a fixture in Lagos political society (fig. 3.2). In an undated (but likely early twentieth century) portrait photograph, a large and imposing Randle is shown dressed in a dark jacket, waist-coat, dark neck-cloth, with his right arm casually draped over the edge of a nearby table. He sits upright, at attention in a three-quarters pose with a neutral backdrop framing his figure and a soft, romantic vignette lingering around the entire composition. The romantically, anglicized way in which he is portrayed belies the fact of his fervent anti-colonial activism, participation in numerous protests, espousal of proto-nationalist ideologies, and founding role in the first Lagosians protest group, the People's Union, in 1908. Randle received his Bachelors of Medicine and Master of Surgery (M.B C.M.) at Edinburgh University in 1888 and immediately moved to Lagos where he intended to begin a career as a private medical doctor. Just one year later, he was recruited into the colonial medical service which sought

to minimize the effects of the Adeola Scandal of 1888 by introducing more black African doctors to its ranks.²²⁴ After several unhappy years at the Colonial Hospital, with half the salary of his white European predecessor, Dr. Mattei, Randle resigned from his post as an Assistant Colonial Surgeon in June 1892 citing unnecessary and financially deleterious tours to Ijebu-Ode that were demanded from him by his European superiors.²²⁵ He revoked his resignation at the insistence of his father-in-law James Pinson Labulo Davies, Rev James Johnson (who had campaigned for him to be assigned to the post), and Mr. C. J George.²²⁶ In spite of these interventions, Randle's resentment with the dispensation of his time and resources came to a head in September 1893 when he disobeyed direct orders to take up a temporary post with a garrison stationed in Ijebu-Ode, which would have taken him away from his growing private practice at his own expense.²²⁷ With this final act of insubordination, Randle was dismissed from his post, whereupon he refocused his professional attentions on his private practice and his personal interests on the political issues in the city, eventually founding the People's Union in 1908.

²²⁴ The Adeola Scandal involved a female patient who was brought to the Colonial Hospital for mysterious ailment. After being prematurely discharged and then readmitted, Adeola died in June 1888 from complications from medical negligence, incorrect diagnosis, and overall inattention by two white expatriate doctors, Digby and Mattei, who were later charged with manslaughter, convicted by a jury, yet acquitted by a judge, then suspended and dismissed from their posts in 1889. Outraged by the incident, Reverend James Johnson of St Paul's, Breadfruit church and a member of the Lagos Legislative Council recommended the Colonial Office take on more black African medical officers who would be more sensitive to the straits and health of black patients [Adelola Adeloye, *African Pioneers of Modern Medicine: Nigerian Doctors of the Nineteenth Century* (Ibadan, University Press Ltd, 1985): 60-72, 117] Randle's recruitment into the colonial service was indicative of broader trends in black African activism in Lagos. That is, as focal point of the proto-nationalist movement shifted from clergy and merchants to repatriate professionals and indigenous groups, Randle and several others were recruited into the colonial service as a result of the efforts of Rev. James Johnson, the outspoken black anti-colonial Lagosian clergyman who called for an infusion of black doctors into the colonial medical service after the Adeola Scandal. (Ayandele: 178)

²²⁵ Adeloye, 97-99. It was likely on one of these tours that Randle became acquainted with the Roberts family in Ijebu-Ode. He would later act as guardian for their son J. Aina Roberts when he relocated to Lagos in the later 1890s. After some years of civil service and amateur painting J. Aina Roberts became known as Aina Onabolu.

²²⁶ Adeloye, 98.

²²⁷ Adeloye, 102-3. This was an even less tenable situation considering that earlier in the Expedition, Randle had volunteered to take the Ijebu-Ode post as long as his private practice was cared for and losses compensated. His request was denied. This later assigned came with little notice and no chance to make alternative arrangements for his patients.

Randle's defiance of colonial authority during his tenure in the medical service had similar confined specificity as that of the Idejo chiefs after the annexation of 1861; however, in addition to his professional dispute with his colonial employers, Randle was also involved in ideological, local and international group protests that centered on the circumstances of the Ijebu expedition of 1892. In 1891, Acting Governor Denton (1889-1890) made an intimidating ill-advised, ill-received surprise visit to the Awujale of Ijebu with gifts and a well-armed military entourage with the hope of discussing the opening of trade routes between Ijebu and Lagos, only to have his overtures rejected.²²⁸ Amid pressures from European merchants to open trade routes through Ijebu country and added trade problems with neighboring Abeokuta, Governor Carter forced an illegally obtained trade treaty upon Ijebu representative.²²⁹ When the Ijebu failed to adhere to the terms of the treaty, Gov. Carter launched the Ijebu Expedition of 1892, which brought the country under British rule, soon after followed by Abeokuta, Ilorin and others. Led by Rev. James Johnson, prominent Lagosians like J. K. Randle, J. S. Leigh and R. B. Blaize spoke up against what they viewed as British aggression towards the Ijebu people. Johnson, who had been successfully attempting to convince the Awujale of Ijebu to allow missionaries into his country, witnessed all of his efforts collapse with Denton and then Carter's aggressions towards the group. His disappointment, sense of injustice, and personal Ijebu lineage undoubtedly stirred him to publicly criticize Governor Carter, first through *The Echo* newspaper in Lagos and then, by writing strongly worded letters to the London Aborigines Protections Society that

²²⁸ Cole, 66.

²²⁹ Cole, 66-7; A. G. Hopkins, "Economic Imperialism in West Africa: Lagos, 1880-92" *Economic History Review*, 21.3 (Dec. 1968): 600-602; Ayandele, 212-21. Governor Denton's successor, Sir. Gilbert Carter, demanded apologies for perceived "insults" to former Gov. Denton when the latter was refused entry to the kingdom after he led a heavily armed surprise visit to the Awujale of Ijebu to discuss trade rights. When Ijebu delegates from the Awujale arrived to offer their regrets to the Governor in January 1892, Carter attempted to force a "treaty" upon them which expanded British economic authority in Ijebu country. When these delegates refused Carter's request, two Ijebu-descended colonial employees, J. A. Otunba Payne (a cousin to the Awujale of Ijebu) and Mr. Jacob Williams were deputized to do the honors.

contradicted Carter's official colonial reports about the expedition, and challenged the his authority and integrity as an agent of the Crown.²³⁰ Although Carter initially denied Johnson's version of event, he was later forced to apologize privately to avoid the threat of lawsuit.²³¹ Unlike Randle's single-man defiance of the colonial medical service, the coordinated nature of Johnson's group assault on Carter's Ijebu reports was so potentially damaging to British colonial reputation that the governor was forced to give way to these dissenters in order to save face. This was one of the few situations in the history of the colony when such a high-ranking official was forced to admit wrong-doing (albeit privately) to colonial subjects, thus marking a major early victory for the anti-colonial movement.

Not only was the protest an effective example of late nineteenth century group protest among Sierra Leonean protagonists (Randle, Johnson, Blaize) but it also illustrated that these individuals were thinking about their political activism inclusively of the other inhabitants of the colony. In arguing against the "humanitarian" motives that Carter had put forth to justify the Ijebu Expedition, Johnson wrote that

...Lagos and the Interior countries are parts of one another, and are ultimately connected by blood, forms of religion, language, customs and habits, and their sympathies are so identical that a war with any of them by the British Government is practically a war with Lagos itself.²³²

Johnson's statement spoke to the growing cultural connections between urban Lagosians and their interior cousins, while also hinting at the beginnings of early Yoruba nationalism and

²³⁰ Cole, 67. Though the organization was dated by this period, the Aborigines Protection Society reached out to Lagosians religio-political individuals and groups. Also, in addition to the anti-colonial, anti-Carter groups there were also pro-colonial, pro-Carter factions such as J. P. Jackson, the editor of the *Lagos Weekly Record*, European merchants and firms, and some missionaries.

²³¹ Cole, 69. Cole writes that "Carter privately apologized to Johnson when Blaize, Leigh, Randle and others threatened to take him to court for not reporting facts accurately and to publish papers on the crisis that might have discredited him. The Aborigines Protection Society dissuaded them from proceeding with their threatened legal action"

²³² Cole, 217-8n162

trans-ethnic solidarity within the city. As with Johnson's anti-Carter coalition, which included Randle, Blaize, Leigh, and others, political alliances between various factions of black Lagosians allowed these groups to effectively mobilize their political clout with varying degrees of success from this point onwards. Indigenous Lagosian masses emerged as a particularly powerful political demographic in this late nineteenth century period.²³³

The clout of indigenous masses was formally engaged by the Water Rate Proposal of 1907, the Protest of 1908, and the answering 1908 founding of the People's Union, however, these event simultaneously exposed the socio-political disconnects within black African activism in the city. In 1907, the Lagos Legislative Council (which had three "native" members) approved a proposal by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to install a pipe-borne water system, which would be funded by a tax on all Lagosians.²³⁴ Lagosians were split into two factions: on one hand, anti-tax groups did not want to pay for potable water and believed that, like the colonial electricity project of 1894, this proposal would be a case of taxation without representation, on the other hand, pro-tax groups, who already had pro-colonial tendencies, saw the usefulness of the pipe-borne water project and approved of it. Oba Eleko, several of his chiefs and the Central Native Council (which was made up of traditional Lagos elders and chiefs but lacked actionable votes on the issue) strongly opposed the project as did indigenous masses, many of whom would rather continue to collect rainwater than pay for "British water".²³⁵ For the first time since the schism of 1875, the

²³³ Coleman writes about the 1895 indigenous 5000-person protest of Governor Carter's house and land tax, the demonstration against the house and land tax in late 1907, early 1908 while A. G. Hopkins elaborated on the 1897 Lagos Labor Strike provoked by Gov. McCallum (1897-1899). [A. G. Hopkins, "The Lagos Strike of 1897: An Exploration in Nigerian Labour History" *Past & Present* 35 (Dec 1966): 133-155; James Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958): 178]

²³⁴ Okonkwo (1995), 9. Market women in particular were concerned that the water rate would take all of their already paltry earnings. They arranged a separate protest in April 1909 to reiterate their own opposition to the proposal.

²³⁵ Coleman, 179-80, Okonkwo (1995), 8-9, Cole, 98. While taxation was not a foreign concept to the indigenous population of Lagos, they were generally highly averse to the suggestion, especially after the

Muslims were split, between the pro-tax group of the chief imam of Lagos, Ibrahim (the Lemomu Party) and the anti-tax group led by Adamu Animashaun, an influential cleric (the Jama'at Party which would become the Ilu Committee).²³⁶ The agitation about this issue did not reach repatriates with any impact until Governor Walter Egerton (1906-1912) rejected the indigenous opposition's suggestions that the water rate be paid from colony revenues or by those who wanted the pipe-borne system. In response to the call by Oba Eleko's bellman/cryer, indigenous Lagosians protested by looting parts of the city and marching on Government House²³⁷ and these impassioned protests drew the attention of Drs. John Randle and Orisadipe Obasa, two proto-nationalist, Sierra Leonean repatriates, and occupational professionals.²³⁸

In 1908, Randle and Obasa founded the People's Union to assist in what they saw as fight for indigenous rights. The group became the first secular, populist, political party to be inaugurated in Lagos, with Dr. John Randle as the chairman and Dr. Orisadipe Obasa as the secretary.²³⁹ Born in Sierra Leonean in 1863 as George Samuel Stone Smith, Obasa

electricity project of 1897. Even though it was advertised as a city-wide installation of electrical lights, the project was actually unevenly limited to areas of significant European occupation.

²³⁶ H. O. Denmole, "Chapter 19: The Crisis of the Lagos Muslim Community, 1915-1947" in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, edited by Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri, and Jide Osuntokun. (Lagos, Nig: Lantern Books, 1997): 278-292; Lawal, 72.

²³⁷ Cole, 99. Cole writes that "towards the end of 1908, a mass meeting was called. All the markets were closed, expatriate shops looted, 15,000 people marched on Government house, in response to the call from the Eleko's bellman". However, Okonkwo ((1995): 8) reports the number at 10,000 while Coleman reports that was around 400 (451n25). Regardless of what the really number was, the protest represented a great mobilization of the masses. The involvement of Eshugbayi Eleko and some of his chiefs in organizing these protests marked a new stage in the animosities between the indigenous ruling class and the British colonial government which would culminate in the Eleko Affair to be discussed later in this chapter. Some chiefs, like Chief Obanikoro, who supported the water rate had their houses attacked by protestors (Okonkwo (1995), 17).

²³⁸ By this point, protests were becoming more common, as apparent in the Labor Strike of 1897 and the House and Land and of 1907-1908. However this was the first time that repatriate Lagosians would attempt to form a formal alliance between themselves and indigenous groups. However, just as in the indigenous and Muslim populations, other factions of repatriates still supported the colonial administration on this issue.

²³⁹ Jide Osuntokun, "Chapter 9: Introduction to Christianity and Islam in Lagos State" in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, edited by Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri, and Jide Osuntokun (Lagos, Nig: Lantern Books, 1997): 133. In fact, Ayandele [*Nigerian Historical Studies* (London: Frank Cass, 1979): 243-4] mentions that the People's Union rejected overtures to merge with the Aborigines Protection Society precisely because it wished to remain a secular organization.

completed his primary education in Lagos and received his medical degree from the University of London. Immediately afterwards, he migrated to Lagos to start his private medical practice. Like Randle, Obasa was recruited into the colonial medical service where he served until 1904 before retiring to focus on his private practice and politics.²⁴⁰ After moving to Lagos, he officially changed his name to Orisadipe Obasa, relinquishing his European name “with honour for one equally honourable but more natural”.²⁴¹ As is apparent in his portrait photograph, Obasa completed his calculated transformation into a culturally nationalist Lagosian by donning indigenous attire that matched his new name and persona and creating a “more natural” image of himself (fig. 3.3). In his portrait, Obasa is seated with his right arm propped on a nearby surface, and his left hand in his lap and his face turned to right to complete the three-quarters pose. He wears the tasseled hat or *fila* of his Muslim influenced Ekiti lineage together with voluminous, elaborately embroidered, and high-necked *agbada* robes. Although his well-kept mustache is slightly unusual for indigenous norms, Obasa looks the part of an Ekiti Yoruba individual in this portrait.²⁴² However, as discussed below, early experiments with anti-colonial protest often had the superficial appearance of solidarity but did not necessarily translate into true dedication and commitment to corresponding causes.

Ostensibly, the People’s Union was directed at combating the Water Rate Proposal, however, the repatriates who came to the aid of their indigenous brethren also recognized the protest as an opportunity to harness the latent political potential of the indigenous ruling

²⁴⁰ Adeloje, 165. Echoing Randle’s complaint, Obasa’s wife apparently took issue with the frequent touts of duty to interior regions that the doctor was required to make as Asst Colonial Surgeon and the detrimental impact of these tours on his private practice and their young marriage.

²⁴¹ Adeloje, 159. Echeruo writes about the trend in Lagos for individuals to claim culturalism through changes in name, dress, politics, etc. However, these individuals often maintained links to and admiration of the British, anglicized way of life [Michael J C Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos: Aspects of nineteenth century Lagos life* (London: Macmillan, 1977)].

²⁴² Adeloje, 158.

class and masses, which by far outnumbered any other group in the colony.²⁴³ The Union's meetings were often attended by indigenous Lagos chiefs, Muslim leaders, and other prominent Lagosians: counter-proposals were sent to the colonial administration and petitions were initiated and signed.²⁴⁴ The struggle continued in this passive manner for several years until July 1915 when Governor Lugard attempted to revive the project in an atmosphere of dimming opposition.²⁴⁵ When the People's Union petitioned the Secretary of State for the Colonies to delay the plan until after the end of World War I, the Secretariat accused the group of disloyalty in war time.²⁴⁶ This accusation intimidated the group's repatriate leaders into proposing a weak compromise, and when that was rejected by both sides, the People's Union dropped out of the protest entirely. Their erstwhile indigenous partners viewed the proposed (and rejected) compromise as a capitulation and the Union's withdrawal as a betrayal, thus ending the promising political alliance that the Union sought to forge. The Water Rate Protest failed in 1916, with a final riot and market strike, and with Randle and Obasa on the opposing side of the issue than where they started.²⁴⁷ In spite of their displays of cultural nationalism and claims of solidarity with their indigenous brethren, repatriate leaders of the People's Union still had a tacit loyalty to and fear of the British administration that prevented them from being an enduring anti-colonial organization. Later, this would change with organizations that forged political alliances around more broad-seated issues like land rights and took their protests outside of Lagos, and into the colonial center, London.

--Lagos Auxiliary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society

²⁴³ Cole, 85. That is, as the Sierra Leonean repatriates began to perceive their waning influence in the politics of the colony and declining presence in the administration, they looked to other sources for political clout. By the 1890s, they had abandoned the causes of enlightened Victorianism for those of their indigenous brethren.

²⁴⁴ Cole, 98; Okonkwo (1995), 10

²⁴⁵ Okonkwo (1995), 13; Cole, 99

²⁴⁶ Cole, 100; Okonkwo (1995), 13-14

²⁴⁷ Cole, 100-101

While the People's Union focused on insular Lagos issues, passive activism, and some exploitative populism, the Lagos Auxiliary of the London Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society (AS&APS) was an equitable opposition coalition that was characterized by extralocal engagement, and broadly applicable rights issues. The Lagos Auxiliary of the AS&APS was inaugurated in August 1910 amid the Water Rate Protest of 1908-1916. Convened by Christopher Sapara Williams, a well-known Sierra Leonean-born barrister and vice-president of the Auxiliary, and Herbert Macaulay, a private surveyor and prominent political figure, the board of officers included Rev James Johnson as the president, Samuel Herbert Pearse as the secretary, James Bright Davies as the corresponding secretary, and Candido da Rocha as the treasurer.²⁴⁸ These founders, particularly Mojola Agbebi who would become acting vice president of the Auxiliary in 1911, made a point of opening the general membership of the organization to repatriates, Muslims, indigenous groups, secular and religious interests, in an attempt to include and address the diversity of concerns held by Lagosians and interior groups.²⁴⁹ By reaching out to indigenous ruling class in the interior during the Land Protest of 1912-13, the Auxiliary was able to form a tri-partite alliance with British humanitarian activists, urban Lagosians, and interior actors. This alliance would be put to the test with the Auxiliary's first major challenge in the Land Protest of 1912-3.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the land issue which was first raised in the Treaty of Cession of 1861 had become a foremost concern in the colony. Foreign

²⁴⁸ Rina Okonkwo, "The Lagos Auxiliary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Rights Protection Society: A Re-Examination." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 15.3 (1982): 423-4. Ayandele (1970) claims that Herbert Macaulay was actually the first secretary of the Auxiliary and Adeyemo Alakija was elected to the post in 1915 but there is no corroboration for these statements (347). Later, I will discuss the controversy that emerged within the leadership of the Lagos Auxiliary organization forcing Christopher Sapara-Williams to step down, and later, anonymous remarks that forced his successor and rival, Mojola Agbebi to resign.

²⁴⁹ Okonkwo (1982), 424; Osuntokun, 133.

speculators, emigrants, repatriates, and indigenous peoples were acquiring land in myriad and disorganized ways.²⁵⁰ Cole writes that

“Land sales, instead of trade, was to become the principal source of wealth of the chiefs. By 1910, it was estimated that over 50 per cent of all land owned by the chiefs had been alienated. Almost three-quarters of all civil litigation in Lagos were land cases. As early as 1898...90 per cent of all houses in Lagos were under heavy mortgage. Most debts in Lagos originated from loans based on the security of land.”²⁵¹

When the Lagos Supreme Courts ruled in favor of the colonial government in the Foreshore Land Case in 1911, rumors began that a West African Lands Committee would be commissioned in London to consider putting all Lagos lands into trusteeship to protect them from capitalist speculation.²⁵² This suggestion was read by politically activist Lagosian repatriates as a legalized land confiscation while it was understood by indigenous ruling class Lagosians as an end to all existing exploitative land revenue practices.²⁵³ The 1911 Foreshore Ruling stated that Oba Dosunmu had ownership of the lands in 1861 and when he signed the Treaty of Cession, he basically ceded all lands in Lagos to the British. Therefore, pursuant to the terms of the Treaty of Cession, the land in question, located in the

²⁵⁰ Pauline Baker explains that “confusion was first introduced when Oba Akitoye began to parcel out sections of the town to Saro and Brazilian emigrants, ostensibly in conformity with the custom of allowing settlement without actually granting ownership rights...Docemo continued the practice but went one step further by granting written concessions...” that were meant to deter British encroachment. Rent collected from these concessions became an important source of income for chiefs after the slave trade ended, and also helped to secure the politico-economic positions of the chiefs. The colonial system of “crown grants”, which justified by the cession of land in the Treaty of 1861, further confused the existing system as many *idejo* chiefs sought to legitimize their land rights and proprietary ownership by taking these grants. Finally, an ordinance was passed which allowed squatters, who had lived on a plot for three year or more, to claim private titles from the colonial government. The *idejo* chiefs benefited most from this confusion as they were able to mortgage, lease or sell entrusted family property as well as the “crown grants” that they acquired. [*Urbanization and political change: The politics of Lagos, 1917-1967* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1974); 95-6]

²⁵¹ Cole, 90

²⁵² Cole, 95-6

²⁵³ Cole, 96-7

Foreshore area of Lagos, and all unoccupied or non-inherited lands in Lagos belonged to the colonial government. The uproar and calls for appeals that followed this ruling reached England where Edmund Morel, a one-time Lieutenant Governor in Northern Nigeria and the editor of the *African Mail* (Liverpool) suggested that a West African Lands Committee be commissioned to determine if the Northern Nigerian Land Law of 1911 (which declared the British colonial government the trustee of all native lands) could be applied to Lagos. The Secretary of State for the Colonies obliged, appointing Morel as a member.²⁵⁴ However, Lagosians saw this solution as not solution at all as it would still result in the indigenous lands being taken from indigenous owners.

The Auxiliary successfully lobbied that the West African Lands Committee hear testimony from a select group of repatriate and indigenous Africans about the importance of honoring indigenous land rights. Auxiliary secretary Samuel Pearse and corresponding secretary James Bright Davies accompanied thirteen delegates from Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ilesha, Ife, Ijebu, Ara to England in May 1913.²⁵⁵ The group was joined by four more delegates from the Eastern Provinces, gave their evidence on June 6th and 9th, toured several industrial factories, and returned to Lagos in July 1913.²⁵⁶ Before returning to Lagos, Pearse, Davies, and members of the delegation were pictured along with four European members of the AS & APS in an undated group portrait photograph, taken at an unknown London location. (fig. 3.4) The portrait features a standing row of thirteen people (six Africans in

²⁵⁴ Okonkwo (1982), 425

²⁵⁵ Okonkwo (1982), 427; Okonkwo (1995), 25-7. Herbert Macaulay was meant to have escorted the group to London but he was detained in Lagos as a defendant in a fraud court case, for which he was found guilty and served two years in prison. Also, four delegates from the Eastern Provinces traveled and arrived separately from the main delegation.

²⁵⁶ Okonkwo (1982), 428. Interestingly, all but one of the delegates, the Honorable, Adegboyega Edun, gave testimony upholding the rights of indigenous communities over their lands. Edun, a well-spoken Sierra Leonean-born delegate from Abeokuta and a close adviser to the Alake Gbadebo of Abeokuta, was a champion of “modernizing Abeokuta through legalization of land sales and the attraction of British industry”. Edun, formerly a Methodist pastor, had changed his name from Jacob Henry Samuel, after he resigned from the ministry in 1902 and moved to Abeokuta.

suits, four black Africans in native dress, three Europeans), a seated row of ten people (one European woman flanked by seven black Africans in native dress, and two in suits), and one child seated on the floor with a dog. Though many of the individual subjects are unknown and unidentified, this photograph of the Lagos Auxiliary delegation can nonetheless be read as a dual portrayal of symbolic (ideological) and literal (biological) familial kinship.

By incorporating imagery of the nuclear family into this political portrait, the photograph of the “Native Lands Tenure Committee” ultimately evokes the familial *and* ideological nuances within the delegation. A small but significant family scene—made up of Rev Hobbis Harris (seventh from left, standing) and Mrs. Harris (sixth from left seated), a young girl (possibly their daughter) and a dog—cuts centrally through the otherwise political portrait of the Lagos Auxiliary delegates.²⁵⁷ The identity and presence of the young girl are unexplained and her anomalous addition to this political portrait begs the question of who she is, why she is present, and what her inclusion conveys. With the young girl and her dog sitting at Mrs. Harris’ feet and Rev Harris standing directly behind his wife, there is a definite air of familial domesticity within this portrait of activism. The anomalous insertion of this disjointed family portrait into an otherwise political scene simultaneously tempers the solemnity of the gathering while underscoring the metaphoric/political familiarity of the delegation itself.

It is important to examine the familial undertones around political group belongingness when considering how multi-ethnic activist groups like the Lagos Auxiliary contributed to the proto-nationalist movement in the colony. In terms of group dynamics,

²⁵⁷ Rev. Harris had long been affiliated with the Lagos Auxiliary, first encouraging its founding in 1910 when it was proposed by Sapara Williams and Macaulay (Coleman, 181), then visiting Lagos in May 1911 just in time to help the new Auxiliary repeal the Native House Rule Ordinance of 1901, which provided a loophole for continued slave ownership in the Central and Eastern rural provinces around Lagos (Okonkwo (1982): 424-5). Finally along with his wife Alice, Rev. Harris was also the organizing secretary of the AS&APS and helped to plan the delegation’s trip to London and oversaw their reception.

the portrait speaks to familial elements multi-ethnic delegation from Lagos and interior territories, and the extralocal partnership between the Lagos Auxiliary and the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. With a shared cause and colonial adversary (land rights and West African Lands Committee), the Auxiliary delegation brought together representatives from typically antagonistic ethnic groups who essentially represented an ideological family or community of like-minded, anti-colonial, indigenous individuals. Coleman confirms that the delegation “resulted in the political mobilization of new elements of the population and brought together for the first time educated Lagosians and chiefs from the interior” in a larger ideological community.²⁵⁸ Moreover, the delegation allowed the Lagos Auxiliary to shift the center of protest out of the contentious, rivalrous milieu of Lagos and into the colonial center, a move that undoubtedly contributed to the success of the Land Protest of 1912-13.²⁵⁹ Even the circumstances around the founding of the Lagos Auxiliary in 1910 anticipated such a relationship; that is, though the organization was actually convened by C. A. Sapara Williams and Herbert Macaulay, it also received the blessings of Rev John H. Harris, an advocate of African rights and an officer of the Auxiliary’s London-based parent organization, AS&APS.²⁶⁰ Representatives from both the Auxiliary and the AS&APS are present in this portrait as well; Samuel Pearse and James Bright Davies for the Lagos Auxiliary (seated third and fourth from the left) and Rev John Hobbis Harris and his wife Alice Harris, the organizing secretaries of the AS&APS.²⁶¹ From the perspective of these two groups and their officers, this portrait is the cumulative result of their internationally-spanned mission to protect black Africans from exploitation, halt the erosion

²⁵⁸ Coleman, 181

²⁵⁹ Furthermore, this opposition coalition predated the formation of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria in 1914 and the forced establishment of national identity through colonial avenue

²⁶⁰ Coleman, 181

²⁶¹ Okonkwo, (1982): 427

of black African rights, and ultimately, marshal support for the reformist agenda of the group.²⁶² Although this delegation was a temporary coalition, it represented an important point in the evolution of a proto-nationalistic political group identity in Lagos and the surrounding interior communities.

However, in spite of all their political accomplishments, the Lagos Auxiliary was not without troubled moments of continued personal internal rivalries and scandals which expose the lingering divisions within the activist community. For one, less than one year after the Auxiliary was founded, Vice-president Christopher Sapara Williams was forced to resign based on internal concerns about his involvement in the Foreshore Decision. Sapara Williams (who became the first black private barrister in Lagos in 1889) had argued the government position and won the Foreshore decision for the colonial administration in 1911.²⁶³ In spite of Sapara William's special dispensation from the AS&APS to carry out his professional duty, Auxiliary members, particularly Herbert Macaulay and Mojola Agbebi insisted that the circumstances constituted a conflict of interest that would affect his involvement in the Auxiliary's campaign against the Foreshore decision. When Sapara Williams reluctantly resigned, controversial proto-nationalist and religious figure Mojola Agbebi (formerly David Brown Vincent) (fig. 3.5) became the acting Vice-president and Macaulay took over the working committee of Muslims, Christians, "pagans", and ex-officio

²⁶² Coleman rightfully points out that the collaboration between the Lagos Auxiliary and the AS &APS, was never meant to be an anti-colonial or anti-British venture, but rather, according to the AS &APS work towards "maintaining the rights and securing freedom for the unfortunate natives whose liberties are at present taken from them and their persons subjected to barbarous and inhuman treatment in the economic interest of groups of organized speculators". In this period of increasing colonial protestations of British interventions, it was inevitable that this mission eventually collide with political activism. (Coleman, 451n32) Later, I will discuss the negative criticism that the Lagos Auxiliary faced after their return from London and how the AS &APS, as their parent organization, reacted to these accusations.

²⁶³ Okonkwo (1982): 425; Okonkwo (1995): 31

religious ministers that Agbebi had established to direct the affairs of the Auxiliary.²⁶⁴

However the issue was not resolved. After the Auxiliary delegation returned triumphantly from London in 1913, the organizing committee of the Lagos Auxiliary (headed by Herbert Macaulay and Mojola Agbebi) was publicly accused of financial malfeasance in a series of editorial articles signed by “S. Lasore”. While many assumed that “S. Lasore” was a pseudonym through which Sapara Williams could attack his old organization, it was later suggested that the writer was Oguntola Odunbaku Sapara (fig. 3.6), the Sierra Leonean-born younger brother of Sapara Williams.²⁶⁵ While he was not affiliated with the Auxiliary, it was speculated that Oguntola Sapara sought to expose Agbebi and Macaulay so that Sapara Williams could once again regain control of the Auxiliary: an objective that was accomplished when Agbebi was forced to resign in June 1913 and Sapara Williams was reinstated to his vice-presidency.²⁶⁶

Interestingly, Agbebi and Sapara had very similar ideological backgrounds; both were Yoruba cultural nationalists who “Africanized” their names to reflect their heritage (Agbebi from David Brown Vincent, and Sapara (from James Alexander Williams), wore Yoruba indigenous dress in homage to their cultural heritage, and politically supported indigenous rights against colonial interference; however, these similarities did not preclude them from

²⁶⁴ Okonkwo (1982), 424; Cole, 51. Although, this well-known portrait photograph of Agbebi depicts him prior his cultural nationalist conversion, it primarily illustrates the religio-centered approach that he took in expressing his contribution to the cultural nationalist movement. That is, Agbebi was a founder of one of several breakaway African Churches, founded in response to the racially prejudicial policies of the Anglican Church.

²⁶⁵ Adeloje, 131-2, 136. Adeloje writes that Oguntola Sapara and Christopher Sapara William’s father had changed his name to Alexander Charles Williams as “part of the resettlement programme that was characteristic of the occasion” when he was liberated by British Preventative Squadron and relocated to Freetown in 1915.

²⁶⁶ Okonkwo (1982): 430-1; Because Auxiliary President Rev. James Johnson was assigned to Sierra Leone from 1913-1915, the vice-president effectively controlled the organization and so the position was a powerful and coveted one. (Ayandele (1970), 347)

engaging in a private power struggle that rocked and eventually ruined the Auxiliary.²⁶⁷

However these shared ideological connections were set aside in the face of individual rivalries and the pursuit of self-interest. That is, while group identities were emerging more strongly during this period, the pursuit of self directed agendas that dominated earlier period was still in place.

Although select groups of politically active Lagosians attempted to fashion political alliances and identities, individuated social projects were an ever-present complication to these efforts. To this point, Christopher Sapara Williams was a particularly interesting figure in Lagos society. A well-respected professional Sierra Leonean repatriate, Sapara Williams fashioned himself as a proto-nationalist activist, albeit a politically cautious one. He tempered his political activism by socially positioning himself according to Victorian ideals, even seeking validations in the colonial titles like Commander of the order of St. Michael and St. George (C.M.G.).²⁶⁸ In his large painting hanging in the Glover Memorial Hall, Sapara is pictured in front of an indistinguishable backdrop in a three-quarters standing pose, his hand resting gently over a simple wooden chair back, wearing his barrister robes, collar, and wig. (fig. 3.7) That his commemorative portrait should show him in his professional role is not surprising given that he was best known for his achievements as a barrister in the Gold Coast until 1886 when he moved to Lagos.²⁶⁹ However, given his reputation for

²⁶⁷ Okonkwo (1995): 33; E. A. Ayandele, *A Visionary of the African Church; Mojola Agbebi (1860-1917)* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971): 13; Titilola Euba, "Chapter 10: Dress and Status in 19th century Lagos" in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, edited by Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri, and Jide Osuntokun. (Lagos, Nig: Lantern Books, 1997): 155; Adeloje, 131. Similarly, as a medical doctor, Sapara indirectly legitimized indigenous innovations by advocating the use of indigenous homeopathic remedies in a predominantly empirically scientific European medical practice.

²⁶⁸ Okonkwo (1995): 312; Hazel King, "Cooperation in Contextualization: Two Visionaries of the African Church: Mojola Agbebi and William Hughes of the African Institute, Colwyn Bay" *Journal of Religion in Africa* 16.1 (Feb., 1986): 19n14

²⁶⁹ O Adewoye, "Prelude to the Legal Profession in Lagos 1861-1880" *Journal of African Law* 14.2 (1970): 108. It is likely that he met his wife, the former Ms Anna Sophia Hutchinson of Elmina Gold Coast on one of these professional trips

restrained positions and tentative activism in Lagos, the reminder that he worked in a profession known for its dispassionate reserve resonates with his conservative politics.

Like her husband, Mrs. Danko Williams adhered to a lifestyle of Victorian gentility and cultivation which despite its leisureliness, still intersected with the increasingly political milieu of the city.²⁷⁰ Originally born in Mount Pleasant Elmina in the Gold Coast Colony and raised for some time in Edinburgh with an aunt, Ms. Anna Sophia Hutchinson became Mrs. Danko Williams when she married Sapara Williams and moved to Lagos in 1888.²⁷¹ In Lagos, she was a prominent fixture in the community, organizing social events, teaching Sunday school, founding the charitable Lagos Ladies League and presiding over the Ladies Recreation Club.²⁷² (fig. 3.8) In this posed, formal portrait of the Lagos Recreation Club, atypically reproduced in commercial postcard form, Danko Williams is seated prominently in the middle of the photograph (sixth from left) with the predominantly black African female membership of the club arranged around her.²⁷³ In spite of her central positioning, Mrs. Williams is compositionally and ideologically overpowered and subsumed by the numbers and uniform presence of her fellow members who are simultaneously de-individuated and reconstituted into collective of their modern, shared, socio-cultural identities. In this

After Danko Williams died unexpectedly on a trip to Elmina in December 1903, an extended obituary appeared in the January 1904 issue of the *Lagos Weekly Record* praising her living accomplishments and describing her as an

²⁷⁰ Philip S. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2000): 53.

²⁷¹ Danko Williams' *Lagos Weekly Record* obituary states that she married Sapara Williams in 1886 and moved to Lagos with him in 1888 (vol. XV, no. 15 (30 Jan. 1904): Weekly Notes) however, Kristin Mann counters that the couple was married in 1888 around the same time that she moved to Lagos. [*Marrying well: Marriage, status and social change among the educated elite in Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 83]

²⁷² Mann (1985), 83

²⁷³ Because photographic postcards were usually printed from photographers' stock images and collections, it is highly unlikely that such an image of the well known and affluent Lagos Recreation Club would have been used in this manner without their knowledge. This author speculates that they postcard was printed with the approval of Club and its members, possibly to raise funds for charity or social projects.

...exemplary wife, for she served her husband and family with untiring devotion and endeared herself to every member of her household by her complacent character, her kind words and genuine motherly sympathy. In society, she was known as a woman of exemplary character and high attainments possessing the most admirable qualities of a gentlewoman by which she won the affection, high esteem and confidence of all who knew her.²⁷⁴

Unlike her husband's political groups, all of Danko Williams was best characterized and remembered by her conformity ideals of womanhood; that is, "wife", "motherly", and "gentlewoman". The leisurely, nature of the community activities in which she participated in life reflect these ideals, which are in turn, valued by the Sierra Leonean community as is apparent in the photograph of Mrs. Williams that was unveiled at the Glover Memorial Hall in December 1904, less than a year after her death, honoring her contributions to the community. (fig. 3.9) In this portrait, Mrs. Williams leans slightly over a chaise back, wearing a high-necked lace dress with cuffed sleeves and bodice details, her face turned slightly to the side of the camera, and the backdrop hints of a well-appointed paneled room. She is the embodiment of middle class Lagosian gentility mixed with Victorian poise and comportment, as reflected in the caption of the photograph reads "Late Mrs. Danko Williams, Wife of the Late Hon. Christopher Sapara Williams, A Great Social Worker". However, the social focus of women like Mrs. Williams did not necessarily exclude them from political entanglements: their events were often settings in which political encounters occurred as they were well attended by colonial officials and activists alike. In fact, Mrs.

²⁷⁴ Mrs. Williams' obituary asserts that after returning from Edinburgh and before moving to Lagos, she lived with her mother at Cape Coast Castle, a trade fortification on the Ghanaian coast that had been used for the slave trade in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. At the time of Mrs. Williams' residence, the former fort was the center of the British colonial administration on the Gold Coast. [*Lagos Weekly Record*, 30 Jan. 1904; from Dr. Larry Yarak, Dept of History, Texas A&M]

Williams' leisurely pursuits worked to the advantage of her husband who was nominated to the Lagos Legislative Council in 1901 by Governor William MacGregor, in part because of "the charitable activities of Sapara Williams' wife".²⁷⁵ Like the political group identities that this chapter is concerned with, socio-cultural group formations likewise continued to develop and inform the proto-nationalist movement that emerged around the turn of the century.

And so, even group affiliations that seemed purely social and leisurely and social actors that appeared innocuous were just as entwined in the larger political matrices of the city as anti-colonial activists and organizations. With the emergence of the British West African Educated Girls Club (BWSEGC) in 1919 and the New Era Club in 1920, it became apparent that women could not be excluded from political arenas of their fathers, husbands and siblings.²⁷⁶ Moreover, the 1923 petition Lagos Women's League's petition demanding more female civil service employees and a women's college, led the way for the founding of Queens College in 1927.²⁷⁷ These later developments made it apparent that women were moving beyond their relegated spaces and infusing the proto-nationalist political arena with secular womanist concerns. But women were not the only group grasping its own prominence in the political milieu during this period as demonstrated by the level of activity around indigenous rights and freedoms.

²⁷⁵Kristin Mann, "Marriage Choices among the Educated African Elite in Lagos Colony, 1880-1915" *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14.2 (1981): 213

²⁷⁶ Okonkwo (1995), 70-3. Interestingly, both the BWSEGC (predominantly constituted by young Lagosians women, like Oyinkan Ajasa, daughter of Kitoyi Ajasa) and the New Era Club (featuring older women, like Lady Ajasa, wife to Kitoyi Ajasa) were both founded and presided over by Lady Clifford, the wife of Governor Hugh Clifford.

²⁷⁷ Nina Emma Mba, *Nigerian women mobilized: Women's political activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900-1965* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1982.): 61-3

Part II. 1914-1934

Ironically, even political groups that were meant to organize Lagosians under coherent and uniform anti-colonial and proto-nationalist causes were often dominated by existing rivalries (Jama'at and Lemomu Parties) and cults of personality like Herbert Macaulay, who after his involvement with the Lagos Auxiliary, became a prominent and recurring fixture in Lagos politics. (fig. 3.10) Born in Lagos in 1864, Herbert Macaulay was the grandson of Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther and the son of Rev. Thomas Babington Macaulay, the founder and principal of the Church Missionary Grammar School in Lagos.²⁷⁸ Macaulay was a trained surveyor who worked for the colonial administration for some time before starting his private practice, although his real interest was in politics and cultural nationalism.²⁷⁹ As discussed earlier, Macaulay was a founding member of the Lagos Auxiliary and a distinctive presence in Lagosian politics, not in the least because of his handlebar moustache and his two felony convictions.²⁸⁰ Macaulay devoted himself politically to the causes of the indigenous ruling classes, advising Oba Eshugbayi Eleko (also known as the Eleko of Eko) and enjoying popular support from the indigenous masses, while maintaining a not entirely committal political stance.²⁸¹ That is, Macaulay was not necessarily as anti-British as his indigenous allies who thoroughly believed he could free them from colonial rule, however he was also not completely assimilationist either.²⁸² In his political dealings, he pursued factional alliances, advocated for specific issues and causes, and maintained a specific inner circle of allies, such that he was never completely positioned with the anti-colonial or colonial movement but rather occupied a distinctively singular political position

²⁷⁸ Kopytoff, 293-4.

²⁷⁹ Kopytoff, 294.

²⁸⁰ Kopytoff, 294.

²⁸¹ Cole, 112.

²⁸² Cole, 122.

all his own.²⁸³ He was inextricably linked with two major events that dominated the political interactions between colonials and Lagosians (indigenous ruling class and masses, Muslim, and repatriates) from 1914 through 1934; that is, Chief Oluwa's Land Case of 1913-1926 and the related Eleko Affair of 1920-31.

--Chief Oluwa Land Case, 1913-1926

As described in chapter two, the 1861 Treaty of Cession was a highly controversial agreement that put land rights in Lagos into serious question. With ambivalent language and a deficient colonial understanding of indigenous law, the treaty implied that Oba Dosumnu had ceded all the lands in the colony to the British by signing the document when in fact; the disposal of land was the purview of the *idejo*, White Cap or land-owning chiefs. Although several *idejo* chiefs protested, delayed, appealed and even attempted to ignore the treaty, the agreement held in its imperfect state for much of the nineteenth century. The issue of land rights resurfaced intermittently most strikingly with a series of cases; the Foreshore Case of 1911 which led to the Land Protest of 1912-13, which in turn overlapped with the Oluwa Land Case of 1913-1921.

The Oluwa Land Case was the most influential partnership between repatriate (Herbert Macaulay) and indigenous actors (Amodu Tijani, Chief Oluwa of Lagos) in the early proto-nationalist period in Lagos. Although the circumstance of the Oluwa Land Case were set in motion with the 1861 signing of the Treaty of Cession, this particular incident was triggered in 1913, when the colonial government appropriated 250-acres of land in the Apapa area of Lagos mainland which was entrusted to Chief Oluwa.²⁸⁴ Chief Oluwa applied

²⁸³ Baker, 89-90.

²⁸⁴ With the passing of the Public Lands Ordinance of 1903, the government acquired the right to "take any lands required for public purposes for an estate in fee simple, or a less estate, on paying compensation to be agreed upon by or determined by the Supreme Court of the Colony" (M. P. Cowen and R. W. Shenton, "British Neo-Hegelian Idealism and Official Colonial Practice in Africa: The Oluwa Land Case of 1921," *The*

for compensation on the basis that the land was communal property, however, Supreme Court of Nigeria only granted him seigniorial rights, with 500GBP compensation. The case went to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council after much deferral by the local colonial administration.²⁸⁵ In early June 1920, Chief Oluwa's traveled with his entourage, including Herbert Macaulay as interpreter and guide, to London to consult local counsel and possibly arrange an early hearing.²⁸⁶ Before leaving Lagos, Chief Oluwa was given Oba Eshugbayi Eleko's staff of office in support for their popularly anti-colonial mission.²⁸⁷ (fig. 3.11) In prefacing the later Eleko Affair, Cole describes Chief Oluwa and Macaulay's reception in London:

Macaulay was a master of drama, and the staff of Eleko provided a good dramatic focus for his panache...they were an object of curiosity wherever they went, especially as Macaulay insisted on carrying the Eleko's staff in front of the chief as if he were carrying a parliamentary mace. Macaulay and Oluwa arrived at a time when West African issues were prominent in Britain because of the deliberations of the congress of British West Africa, at which Oluwa and Macaulay were also accredited representative of Lagos. Oluwa was feted by royalty, by the Aborigines Protection society and other similar and influential organization.²⁸⁸

In the context of their landmark case, Macaulay was warmly received by the parent organization (the AS&APS) that had ejected him from the Lagos Auxiliary several years earlier for accounting irregularities; showing the flexible and expedient nature of colonial

Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 22.2 (May, 1994): 231]. Chief Oluwa was one of several chiefs whose lands were seized in such a way. (Baker, 325n54; Cole, 94-6)

²⁸⁵ Baker, 96; Cole, 93-6, 118.

²⁸⁶ Lawal writes that Chief Oluwa and his entourage were morally and financially supported by a large part of the indigenous population of the city. (75)

²⁸⁷ Under the circumstances, that was as essential for the oba's continued legitimacy as it was displeasing to the colonial government. (Cole, 117).

²⁸⁸ Cole, 126.

politics. Chief Oluwa's celebrity apparently earned them an unauthorized royal presentation to King George V at Buckingham Palace. (fig. 3.12) In the photograph of the incident, Chief Oluwa is shown in his traditional robes and his white cap, in the process of shaking hands with King George V who is wearing ceremonial military attire—the two seemingly performing clichéd colonial roles of conquering imperialist and entreating colonized. Identifiable by his distinctive handlebar moustache, Macaulay stands in the background, holding the staff of Eleko before him. The presence of Oba Eleko's staff of office transforms this casual snapshot into an international encounter of oppositionally situated political figureheads and countries, where King George V represents England and its people just as Chief Oluwa represents Oba Eshugbayi Eleko and the indigenous Lagosians. However, importantly, Macaulay's possessiveness of the staff, as demonstrated in this portrait, marks him as the medium or conduit through which the powers and sanctions of the Eleko are channeled.²⁸⁹ By physically positioning himself between King George V and Chief Oluwa, however innocently it may have been done, Macaulay literally inhabits the ideological mediating position that he had long sought with regard to indigenous Lagosians and other groups; the composition of this portrait encapsulates the attempt by Lagosian repatriates to access political influence through their advocacy and championing of indigenous Lagosians against a British colonial adversary. Particularly in Macaulay's case, the anti-colonial political alliance that he struck up with the indigenous ruling class and masses seemed a vehicle through which he promoted his own abilities, such that his indigenous

²⁸⁹ Baker, 44; Cole 322n34. Macaulay would later describe himself as the “Minister of Plenipotentiary of the House of Docemo” so his possessiveness of the staff during this London mission was not surprising. Interestingly, the silver-plated staff was given to Oba Akitoye by Queen Victoria on January 1st 1952 to ceremonially seal the treaty agreements with the reduction/bombardment of Lagos, that is, to end the slave trade, introduce legitimate trade, allow unconstrained missionary activities in Lagos, and abolish human sacrifice. The staff is inscribed with the text of the agreement and read by King George V at this 1920 meeting at Buckingham Palace. [Alhaji H. A. B. Fasinro, *Political and Cultural Perspectives of Lagos* (Lagos: Academy Press Plc, 2004):73; Takiu Folami, *A history of Lagos, Nigeria: The shaping of an African city* (Smithtown, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1982); 45].

allies overestimated the extent of his capacity to exert influence on their behalf with British colonials.²⁹⁰ This is reinforced by Macaulay's apparent detachment from the scene before him and perhaps demonstrating his knack for showmanship, Macaulay is the only figure directly, almost knowingly facing the photographer, who records his mediating presence in these historical events.²⁹¹

Although Chief Oluwa arrived in London in late 1919, the case was not heard by the Privy Council until almost one year later in June 1920.²⁹² Almost immediately upon his arrival in June 1920, Chief Oluwa visited the London photography studio of the late Alexander Bassano where four portrait photographs (two of which are duplicates) of him were produced. (figs. 3.13 – 3.16)²⁹³ In these photographs, Chief Oluwa is dressed in his traditional clothing, white cap (embroidered with his name), crisp white long-sleeved shirt, layered over with a brocade wrapper, the ends of which are thrown over his left shoulder. He is posed in a Victorian study space with neutral painted backdrop, carpeted floors, a stylishly carved study desk and a high-backed wooden chair that he alternately sits in or stands before. Although there appears to be rolled papers on the table, the only prop that the chief interacts with is *his own* staff of office. While Macaulay had insisted on “carrying the Eleko’s staff in front of the chief as if he were carrying a parliamentary mace”, Chief Oluwa subtly inserts his own staff of office into each portrait, laying claim to his own individuated social project, rather than acting as a surrogate for the Eleko. Considering Pauline Baker’s keen assessment of the idejo chiefs’ manipulation of land rights for their own personal gain, these portraits should be read as products of Chief Oluwa’s self-directed socio-economic

²⁹⁰ Cole, 122.

²⁹¹ Macaulay was also well paid for his service to the Oluwa during this period, he received 2,083GBP for his efforts (Baker, 322n32).

²⁹² Cowen and Shenton, 238.

²⁹³. Since Chief Oluwa was not a native of and had never visited London before, it is possible that these sessions were arranged by Herbert Macaulay or their AS&APS hosts. The photographs were donated to the National Portrait Gallery (UK) by the Bassano and Vandyk Photography Firm in 1974.

agenda from within his role as indigenous ruling class elite.²⁹⁴ That is, during the Privy Council hearing, Chief Oluwa's counsel, Sir William Finlay, argued that the appropriated land did not belong to the chief, but was held in communal trust and the compensation must reflect the community loss, not merely his own.²⁹⁵ However, when Chief Oluwa finally won the decision in 1921, Judge Haldane's judgment stated that "...the Oluwa could not be compensated as an individual...because he had no individual claim...the Oluwa would have to be compensated in his capacity as a 'trustee' of the 'native community'".²⁹⁶ The sum of 22,500GBP was awarded to him with no mention of how it was to be disbursed among his subjects/dependents. Like other such, though smaller compensations, the award likely went into the chiefs' private accounts. And so even though his legal argument and custody of the Eleko's staff framed his mission in terms of a larger community, and in fact, striking a pan-African blow for colonial subjects across the continent, Chief Oluwa also won a personal victory for his own economic self-gain and larger social project. Here again, there is these group alliances overlap with and facilitate the pursuit of personal agendas by individual actors.

In addition to Chief Oluwa, another member of the entourage, who would later become a prominent though controversial actor in indigenous Lagos politics was also photographed at Alexander Bassano's studio on the same day; Prince Adeniji-Adele II. (figs. 3.17, 3.18) A descendant of Oba Adele Ajosun (1775-1780), Adeniji-Adele was born and educated in Lagos, entered into civil service as a trainee surveyor/draughtsman from 1913-4. At the outbreak of World War I, he volunteered for the Royal Engineering Corps from 1914-16 and was briefly stationed in Kano and Cameron. Like Chief Oluwa, Adeniji-Adele

²⁹⁴ Baker, 95-6.

²⁹⁵ Cowen and Shenton, 238-9.

²⁹⁶ Cowen and Shenton, 242.

was a practicing Muslim, who helped to introduce the Ahmadiyya Movement-in-Islam in Lagos in 1916.²⁹⁷ His pedigree, education, and activism in the Muslim community likely factored into his inclusion in this entourage and his receiving a private portrait sitting at the Bassano studio on the same day as Chief Oluwa. In the two resulting portraits, one seated and one standing, Prince Adeniji-Adele is pictured in his role as Chief Oluwa's attendant, carrying the chief's brocade, gold finial royal umbrella in his right hand. Interestingly, his clothes are modified to reflect both his religious affiliations and his socio-hierarchical status in relation to Chief Oluwa. That is, instead of the Chief's voluminous toga-style brocade wrapper, Prince Adeniji-Adele wears northern-style embroidered *agbada* gown –which alludes to his Muslim roots-- with a traditional strip-woven wrapper wrapped and tied around his waist –subordinating him to Chief Oluwa. According to Titilola Euba,

...dress proclaims the high status of the senior citizens, and lack of it, the humility of juniors. The chief who is obliged to humiliate himself in front of his monarch by removing part, or reducing the volume of his dress, is himself honoured in his compound by men and women who in his presence removed their headcovering, and (in the case of men) unloose their toga-like covering, temporarily tying it around their waist.²⁹⁸

Here, Adeniji-Adele's dress proclaims his belongingness and foreshadows his future prominence in the Muslim community, while also subordinating him to the superiorly

²⁹⁷ Baker, 106-7. Fasinro, 141-2. Baker writes the “Ahmadiyya ...argued that the jihad was meant to be fought with words, not sword; that the education of Muslim children should include modern subjects like arithmetic, science, and English...local Muslims...invited the Indian missionary, Abd-ur-Rahman Nayyar, to come to Lagos in 18921. A small group including Prince Adeniji Adele II, then a civil servant, and Alhaji A. B. Agosto, a Muslim of Brazilian descent founded the Lagos branch.”

²⁹⁸ Euba, 141.

positioned Chief Oluwa.²⁹⁹ This is a particularly well demonstrated in another photograph from the trip, which features Chief Oluwa, Herbert Macaulay, and Prince Adeniji-Adele, each striking their distinctive poses and performing their roles. Seated in the center of the portrait, framed by Macaulay and Adeniji-Adele, Chief Oluwa appears as a monumental figure in his toga-like wrapper, his white cap on his head and staff of office in his left hand. Behind and to the right of the chief, Macaulay stands, dressed striking in white suit and shoes and carrying the Eleko's staff of office. Prince Adeniji-Adele stands opposite Macaulay, wearing only a white long-sleeved shirt with a wrapper tied around his waist, holding Chief Oluwa's open umbrella over the seated ruler's head. (fig. 3.19) Although it is uncertain if or how they are connected independently of Chief Oluwa, Macaulay and Adeniji-Adele's early acquaintanceship and support of the ruler is particularly significant (and ironic) considering that the two eventually crossed paths again in 1949 when Macaulay opposed Adeniji-Adele nomination to the throne of Lagos.³⁰⁰ The portrait captures the relational dynamics within Chief Oluwa's entourage and suggests how the group presented itself to London counterparts. However, compositionally the portrait is a microcosm of the emerging political milieu of Lagos and the diversity of alliances that were forming and shifting over periods of time between Muslims, indigenous ruling class and a small group of repatriates.

-- The Eleko Affair, 1920-1931

While the specific reason for Chief Oluwa's journey to London was resolved in his favor, a separate international controversy emerged from the visit and reverberated through

²⁹⁹ Folami, 65; Fasinro, 111-2. Adeniji-Adele became a pioneer in Muslim education in Nigeria; eventually becoming the manager of the Ahmadiyya School at Elegbata in Lagos, and secretary to the movement's School Board of Education, and founding the Area Councils, which were later enfolded into the Action Congress.

³⁰⁰ Sklar, 71n90. Adeniji-Adele was not a member of the House of Docemo, who were Macaulay's key allies in Lagos' political milieu therefore, Macaulay and his political party (the Nigerian National Democratic Party (which will be discussed below) refused to recognize Adeniji-Adele's obaship for years after his enthronement.

the political milieu back in Lagos, challenging and recalibrating existing political collectives and alliances. Instigated by Herbert Macaulay, the Eleko Affair resulted in the deposing and deporting of Oba Eshugbayi Eleko by the British colonial administration in 1925. (fig. 3.20) In the six years that followed, the Eleko became a lightning rod for pro- and anti-colonial politics.³⁰¹ At the same time, new political groups like Macaulay's Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) invigorated the anti-colonial, proto-nationalist movement by engaging various pro-Eleko, anti-colonial factions of indigenous, Muslim and repatriate Lagosian. Ultimately, while these activities transformed the political milieu with more diversely constituted political group identities than ever before, they also introduced old conflicts unto newly emergent political group identities.

Before Chief Oluwa and his entourage departed from Lagos in 1920, the Eleko of Eko, Oba of Lagos gave the idejo chief his official staff of office in a significant show of support and blessing for his mission. In this gesture, the Eleko dubbed Chief Oluwa as his surrogate in London while also aligning himself with the chief's immensely popular anti-colonial mission. Although he was popular with his own people, Oba Eleko had a long troubled history with the colonial government. He had angered Governor Egerton (1907-1912) in 1908 when he took a dissenting stance against the Water Rate Proposal that resulted in market strikes and disruptive protests/riots.³⁰² When Governor Lugard attempted to revive the proposal again in 1915-6, and received the same response, the Eleko's stipend

³⁰¹ Stefan Reichmuth, "Education and the Growth of Religious Associations among Yoruba Muslims: The Ansar-Ud-Deen Society of Nigeria." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26.4 (Nov., 1996): 369; Cole, 127-8, 131-137. The Lemomu Party (a pro-colonial, anti-Eleko group that sprouted from the Central Mosque Crisis of 1919) was led by Chief Obanikoro and collaborated unquestioningly with the colonial government on most of its projects and policies. This group was supported by various repatriates like Dr. Henry Carr, Sir Adeyemo Alakija, S. H. Pearse, and Kitoyi Ajasa. On the other hand, the pro-Eleko anti-colonial groups, like the Jama'at Party (a group of anti-colonial Muslim which also emerged from the Central Mosque Crisis of 1919), the Ilu Committee (which was the first institutionalized alliance between traditional and modern elite within the traditional political structure) and Macaulay's Nigerian National Democratic Party (a similarly constituted alliance within the colonial political structure), supported the Oba morally and financially while they worked to have him reinstated.

³⁰² Cole, 99.

(and that of several chiefs) was suspended for more than a year as punishment.³⁰³ In November 1919, the colonial government suspended its recognition of the Eleko and his stipend for one month as a result of his unwitting role in exacerbating the ongoing Central Mosque Crisis that began in 1915.³⁰⁴ In spite of this prior history with the colonial administration, Oba Eleko was popular with many of his indigenous Lagosians, Muslims and Sierra Leonean repatriate subjects.

However, the Eleko's gesture of support towards Chief Oluwa went awry when Herbert Macaulay (a long term supporter of the oba and the House of Docemo and Chief Oluwa's personal guide and interpreter) was quoted in a London *Daily Mail* interview declaring that Oba Eleko had been disrespectfully dismissed, financially defrauded, and politically devalued by the local colonial British administration.³⁰⁵ Because Macaulay was in possession of the Eleko's staff of office when he made these misstatements, he was thought to be speaking on the ruler's behalf and the British colonial government held the Eleko responsible, demanding that Oluwa be recalled to Lagos and that the Eleko apologize for and publicly denounce Macaulay.³⁰⁶ When Oba Eleko refused to carry out these demands, his stipend was discontinued and his colonial recognition revoked. The oba continued to live in the palace, financially supported by his followers (predominantly the Muslim Jama'at Party

³⁰³ Cole, 125; Coleman, 195.

³⁰⁴ Lawal 73-4: Cole, 125. The crisis emerged when chief imam, Ibrahim (a Water Rate supporter) converted Chief Obanikoro (an unpopular, pro-government anti-Eleko White Cap Chief, head of the Ifa cult, and Water Rate Proposal supporter) to Islam. The Jama'at Party of Muslims (who were anti-colonial and pro-Eleko), demanded the removal of the chief imam who was already a political enemy. However, they were thwarted by the Lemomu (an anti-Eleko and pro-colonial party) that regularly collaborated with the British government. When Eleko was deceived into appointing Jama'at party candidates for occupied Central Mosque positions, the colonial government finally had a reason to sanction him and did so by suspending his colonial recognition and his stipend. [Lawal, 73-4: Denmole, 280-6].

³⁰⁵ Denmole, 288. Specifically, Macaulay was quoted as saying that the Oba of Lagos was the ruler of ALL Nigerians and that he had been defrauded of hundreds of thousands of GBP in stipends owed to him by the British government.

³⁰⁶ Cole, 127. Specifically, the British colonial administration demanded that the Eleko send his town bellman/cryer all around the town, reading from a statement that was prepared by the Resident of the Colony, Henry Carr—a Sierra Leonean repatriate who was notably anti-Eleko and despised Herbert Macaulay. The fact that the Eleko sent a denial of Macaulay's statement to all newspapers was not satisfactory.

member of the Ilu Committee) until 1925. At this point, a faction of ruling class chiefs –who were discontented with the lack of results in his reinstatement campaign, prodded by Chief Obanikoro, yet unqualified to challenge the oba-- colluded with the colonial government to depose the ruler and replace him with Ibikunle Akitoye.³⁰⁷

These events were suggestively framed and bracketed by a series of photographs of the Eleko (alone and with his political cohorts) taken at different stages of this unfolding drama. More than any others, the portrait of the Eleko --alone and imposingly seated, dressed in blinding white, with his traditional white cap atop his head and infamous staff of office in hand-- suggests the cosmological isolation of the divine ruler, his diminished efficacy, yet continued centrality to internal political power struggles, repatriate proto-nationalist movements, and colonial politics of Lagos. (fig. 3.20) Ultimately, the Eleko is the embodied conduit through which the socio- political concerns of his indigenous Lagosian subjects are articulated. However, in this rare portrait of the Eleko pictured alone, without any subordinates or entourage, he appears as a vulnerable ruler, the cracked wall behind him seemingly reflective of the crumbling facade of his rule under the sustained attack of internal and colonial challenges. However, even as the portrait visually dramatizes his kingly isolation and diminishing influence, his staff of office legitimizes his rule and compels some deferential colonial treatment. Oba Eshugbayi Eleko's positionality in this milieu is more clearly represented in a well-peopled portrait featuring a colonial administrator, influential ranking chiefs, and repatriates, which was taken in Lagos at an unknown date. (fig. 3.21) In this portrait of about forty-three individuals, the Eleko sits --dressed in full regalia, with bright brocade wrapper, his staff of office, and one of his numerous broad brimmed hats-- beside the Resident of the Colony, Major Birrell-Gray, in two centrally placed seats. The two

³⁰⁷ Cole, 134-7.

men are surrounded by a group influential Lagosian actors; many of whom who would later become the Eleko's political rivals, including Chief Obanikoro, Alli Balogun, Imam Ibrahim, Dr. Orisadipe Obasa, and Sir Kitoyi Ajasa. Though the setting of the portrait is not clear, the marble, brick, and pillared edifice of the building to the rear suggests that the scene, and likely the motives for the portrait, was determined by colonial directive and not by the Lagosians attendees themselves. Though the precise context of this photograph remains unclear, this scene of diplomatic pretense and magnanimity ominously foreshadows the political conflict which would later unfold while visually affirming the connectedness of all of the actors, one to the other.

While these earlier portraits fashion the Eleko as a troubled ruler, attempting to defend his traditional political primacy against rival indigenous challengers and colonial subversion, surviving portraits taken after 1925 further complicate the oba's public image and political role by photographically demarcating the ideological spaces carved out by the ruler and his allies amid internal quarrels and power struggles. In 1925, several lesser ranking, discontented chiefs were encouraged by Chief Obanikoro to instigate the official ousting of the Eleko, five years after his stipend and colonial recognition was suspended. These chiefs were supported by Acting Governor Baddeley and Resident of the Colony Major Birrell-Gray, who, valuing efficiency over indigenous procedure, accepted the judgment of unqualified lesser chiefs and ousted the Eleko to Oyo in accordance with the Deposed Chief Removal Ordinance. This lack of diligence gave the Eleko grounds for appeal so that, after many years of delay, he was reinstated in 1931 before his case was even officially brought to court.³⁰⁸ Taken after the Eleko's return from exile, the portrait of the oba and *his* white cap chiefs shows the ruler politically restored to primacy among the indigenous ruling ranks and

³⁰⁸ Cole, 123; Folami, 45-6

compositionally recapturing the focal point of the camera's lens. The Eleko sits centrally positioned with a striking (likely imported) broad brimmed hat, brocaded wrapper tossed over his left shoulder, and staff of office in hand. He is shielded by an attendant holding his royal umbrella, and flanked by four *idejo* or White Cap Chiefs on either side. Unlike the previous portraits of an oba under siege and constrained by diplomacy, this photograph of the Eleko's triumphal return is a visual affirmation of the ruler's power and indomitable resilience. However, even as a complicated figure of divine isolation, vulnerability, and resilience, the Eleko did not act or defend his socio-cultural or political position singlehandedly.

Ultimately, the Eleko Affair represented a period of emergent new political alliances and associations, while also rearticulating old divisions and succumbing to cults of personality, foremost among them, that of Herbert Macaulay. In 1923, early on in the timeline of the Eleko Affair, Herbert Macaulay inaugurated the Nigerian Democratic Party (NNDP) which, contrary to its misleading name, was focused primarily on local Lagos politics. The NNDP was primarily comprised of pro-Eleko indigenous members, including the *idejo* or White Cap Chiefs (whose support he gained with his involvement in the Oluwa Land Case), the Muslim Jama'at Party members (who dominated the traditional Ilu Committee of oba advisers), and organized market women (who still remembered Macaulay's support of their campaign against the Water Rate Proposal).³⁰⁹ Macaulay used his influence with these groups to mobilize his reinstatement campaign for the Eleko, even merging the Ilu Committee with his own political party and generally positioning himself as the primary point of contact and common denominator between all of these independently

³⁰⁹ Sklar, 46-7. Nina Mba, "Chapter 16: Women in Lagos Political History" in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, edited by Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri, and Jide Osuntokun. (Lagos, Nig: Lantern Books, 1997): 238.

influential indigenous groups.³¹⁰ Of these three groups, the Ilu Committee (a long extant advisory council for the oba comprising indigenous chiefs, Jama'at Muslims, and religious leaders) was an especially important pro-Eleko, anti-colonial group that lobbied on behalf of the oba, financially supported him in his exile, and paid his legal fees until he was reinstalled in 1931.³¹¹

The portrait of the Ilu Committee is an example of newly forged political alliances, re-articulation of old divisions and cults of personality that emerged during the Eleko Affair. A poignant accompaniment to the Eleko's homecoming portrait, the portrait of the Ilu Committee celebrates the successful coalition efforts of the (indigenous and repatriate Lagosians, coming together to defend the Eleko (and his indigenously legitimized rule) against internal and colonial challengers and thereby marking a small victory for the anti-colonial, proto-nationalist cause. (fig. 23) Interestingly, the Eleko himself is physically absent from this portrait, although his presence is implied by the gathering of this group, which was basically an extension of the ruler in Lagos during his exile in Oyo. While the photograph of the Eleko before the beginning of the Affair had the ruler surrounded by men who were and would become his challengers, this portrait is dominated by his supporters alone, convened in a more intimate, relaxed composition, with no colonial backdrop, administrator, or collaborators but simply the embodied distilled authority of the indigenous influence. In a subtle manifestation of the cult of personality the Macaulay nurtured around himself, he appears to be the only repatriate featured in this portrait, even though the Committee notably worked with numerous repatriate allies (like Egerton Shyngle, C. O. Blaize, and Akinwande Savage). The absence of these other allies from this portrait raises as yet

³¹⁰ Cole, 136-140. He also used the general indigenous goodwill towards himself and his party for their efforts on behalf of the Eleko to gather party votes for seats in the Lagos Legislative Council.

³¹¹ Cole, 136-140; Lawal, 76

unanswered questions about Macaulay's control over the Committee, and related groups.³¹² And so, while the Eleko Affair allowed for renewed anti-colonial solidarity among indigenous and repatriate Lagosians, it also reinforced existing divisions within the ranks of indigenous, Muslim, and repatriate actors. A complicated amalgam of alliances and rivalries, indigenous and colonial political wrangling, the Eleko Affair was a contentious episode that revealed the troubled negotiations undertaken by Lagosian individuals and various factions in their attempts to secure and enhance their socio-political positions and projects in the face of myriad challenges.

Conclusions

With increased proto-national and anti-colonial activities from the late 1890s through the twentieth century, indigenous ruling elite and prominent Muslim groups experienced political renewal and attracted the entreating attentions of repatriate Lagosians, like Dr. J. K. Randle and Herbert Macaulay. However, even as group political identities began to form from these alliances, individual Lagosians from all groups continued to contend with their own individual self-fashioning projects and attempted to deploy these political positionalities and alliance towards these self-oriented objective. The result was a complicated and interconnected interplay of individual and group political struggles which layered individual, collective, and rivalrous relationships one atop the other in an effort to successfully negotiate all three into mutually advantageous outcomes. For one, even though the Eleko was finally reinstated in this particular saga, his death, nearly one year after his reinstatement, suggests that it is not the particular incident but the processes through which these histories emerge that ought to be closely considered. To this point, the way in which portraiture was used as a

³¹² Lawal, 76.

strategy of demarcating power by black African Lagosians is one such process that deserves further examination. The following chapter engages with John Tagg's work on ideological surveillance in examining how colonial rule was established and proliferated through the colonized subjects, and Allan Sekula's work on the archive in rethinking material and ideological histories and relationships between archival materials, object-collections and colonial archives.

Chapter 3: Visual Processes of Collective Fashioning: Photographic Group Portraits and Albums in Lagos, 1880-1931

As discussed in previous chapters, within the complexly diverse colonial milieu of Lagos, the elision of individual social projects with political collective identities was an immensely important and ever-shifting process that facilitated the formation of anti-colonial and proto-nationalist movements out of myriad ethnic conflicts and rivalries in the colony. However, these urban colonial identities were not the sole domain of indigenous or repatriated Lagosians: they existed concurrently with colonial and missionary image productions, libraries and archives that sought to assert and enforce the controls and sanctions of their particular projects and institutions, as discussed in chapter one. That is, simultaneous to the proliferation of proto-nationalist and anti-colonial Lagosian political groups and projects in the city, British colonial agents, administrations and missionary groups propagated their own visions of the colony and organized urban Lagosian identities around imperial projects and ambitions. This chapter suggests some ways in which the colonial versions of these state “strategies of power” can be troubled and unpacked with an examination of specific photographic material, object-collections (albums), and archives.

While John Tagg’s exposition on the coincident emergence of police service and photography in British society focuses on how this institution was used to enforce state power and control, this chapter considers the same question in the context of hegemonic colonial relationships in British West Africa, and Lagos especially. Tagg argues that photography was engaged by the state as an apparatus of power, surveillance, manipulation and control, however, in colonial contexts, these photographic practices were doubly turned upon black African police and soldiers. As agents of the British colonial state and colonized

subjects, these police and soldiers enforced *Pax Britannica* just as they were simultaneously oppressed by that same rule of law. These particular subjects were doubly inscribed with photographic strategies of colonial powers, these particular subjects trouble and implicate Tagg's work in new ways. Specifically, I suggest that the photographs of these black African subjects performed colonial order and power in three parts; first as material objects, they supply the photographic colonial archive/library, second as ideological evidence, they legitimize misguided notions of colonial reform and reordering, and thirdly, as indices, they implicate the broader, continued, self-sustaining impact of colonial rule over colonized subjects. To this point, this chapter attempts to trouble Tagg's arguments about state power, police scrutiny, and photographic practices by suggesting the plurality of way in which strategies of power were photographically deployed and layered upon one another within the colonial state.

Engaging with Allan Sekula, this chapter also examines the archives in which these photographs were housed and the albums in which they are compiled, and the sanctions by which the assembled object-collections were deployed. While Sekula argues that archives suspend the imposition of meaning, normalizing their contents and allowing them to be inscribed by the institutions and compilers that engage them; that is, while the power of the archive lies in its collection and empiricism, the power of the institutions lies in the compilation and interpretation. However, this chapter attempts to parse some ways that meanings were produced by archives independently of its relationship to the state institutions that used it. To this point, I examine two different colonial albums; the untitled Church Missionary Society albums from Niger and Yoruba Missions (circa 1890) currently housed in the National Archives of Nigeria at Ibadan University and the colonial "Nigeria Snaps" album (circa 1925) currently housed in the National Archives, Kew in London,

England. First, with the C.M.S. albums --used to construct coherent portraits of successful missions to the organizations' funders-- were troubled object collections that actual exposed the flaws within this project. Moreover, the material status of the album itself can be read as a microcosm for the archive itself, creating an interesting and poignant connection between the two that troubles Sekula's characterization of the archive as a space of suspended meaning. Similarly, the "Nigeria Snaps" album is haunted by complex levels of authorship and compilation, suggesting that the compilation process itself replicates the pluralities (rather than eliding them to create a coherence) of perspectives within these albums. Moreover, as an object collection documenting impact of colonial efforts in Nigeria, this album is emblematic of the actual amalgamation of the country by the British Colonial Office, where the archiving of the document indicates a residual colonial relationship between the colony and its former master, as manifested in modern neo-colonial interplays.

Ultimately, this chapter complicates the work of Tagg and Sekula by juxtaposing their theories with the multi-vocal photographic colonial archive. I consider how the colonial project was advanced through photographic "strategies of power" that produced individual and object-collection materials, which in turn comprised a counter-archive that worked similarly, yet in opposition to the anti-colonial project of Lagosians and other colonized black Africans. In doing so, this project attempts to read the same opacities and pluralities that dogged the proto-nationalist, anti-colonial Lagosian project, into the British colonial project.

1. Policing the Colonized: Photographic "Strategies of Power" in Lagos, 1880-1902

From the beginning of the colonial period, well before the rise of the proto-nationalist and anti-colonial movements in Lagos in the 1890s, British colonial agents

engaged with various state apparatus and institutions as part of the project to subvert and subjugate local populations under colonial rule. One of the most effective of these tools was the locally constituted police service which was originally proposed by Consul Foote in 1861, just before the annexation of the colony and again by his successor Consul McCoskry in the same year. The Armed Police force was made official and expanded by Governor Freeman in 1862 and expanded even further by Governor Glover.³¹³ While Tekena Tamuno suggests that this police force was established to protect the “lives and property of the indigenous people, the European merchants, and other businessmen and Christian missionaries”,³¹⁴ Philip Ahire argues that, as colonial interventions eroded indigenous political systems, the founding of the police force allowed colonial agents to instate and enforce an imperially sanctioned rule of law upon the colonial subjects.³¹⁵ In fact, contrary to the given reasons for establishing the force, only a small number of police constables from the Lagos-based Civil Police patrolled in Lagos, while the majority of the Armed Police Force participated in pseudo-military action in the interior, well away from the colony, defending British claims on the those regions from rival colonialist European nations.³¹⁶ In 1901, the Foreign Secretary attempted to address the precarious balance that most colonial administrators were forced to strike between internal policing and external military defense with the formation of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) from several existing constabularies, including the Armed

³¹³ Tekena N Tamuno, *The Police in Modern Nigeria, 1861-1965: Origins, Development, and Role* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1970): 12, 15. The idea for the policing force was instituted (without approval by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Russell) after annexation by then Acting Governor McCoskry. Governor Freeman expanded the relatively small contingent of twenty-five to 100 in 1862, and again to 600 in 1863, after which, it was known as the “Armed Police Force”. [Philip Terdoo Ahire, *Imperial policing: The emergence and role of the police in colonial Nigeria, 1860-1960* (Milton Keynes [England]; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1991): 35]

³¹⁴ Tamuno, 10

³¹⁵ Ahire, 49

³¹⁶ Ahire, 35. Ahire writes that the Armed Police Force killed Chief Hunkan Abukjoko of Ajido in 1864, attacked Egba forces at Ikoroudu with support from the HMS Investigator and HMS Handy in 1864, and took a large part in the Ijebu Expedition of 1892. These activities were carried out primarily to secure the British claim on the interior regions and safeguard this claim from encroaching European rivals, like Germany and France. (Sam C. Ukpabi, *The Origins of the Nigerian Army: A History of the West African Frontier Force, 1897-1914* (Zaria, Nig: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd, 1987): 48

Hausa Police.³¹⁷ While the WAFF was ostensibly meant to defend the outer border of British colonies against outside aggressors, the force, ultimately indicated the continued progression towards British colonial expansion. Ultimately, the parallels between policing and colonial histories suggest that the gradual embeddedness and legitimization of colonial state rule in Lagos and the interior would not have been possible without the inauguration of the police (and later military) service, and vice versa.

The success of these forces was in part due to the fact that they were constituted by populations that allowed British colonial forces, the most strikingly foreign minority in the colony, to manipulate and exploit existing interethnic tensions and rivalries within indigenous populations while themselves retaining control and influence over the milieu. That is, from early in the 1860s, the Armed Police Force and the Civil Police were predominantly populated by poorly integrated “Hausa” ex-slaves, who were considered by the British colonial government to be of a desirably “aggressive and warlike disposition”.³¹⁸ These “Hausa” were actually Muslims outsiders from various ethnic groups in the northern Nigeria and the Niger region, who constituted a socio-political minority, ostracized by indigenous, and Muslim Lagosian populations. In their newly ascribed police roles, these ex-slave Hausa were “hated...as the embodiment of alien values and an increasingly alien law,” just like their British counterparts in the colonial metropole.³¹⁹ Not only were these outsider

³¹⁷ Ahire, 36; Ukpabi, 63. The WAFF was an alternative military defense force that would theoretically relieve the War Office from having to meet impossible demands to defend British colonial boundaries and holdings. It included two battalions raised for the purpose, the Royal Niger Company Constabulary, the Niger Coast Protective Force, the Gold Coast Constabulary, and the Sierra Leone Frontier Police. Ahire adds that the subordinate ranks of the WAFF were “swollen with conscripts and runaway slaves who usually escaped to Lagos and other areas under colonial control” (41)

³¹⁸ Ahire, 57. McBeath and Killingray suggest that while launching the Gold Coast Constabulary in 1879, Glover also bought predominantly Muslim slaves at 5GBP per head to supplement the ranks of the force. [David McBeath Anderson and David Killingray, *Policing the empire: Government, authority and control : 1830-1940* (Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 1991): 107]

³¹⁹ Ahire, 27, 56. Ahire and Tanumo both write that during its formative years, the Civil Police, in particular, was regularly, physically attacked by indigenous Lagosians, so much so that Oba Dosunmo had to be warned to assure the constables’ safety. Anderson and Killingray also state that when Lagos was amalgamated with the

multiethnic Muslim groups a practical and inexpensive recruiting options, they also had no qualms about enforcing colonial law and exerting forced authority over the majority of the Lagosian populations who generally abused them. In truth, this preexisting animosity between these “Hausa” and other Lagosians was necessary to the former’s function as police officers because, as Ahire notes, “The use of non-local recruits in colonial police forces [emphasized] that the role of the police was not to protect the community, but to execute the will of the colonial state.”³²⁰ The ironic and uneven alliance of two “foreign” groups (militarily powerful British and socio-economically ostracized “Hausa”) to police and reorder a local majority occupied space like Lagos should not be lost in this analysis. The “Hausa” performed their law-keeping role and remained a dominating presence in the Armed Police, even as it was absorbed and reorganized with the different amalgamations of the colonial territories, as described above. It was not until the absorption of the Armed Police into the WAFF in 1901, that the “Hausa” policing presence in Lagos diminished and this group assumed high visibility positions in their new posts in amalgamated military forces.³²¹ Holding these roles at the height of British colonial consolidation, enlisted multiethnic Muslim soldiers were intercepted by the rise of documentary photography at the hands of amateur colonial agents.

While ostracized outsider groups like the Hausa acted as agents of colonial state power in their roles as police and soldiers, they were in turn subjected to and surveilled by the lens of colonial photography, a device of colonial strategies of control, and surveillance.

Gold Coast and the Lagos Armed Police became the Gold Coast Constabulary, recruits from northern Gold Coast who comprised a similar force in the new colony were also referred to as “Hausa”. [Anderson and Killingray, 107, 116]

³²⁰ Ahire, 56

³²¹ Tamuno, 55-6. By 1908, the remaining Lagos Police Force was comprised of almost as many Hausas and Yoruba, with the later being actively recruited into the force. After the Ekitiparapo wars and the pacifications of the interior, the Yoruba (like the Hausa) earned a reputation among the colonial government as a fierce and belligerent group.

Three such photographs of Hausa soldiers from two different regiments illustrate one technique through which state controls and influences are exacted upon all colonized subjects, including collaborators. The first is an untitled but descriptively captioned portrait of the Armed Police Force that was likely taken before the 1900 amalgamation. In the portrait, a sixty man contingent is dressed in almost-full military attire —though their bared feet suggests an incomplete integration into their official colonial roles— with every member armed with rifles and two mid-caliber cannons standing intimidating within their ranks.³²² (fig. 4.1) Two young drummer boys and a standards bearer carrying an unusual ornate staff, adds a ceremonial air of formal legitimacy and pomp to the contingent. Similarly, the marble-faced edifice rearing up behind the group seems to suggest the institutionalism, uniformity, command, and permanence that are often associated with such euro-originated military organizations. However, in a deviation from these colonial details, the ogee archways that interrupt the frontage of this colonial building simultaneously suggest some underlying contradictions in the ideological integrity of this colonial military contingent. That is, the darkened Muslim-influenced arches, ominously invoke the architectural heritage of the subsumed religious-ethnic identities that allowed these soldiers to act as “reformed” militarized agents of the British colonial project.³²³ The dramatic framing effect that these archways create around the contingent stubbornly reiterates the cultural origins of the soldiers, in spite of colonial training efforts to suppress them. However, as I will discuss

³²² This lack of shoes for these official military soldiers, when in fact their European officers were shod is particularly telling of how completely marginalized they still were even from within the colonial apparatus. That is, many British believed that Hausa did not need shoes and in fact preferred to walk bare feet.

³²³ However, in evaluating this reading, it is important to note that many “Hausa” often had little choice but to join armed forces where they would at least be supported and employed. As McBeath and Killingray earlier suggested, in 1879, Gov. Glover was reprimanded by the Colonial Office for attempting to full the ranks of the Gold Coast Constabulary with Hausa slaves who he purchased for 5GBP per person. It is not certain (though very likely) that such practices took place in Nigeria when the governor was in full control of the organization and expansion of the Armed Police Force which was later amalgamated with the Gold Coast Constabulary. (107) This possibility seems even more likely considering Kristin Mann’s argument for Governor Glover’s sustained “client-patron” relationships with his subordinates, especially the Armed Police Force. (106)

below, the act of surveillance and archive that are triggered by the photographic event itself, and the later archiving of this portrait suggests that the portrait and its subjects are even more deeply mired within the strategies of power practiced by the British colonial project.

By comparison to the relatively moderate portrait of the Armed Police Force contingent, similar portraits of colonially-assembled military forces illustrate different yet equally problematic nuances of colonial manipulations and opaque inversions. “Four Hausa Gun Carriers, 1902”, a group of four Muslim men are shown, casually standing together similarly dressed in traditional embroidered gown (often associated with northern Nigeria groups), with loose dark pant underneath, *tagelmust* head wraps, and leather sandals. (fig. 4.2) Although the accompanying caption of this portrait unequivocally identifies these men as members of the Southern Nigerian Regiment—which was formed in 1900 with the amalgamation of the Niger Coast Protectorate with Lagos colony and absorbed into the WAFF in 1902--³²⁴ their dress does not comply with expected conformist military dress; that is, although they are dressed uniformly, their attire evokes their religious-ethnic belongingness more so than their martial roles.³²⁵ In fact, a hand written note etched directly unto the top left corner of the mount borders of the portrait reads: “These men are enlisted for one year at the same rate of pay as a soldier, but get no uniform. Capt Burrows (?) note.” The incomplete integration of this particular group of soldiers into their regiment and therefore the WAFF suggests their dispensability to the group. In appearance, these Hausa

³²⁴ That is, in 1900, the Niger Coast Protectorate was amalgamated with the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos and the existing Lagos Police Force (formerly the Civil Police) absorbed the southern detachments of the Royal Niger Company’s (RNC) constabulary and together, the two became the Southern Nigerian Police. The force retained its new name and designation but expanded its jurisdiction when the Lagos was merged with the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1906. (Ahire, 34-6)

³²⁵ While Alan Sekula theorizes that the invention of the criminal body cannot be dissociated from the law-abiding one, here is an example in which the law-keeping body (the recruited “Hausa” imbued with colonial authority) cannot be dissociated from the policed population (the Lagosians who represent potential criminality, dissent, or disorder). That is, the incompletely integrated dress of colonial police force marks them as semi-belonging to each group, and so to neither. [Alan Sekula, “Body and the Archive” *October*, 39 (Winter, 1986); 14-5]

soldiers are politically subjugated subjects, while, by occupation, they are militarily expendable bodies, both roles contrast strongly with the politically active (defiant and collaborative) Muslim presence in Lagos at the turn of the century. This disjuncture between appearance and occupation underscores the audacity of the colonial scheme to train colonized subjects to police each other and advance British interests in the colonies.³²⁶ In another portrait of a similar group, captioned “Four soldiers of King Edward VII's African Rifles, 1902” four black African soldiers are dressed in colonial-issue belted khaki uniforms of the KAR --complete with fez, culottes, and bared feet--standing together and at attention as if in the presence of an invisible officer. (fig. 4.3) This photograph is also notated similarly as the portrait of the four Hausa gun carriers, written as before directly onto the mount borders of the image. More than the caption, these notes overwrite the silences of the portrait and attempt to textually guide the reading of its content. Unlike the notes for the four Hausa gun carriers, the notes for these KAR soldiers provide some specific background information about the individual subjects. That is, the notation atop the photograph reads: “These men are Soudanese (sic) descended from Emin Pasha’s Expedition” while the bottom reads: “Sergeant and three privates of the King’s African Rifles. Note: The private marked “XX” is a Skillick (sic) who fought against us at **** (sic) when he was a dervish, 1902.” More than those accompanying the Hausa portraits, these notes seem to frame the KAR soldiers as sovereign individuals, with biographical and familial histories, albeit framed in terms of European activities on the continent (that is, Emin Pasha’s expedition).

While the captions and notations attempt to silence and rearticulate these photographs ex post facto of the actual photographic event, the setting and the context in which these images were taken actually frame the portraits within that initial capture event.

³²⁶ One of the written statements on this photograph also mentions that these soldiers are “African (Coronation) Troops”, a notation will be discussed in more depth later.

In a close reading of the setting, it is apparent that the four “Hausa” gun carriers and the King’s African Rifles (KAR) stand before the same ominously darkened entryway (not unlike those archways that backed the sixty man contingent). In each of Sekula, the these two portraits, the subjects are framed by an imposing, distinctively marbled and pillared edifice, which exudes a stately European architectural presence that could not be replicated in the colonies. Even the compositions of the portraits are identical, with soldiers in one portrait seemingly echoing the physical and political stances of their counterparts in the other portrait. This is not entirely surprising considering that both were taken by the same photographer, (Sir John Benjamin Stone, who will be discussed at length later) during the same event; that is, the 1902 coronation event of King Edward VII in London. The coronation was an Empire wide celebration that brought together representatives from all corners of the British Empire. The following archival addendum to the portrait of the KAR attests to this:

...This portrait is part of a series of portraits taken by Stone of soldiers standing to attention outside the House of Commons. They were among the many colonial soldiers from Africa, Asia and the Carribean (sic) who took part in the Coronation procession for Edward VII in London in August 1902...

With this coronation event, the Empire displayed its material and imperial wealth and influence in this lavish ceremony, complete with colonial subjects specifically imported to the city to pay homage to the new ruler. In a live reenactment of the colonial collecting, ordering and classifying project, colonial subjects are called to the capital, to represent the various conquered territories in the Empire. As Peter D. Osborne describes, strategies of

power were reflected in the photographic library that the colony amassed through the processed of the colonial collection.³²⁷

By the late 1890s, advances in technology made photography available to the layman photographer, explorers, tourists, colonial officers.³²⁸ Various genres of photographs were often taken by British officials and agents of the colonial project, and later stored in colonial archives that were literal incarnations of the symbolic knowable libraries of otherness that Osborne discussed earlier in chapter one. Not unlike the *People of India* album project, discussed in chapter one, all of the three photographs discussed in this section were taken by two such agents, Sir Manuel Menendez and Sir Benjamin Stone. A little known Chief Justice of the Nigerian Courts, Sir Raymond Menendez took the portrait of the Armed Police Force sometime between 1880 and 1905, during an extended period of reorganization that coincided with British colonial amalgamations and restructurings. Menendez' dual role as photographer and the chief justice of Nigeria evokes the interwoven theme of order, reform, and discipline that meanders through these photographs and indeed, the colonial project as a whole. As discussed above, the Armed Police Force of Lagos was recruited out of socio-economically ostracized subgroup "Hausa" locals, who were *reformed* into a colonial law-keeping force. Amid the instability raised by constant amalgamation and reorganization, these soldiers are photographed and fixed as an orderly, cohesive contingent, with sustained integrity and legitimacy in spite of external instabilities. Menendez' role as the author of this

³²⁷ As Peter D. Osborne argues, the objective of this exercise was the "classifying, recording, census-taking, mapping, displaying and licensing of everything, so rendering it knowable, imaginable and controllable by means of European systems on British terms". [Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester and New York; Manchester University Press, 2000); 40]

³²⁸With slower exposure time, hand held cameras were introduced by the late 1870s and the Kodak box camera in the late 1880s. Factory developable film was incorporated into the Kodak cameras, making the photographic practice more accessible and easier for laymen to take and process their film. The movement towards affordability was advanced by the creation of a pocket-sized apparatus, in 1897 by George Eastman and the Brownie camera in 1900.

photograph is not wholly alien to his official role as a court official who reconciles the rule of law with experiential realities.

As the authors of these photographs, Menendez and Stone were essentially acquisitionists of the colonial library and archive, recording and framing these soldiers as living souvenirs of imperial conquest. Not only did these amateur photographers literally and politically inscribe these soldiers as British colonial possessions, they facilitated the archiving and silencing of these photographs in major colonial institutional collections. The photographs of the Hausa gun carriers and the KAR were both taken by Sir Benjamin Stone, a former glassware industrialist and amateur photographer, who was elected and served as an MP for Birmingham East in the House of Commons from 1895 until his death in 1914.³²⁹ In addition to founding the National Photographic Record Association in 1897, Stone also took hundreds of photographs of his fellow parliamentarians and also of his favorite scientific and socio-political subjects. Many of these photographs and portraits, including those of the colonial “Coronation Troops”, were eventually archived in the House of Commons Library or contributed to the National Portrait Gallery, two key vaults of British colonial histories and perspective.³³⁰ In fact, Stone’s own portrait, presumably a self-portrait, is housed in the National Portrait Gallery, along with thousands of his other photographs.³³¹ (fig. 4.4) Taken in 1899, this portrait shows Stone almost three years before the coronation event, standing before one of the gates of Parliament, in the exact location where he would photograph the

³²⁹ House of Commons Library, Manuscripts Collection, HC/LB/1/111 (AdminBiogHist)

³³⁰ Elizabeth Edwards, “Straightforward and Ordered: Amateur Photographic Surveys and Scientific Aspiration, 1885–1914” *Photography & Culture* 1.2 (November 2008); 186+204n1

³³¹ The fact that Stone’s photographs were accepted into the National Portrait Gallery his own position as an accepted authority by the colonial state, and its official institutions, and by extension, a voice of state integrity, and colonial reinforcement. Scott McQuire discusses this further by pointing the internal adjustment of the workings of objectivity that the camera allows, which “acknowledges the partiality of the camera only to limit any disturbance this might cause to existing regimes of truth by offering to position the viewer as a perfectly organized eye-witness” through the photographer, a respectable, member of Parliament. [*Visions of Modernity: Representations, Memory, Time and Space in the Age of the Camera* (Sage: London, 1998);134-5

African colonial troops three years later. In the only major compositional difference between the photographs, one of the two gates guarding the entryway has swung closed, breaking the mid-ground of the portrait and bracing the subject against the ominous effect of the darkened entryway behind. Save for a small number of the portraits (including the coronation troops) taken by Stone at this time, all of his parliament-related images are composed in this particular style at this location and within the same parameters, creating a sense of repetitive immutability, time dissociation that delimits the photographs. The repetitive tautology of Stone's personal portrait archive has a normalizing quality that allows it to be absorbed easily into the larger program of the accumulative colonial archives of the British Museum Library, the House of Commons and the National Portrait Gallery, which should be read as state-controlled material microcosms of the Empire/colony relational dynamic. Ultimately these archival microcosms were informed by the British imperial mission to order, classify, and possess othered subjects through a quantifiable codification system that inscribed colonial subjects as pawns/soldiers, in spite of the slippages propagated by the opacities of the photographic medium itself.

2. Arranging Colonial Collections: The Originating Processes of Albums-Archives

As in previous chapters, the opacities and multivocality of photographs is the underlying thread in the following analysis of the role of colonial object-collection and archive. Allan Sekula has argued that archives are spaces of suspended meaning, holding systems that compulsively accumulate and empirically organize materials for use by state institutions that sanction them with meanings and power.³³² Because these archives collect and organize but do not confer new meanings or ideas, Sekula contends that archival

³³² Allan Sekula, "Chapter 12: Reading an Archive: Photograph between Labour and Capital" *Visual Culture: The Reader*, edited by Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall (Sage: Los Angeles, 1999); 183-5

materials, like photographs, are primarily imbued with meaning through remnant provenance or reabsorbed into purposed object-collections, like photographic albums.³³³ Sekula's proposition shifts the power from the archive which collects material, to the systems and institutions that arrange, compile, and deploy it. In response, this section attempts to redress Sekula's minimization of the archive by highlighting the complex relationship between the archive and its materials, while also revealing opacities within compilations projects that trouble the coherent meaning-granting ability of object-collections, like albums.

Two deteriorating albums of the Church Missionary Society Niger and Yoruba Mission, housed in the neglected archives of the National Archive at Ibadan University, challenge the notion of historical permanence that is embedded within the archival project, narrated within the album-collections, and concretized within the structure of the archive itself.³³⁴ These two albums feature photographs taken by unknown photographers who were likely amateur missionary photographers or African apprentices or mission workers—one album photograph pictures the C.M.S. missionary, Rev. C. A. Gollmer, standing in front of the C.M.S. bookshop with George S. A. da Costa, a C.M.S. bookkeeper who would later become a prominent government and private/commercial photographer. (fig. 4.5) The context suggests that da Costa, like many other black African photographers of his time, was introduced to his photography through European patronage or apprenticeship. Moreover, the images in the albums originate from various missions, including, Oyo, Abeokuta, Ilesha, and Niger, and date from 1885 through 1889, further indicating that not only were these images provided by multiple photographers, but they were also taken from different periods

³³³ Sekula (1999), 183.

³³⁴ C.M.S. (P) 1-105 (Niger); C.M.S. (HP 1-67 (Yoruba). Although little information is currently available on these albums, this section attempts to address their material state and the role that they play in this archive in order to shed some light on the impact and reading of such object-collections on scholarly analysis of photographic colonial archives.

of time--these albums are chronological and geographic compilation of the works and most importantly, the successes of the C.M.S., amassed for easy perusal by the viewer. Albums like this one were commonly compiled and displayed or sold to attract recruits or raise funds for mission works. An advertisement in the December 1889 issue of *The Church Missionary Gleaner* reads:

“THE GLEANER PICTORIAL ALBUM. A selection of the best Pictures from the C.M.S. Publications and other sources, grouped together in countries, and illustrating Natural Scenery, Habits and Customs, and Religious Ceremonies of the People, Scenes, and Incidents in Missionary Life and Work, &c., &c. In Three Volumes. Handsomely bound in cloth, crimson and fold with beveled edges. Price 5s, post free each volume or the set of three bound in one 12s, post free.

N.B. –The *Gleaner Pictorial Album* and the *Church Missionary Gleaner* and *Instructor* volumes are suitable books for Christmas Presents or School Prizes.³³⁵

This ad broadcasts the purpose and framing of albums like the two C.M.S. volumes described above. Although the albums discussed here were more modestly bound and presented, the content of the volumes directly mirrors that described in the ad above, from successes like the scene of religious conversion and anglicization in “Modern Baptismal Group” to native scenes depicted in the obviously contrived composition of “Native Games of Warre”. (figs. 4.6, 4.7) In a valiant effort to assemble these images into a coherent narrative within the album the prints are affixed onto the album leaves with a strong adhesive that keeps many of the photographs in place, decades later.

Interestingly, even though the content of this archive is meant to depict the solidarity of the mission and the combined successes of its agents, the individual photographs in the

³³⁵ Church Missionary Society, *Church Missionary Gleaner* vol. 16-17 (December 1889); 188

album suggest circumstances that undermine this project. That is, the inclusion of several Niger Mission photographs dating to 1889 is ironic considering the lack of support given to this all black mission, and foreshadows the 1890 visit by the Sudan Mission group which would lead to the temporary, racially instigated separation of the Niger Mission from the C.M.S. The photographs of Bishop Crowther, the leader of the mission and his all black missionaries subtly implicate these divisions within the organization and within the albums itself. (figs. 4.8, 4.9) Although these black African missionaries appear no different from their European counterparts picture within these albums, the history of the organization tells a very different story. The rhetoric of solidarity that these albums promote is undermined by the realities of the dearth of support given to this mission and by the undercurrent of racial tension that troubled the organization and indeed, much of Lagos during the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s.³³⁶

Moreover, the material or physical states of the albums are emblematic of the inherent problems within these particular object-collections. That is, the binding of the albums has unraveled to the point that the individual leaves of the volume are completely loosened and freed from the compilation. While this disassembly is directly attributable to misuse or lack of conservation for the album, the condition of these albums is also conceptually indicative of the precarious project of coherence that these object-compilations attempt, and indicates the “natural” unraveling that results without constant ideological and physical repair. Ideological dismantling is represented by the breaking away of Niger Mission Group just as it is physically indicated in the archival unraveling of the very binding of the albums. Moreover, the actual unfastening of these photographs from their object-compilations facilitates the return of these individual photographs to the archive and a state

³³⁶ See the discussion in chapter one for a more detailed recounting of the separation of the Niger Mission from the C.M.S.

of suspended meaning. The unraveled condition of these albums suggests that the attempt to compile and arrange these already opaque documents into a totalizing project is an untenable and insecure undertaking that reveals more un-fixity than coherence.

The decaying condition of the album as is apparent in the torn, insect-eaten page leaves, damaged and faded prints, and loosened binding, echoes that of the National Archive at the University of Ibadan itself. While the archival collection was formed in 1954 (the Nigerian Records Office), the specially designed archival building was not inaugurated until 1958.³³⁷ Much of these accomplishments were made possible by Kenneth Dike, a student, who in the course of the work made possible by his Social Science Research Fellowship (1949) came across colonial governmental records and went about applying to the then-colonial government to ensure their protection and survival. The performed rescue and the preservation of these colonial materials and histories performed and achieved by a colonial subject and resulting in these National Archives brings into question which legacy the archives perpetuate by their existence. In theorizing the decay of photographs in colonial archives as “a lover’s discourse”, Liam Buckley has suggested that the building and the interpersonal engagements that it engenders reproduce anachronistic colonial nostalgias and that ultimately, “the decay...provides visible evidence that the National Archives, although an institution of prestige, fails to serve the nation as a locus of power and authority”—thus characterizing the failure of this archive to properly preserve as a failure of the post-colonial African state.³³⁸ Here, the decay of the album also implicates the shabby architectural body of the archive itself, which, since being built in 1958, has not been updated or renovated.

³³⁷ Simon Heap, “The Nigerian National Archives, Ibadan: An Introduction for Users and a Summary of Holdings” *History in Africa* 18 (1991); 159

³³⁸ Liam Buckley, “Objects of Love and Decay: Colonial Photographs in a Postcolonial Archive” *Cultural Anthropology* 20.2 (2005); 249-270. Buckley also goes into some elaboration about the concept of love and how it influences the care and research in these archives but it is not entirely clear that these ideas or characterizations are applicable to the National Archives of Nigeria in Ibadan.

Here, the archive directly mirrors the condition of the C.M.S. album held within, demonstrating how the lives of these materials are intricately and symbiotically caught up in and dependent upon that of their archives. While this relationship is not one of “meaning” per se, it is one that of equal if not more concern.

While archives based on the continent often struggle with the problems of decay and impotent historical impermanence as described above, those same archives residing in the former colonial centers experience few such struggles. To this point, the following section attempts to read the National Archives, Kew in London, England, in conjunction with the near immaculate “Nigeria Snaps” album, which is housed in this well cared for collection. Compiled sometime between 1925 and 1930, just after the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924-5, the “Nigeria Snaps” album is a collection of one hundred twenty-nine photographs grouped into nine sections; ‘Native Scenes and Native Life’, ‘Native Types’, ‘On the Nigerian Railway’, ‘In Lagos’, ‘Recreation’, ‘The Gardens at Sokoto’, ‘The Nigeria Regiment of the West African Frontier Force’, ‘The Colony Police Force’, and ‘The Government Printing Office’. Together these subsections of photographs divide the album-collection into colonially sanitized groupings that showcase the exotic interests, commercial industries, and colonial accomplishments in the colony—in short, this total album attempts to fashion a colonially approved portrait of the colony of Nigeria. However, unlike the C.M.S. albums, the photographs in the “Nigeria Snaps” album are completely uncaptioned except for two images of the “Shewu of Bornu” and “Bornu Chiefs”, both of which have had their captions etched into the negative and reproduced in the print.³³⁹ (fig. 4.10, 4.11)

³³⁹ Interestingly, while one would expect that both etched captions were written by the same person (the photographer) and therefore have similar script, the “Shewu of Bornu” is written in sentence cursive script whereas “Bornu Chiefs” is printed in bold capital letters. There is no explanation for this discrepancy as of yet.

The remaining photographs are left to speak for themselves, bracketed by category headings that direct viewers' readings and give the album meaning.

While Langford stops just short of truly troubling the question of album authorship in her discussion of Pierre Bourdieu's *Un art moyen (Photography: A Middle-brow Art)*, Shawn Michelle Smith engages with this very issue in her analysis of W.E.B. Du Bois' three albums entitled *Types of American Negroes, Georgia, U.S.A.*, and *Negro Life in Georgia, U.S.A.* showcased in the 1900 Paris Exposition.³⁴⁰ Smith writes that

Despite the fact that his name is embossed on the album spines, Du Bois does not emerge as the “author” of the Georgia Negro photograph in any simple way...there is no evidence suggesting that Du Bois ever used a camera himself. And yet, Du Bois is clearly marked as the framer and organizer of the images—it is his name on the spine of the albums, and it is Du Bois who was awarded the gold medal for this work. Thus if du Bois does not exactly function as an author, in this case, he is certainly an archivist—an assembler of already prepared parts, making meaning by choosing and placing and pasting images in relations to one another.³⁴¹

Even though Du Bois was neither the photographer nor the commissioner of the photographs, he was the compiler of the albums, the recipient of the gold medal prize, and according to Smith, the *author* of the album or object-collection and the *archivist* of the project. Thomas E. Askew, the first African-American photographer in Atlanta, who himself was a subject of several photographs in Du Bois' albums, “produced all of the photographs for Du Bois' albums, culling negatives from his studio archives and printing them especially for the Georgia Negro albums”; and so, Askew was photographer, portrait *subject*, and

³⁴⁰ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); 26-7; Shawn Michelle Smith. *Photography on the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois, race, and Visual Culture*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004); 3

³⁴¹ Smith, 7

custodian of the source archive for these albums.³⁴² This complicated matrix of relationships suggests that the authoring processes of album compilation cannot always be clearly or easily parsed into specific categories.

The complexities of authorship are equally apparent in the “Nigeria Snaps” album, which was commissioned and produced by the colonial government under, as yet, unclear circumstances. The only clear evidence of the provenance of the album is in the introductory note, which reads:

NIGERIA SNAPS. This Album was made by Mr. Thomas Henshaw, the Chief Native Bookbinder of the Government Press, Lagos, and His Assistants. The photographs were supplied by Mr. H. S. Freeman, photographer-in-Chief to His Excellency the Governor.³⁴³

Although the “Nigeria Snaps” was essentially a colonial project, all of the photographs were provided and the compiling processes carried out by colonized subjects, working as agents of the colonial administration. While it is unclear who selected and compiled the album, the other actors in the process are apparent. As the bookbinder, Thomas Henshaw literally affixed the photographs to the page leaves, ordered the arrangement, and fastened the images together and in this process, created the meaning-endowing narrative format of the album. In a way, he was the author of this album, in much the same way that Du Bois was for the Georgia albums described above. However, unlike Du Bois, Henshaw remains an unknown figure who does not appear in the Blue Books records (1920-1938) as ever having been employed by the Government Printing Office. The author-photographer of the album, H. S. Freeman is similarly missing from these colonial records, though independent of this

³⁴² Smith, 67

³⁴³ National Archives, Kew (UK), CO 1069.71.

colonial context, his commercial works survived as proof of his productivity.³⁴⁴ The one hundred and twenty-nine photographs that Freeman provided for this album are proof of both his productivity and his integral role in this project. (figs. 4.12 – 4.15) It is clear that there is shared sense of authorship between Henshaw and Freeman though the involvement and influence of the colonial administration over the entire project remains an uncertain specter. It is only by reading the implicative relationship between the album and the archive in which it is stored that a sense of this colonial presence in the compilation process becomes evident.

Indeed, the album-making process itself mimics the colony-making project of the British Colonial Office; that is, the way in which the multi-sectioned album brought together various aspects of Nigerian social, economic, and political life, is emblematic of the amalgamation of over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups into a single Nigerian country. And similarly to the country today, the album endures as a monument to the achievements of British imperialism. The “Nigeria Snaps” album is stored in the National Archives at Kew in London, a major storehouse, which among other things also hold a variety of official and private records documenting the activities of the British Empire for centuries into its history. The continued and nostalgic preservation of the album in the National Archives implicates Britain in the problematic, yet enduring neo-colonial relationships that the declining Empire enjoyed with its “Commonwealth family of nations” comprised of former British colonies. The album is directly imbued with this meaning and reading through its relationship with the archive, neither in spite nor independent of it, as Allan Sekula has argued.

³⁴⁴ It is uncertain whether H. S. Freeman was officially employed by the colonial government as he is not mentioned in any colonial Blue Books from 1920-1936. It is possible that Freeman worked for the governor in some unofficial or personal capacity or that he invented the moniker on his own to advance his business. As in the “Nigeria Snaps” album, Freeman signed these extant works (predominantly postcards) with what may be the self-proclaimed title of “Photographer-In-Chief to His Excellency, the Governor”, perhaps again, in an effort to stake a claim to the level of his career accomplishments.

Conclusions

This chapter redressed some existing theories and notions as about photographic practice by recalibrating them to colonial context of colonial Lagos, Nigeria. It engaged with how photography, as an apparatus of power, surveillance, manipulation and control, was turned upon black African police and soldiers (acting as agents of colonial authority, yet themselves colonial subjects) in order to complicate Tagg's arguments about state power, police scrutiny, and photographic practices by suggesting the plurality of way in which strategies of power were photographically deployed and layered upon one another within the colonial state. This chapter also troubled Sekula's argument that archives are a space of suspend meaning and suggested some ways that meanings were produced by the archive independently of the state institutions that used it. In her work on albums and archives, Langford suggests that "...the private album in a public museum is a microcosm that bridges two macrocosmic collections, the compilers and the custodial institutions"; that the photographic album strives to repurpose multi-vocal individual photograph-objects into cohesive projects and collections in ways that the archive cannot.³⁴⁵ Here, Langford theorizes the ideological relatedness between the album making and archiving processes, while simultaneous suggesting that archives/ custodians are reflective of albums/compiler, and moreover, the individuals photographs that comprise these collections. Importantly, this reflects the awareness and involvedness of the archive in the process of meaning-making, a possibility that was minimized by Sekula's theory of the archive as suspended spaces. Rather, this chapter shows the interrelatedness of archives, albums and photographs, and the

³⁴⁵ Langford, 18

complicated and interwoven relationships between photographers, compilers, and custodians.

Chapter 4: Life Portraits of Portraitists: Reconstructing the Black Lagosian Image-Maker, 1888-1934

“The portrait-photograph is a closed field of forces. Four image-repertoires intersect here, oppose and distort each other. In the front of the lens, I am at the same time: the one I think I am, the one I want others to think I am, the one the photographer thinks I am, and the one he makes use of to exhibit his art.”

-Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (15)

While Barthes’ quote takes the position from the front of the camera to confront the “image-repertoires” that are at play during the Euro-centered photographic event and practice, this chapter considers the view from behind the camera and canvas from the perspective of the black photographer and painter working in the colonial milieu of Lagos. In considering the significance of emerging visual media in the milieu of colonial Lagos, it is important to also examine the contributions of those who acted as intermediaries between these media and the population. While the preceding chapters of this project have explored the perspectives and visual strategies of the medium of photography and its clients, this chapter takes a closer look at the black Lagosian studio photographer and painter who facilitated the aspirations of their clients. I discuss their engagements with the politicization of the city in respect to their roles as visual mediators: for even while they mediated their clients’ portrait practices, these individuals simultaneously pursued their own professional legacies and social self-fashioning projects both locally, and internationally. In particular, this chapter examines the careers of one Lagosian photographer, Neils Walwin Holm (1865-after

1920; fl. 1888-1910) and one Lagosian painter, Aina Onabolu (1882-1963; fl. 1900-1963).³⁴⁶

Within the studio, Holm and Onabolu offered clients the opportunity to control their self-image production and frame their aspirations of status using the legitimizing techniques (photography and academic painting, respectively) of colonial authority. Though trained in different media and with divergent professional working principles, each of these portraitists achieved extraordinary lucrative success and acclaim in their roles as visual mediators. In light of their roles as arbiters and fashioners of the visual record of their time, it is important to closely consider the professional personas that these image-makers created for *themselves*, and how they situated themselves locally in the colonial Lagos milieu and internationally with respect to Britain and Europe.

This chapter retraces the professional origins and career trajectories of these two visual interlocutors in an attempt to recover how they navigated their professional duties and socio-political milieus to advance their careers. To begin, I examine when, under what circumstance, and by what means Holm and Onabolu became established in their professions and how these beginnings shaped their later careers. I also consider to what degree each man was involved in the politics of Lagos, beyond their professional duties. Specifically, I look at Holm's apparent political ambivalence in juxtaposition with Onabolu's extended campaign to establish formal art education in local school curricula in order to determine to what degree these portraitists were involved in the political activity of the milieu in which they worked. In an ancillary close reading, I also attempt to determine if and how these political stances were reflected in the manner of work that Holm and Onabolu

³⁴⁶ Allister Macmillan, *The Red Book of West Africa* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd., 1920): 132; Nkiru Nzegwu, "The Concept of Modernity in Contemporary African Art" in *The African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities*, edited by Isidore Okepwho, Carole Boyce Davies, Ali A Mazrui (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); 391-427. Although Holm retired from his photographic practice in 1910, his studio (which went through various re-namings) continued to operate under the supervision of his son, J. A. C. Holm for many decades.

produced, or in the category of clientele that patronized their businesses or appeared in their surviving commissioned studio portraits.³⁴⁷ In the increasingly politicized milieu of late nineteenth century Lagos, it is imperative to consider how image-makers' own politics (or lack thereof) informed their professional portrait production and socio-positioning.

I also examine the late career periods when each man made separate trips to London (at different dates and for different objectives) that brought about significant changes to their career trajectories. Holm traveled to London in 1910 and resided there, ostensibly for health reasons, until 1917. While there, he studied law and was called to the Bar, through Lincoln's Inn of Court. Upon returning to Lagos, he retired from photography and began his practice as a barrister-at-law.³⁴⁸ When Onabolu traveled to London from 1920 to 1922 (with a brief sojourn at the Julien Académie in Paris), he studied and received a diploma in Fine Arts from St. John's Wood School.³⁴⁹ When he returned to Lagos, Onabolu re-launched his campaign to introduce formal art curricula into public schools, this time with his degree in hand as validation of his credentials. I argue that each portraitist's foray into self-improvement (via journeys to the colonial center) reveals a great deal about their own self-fashioning ambitions and the courses that they took to achieve them. Through this retrace of each portraitist's travels, I consider what, if any, overarching narratives are uncovered regarding the interconnectedness of self-fashioning aspirations of Lagosians and their image-makers within the political milieu which they all inhabited.

³⁴⁷ While Holm was apprenticed into the photography business in his home of Accra, Gold Coast, Onabolu was sponsored by Dr. J. K. Randle, a trained medical professional. Randle was active in Lagos politics from the 1892 local Lagos uproar regarding Gov. Carter's handling of the Ijebu Expedition through the 1930s. In addition to founding the first official political party in Lagos-- the People's Party, which led the Water Rate Agitation in 1908 in Lagos-- Randle was also Onabolu's earliest patron and, according to Nkiru Nzegwu, hosted the artist when he first moved from his home in Ijebu-Ode to Lagos. Throughout Randle's sponsorship, Onabolu interacted with his social circle of affluent, politically-minded Lagosians who were also the subjects of his earliest works. (Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *Preface to Modern Nigeria: The "Sierra Leonians" in Yoruba, 1830-1890* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965): 67-70; Nzegwu, 411). Conversely, there is no indication in Holm's extant record that he ever had any strong, public political leanings or feelings.

³⁴⁸ Macmillan, 132.

³⁴⁹ Nzegwu, 416.

Finally, following through with the chronology of both portraitists' travels abroad, each of the two previous sections will examine how Holm and Onobolu positioned themselves in relation to developments in international image-making practices. In particular, I contrast Holm's conformity to trends in British and European commercial photography with Onobolu's ideological appropriation of 18th century British painting styles, and further relate these positions to each portraitist's assumed political neutrality and grassroots reform efforts. On the one hand, I contend that Holm's work, and by extension, his professional self-fashioning project was predominantly engaged with immediate commercial market appeal and therefore functioned within the scope and categories of a Euro-centered photographic practice, long-shaped by self-fulfilling imperial/colonial desires and demands.³⁵⁰ On the other hand, Onobolu's professional legacy was defined by his relentless campaign to establish formal art education curricula Nigerian schools; even invoking Sir Joshua Reynolds and the founding of the Royal Academy of Art in order to imply a similar and grand trajectory for Nigeria.³⁵¹ This particular analysis reveals how Holm and Onobolu's engagements with the broader concerns of their respective artistic practices were brought to bear on their local milieu.

The information for these analyses comes from varied sources. While there is a moderate amount of extant biographical and photographic material from Holm's photographic practice, his private papers have not survived and there is no clear,

³⁵⁰ James R. Ryan. *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997). Particularly in the introduction to this text, Ryan discusses how photography has been mobilized to map and possess the landscape and bodies of colonized spaces and peoples. His discussion of differencing through geographic mapping of ("views") and body mapping ("types") will be further engaged later in this chapter.

³⁵¹ I will also argue that Onobolu's plans to establish formal art education curricula (and much more ambitiously, an Academy of Art) in Nigeria made it clear that he believed that country's potential was equal and comparable to that of Europe/Britain, in spite of colonial claims to the contrary. His intervention into the art historical legacies of Britain and Europe allowed him to recast Nigerian artistic practices as equivalent, rather than inferior, to that of the West.

indisputable evidence that he had extra-professional or political affiliations.³⁵² Alternately, many of Onabolu's works are held in family trusts that are closed to the public; however, the details of his biography and his self-published "Short Discourse on Art" have survived and give valuable insights into his positioning within and assessment of the Lagosian milieu in which he worked. Thus this chapter attempts to mine photographic, biographical, and discursive documents to critically examine how these two portraitists positioned themselves within the increasingly politicized milieu of late nineteenth and early twentieth century (1888-1934) Lagos.

Part I – Converging and Diverging Biographies of Two Lagosian Image-makers

Before engaging with interpretive analyses of Holm and Onabolu practices, it is important to trace how each portraitist became established in his chosen profession and to plot out some ways in which these early trajectories might have influenced the evolution of their later careers.

1. Where in the World is Neils Walwin Holm? Positionality and Enterprise in the Career of a Transnational Photographer

Born and educated in Accra, Gold Coast Colony in 1865, Neils Walwin Holm was the fourth son of the merchant Neils Holm of Christiansburg, Gold Coast (fig. 5.1)³⁵³ Holm apparently began his first photography business in Accra at the age of seventeen in 1883.³⁵⁴

As discussed in chapter one, first-generation European or African photographers were

³⁵² The absence of concrete indicators of these aspects of Holm's life history does not mean necessarily mean that he had no such interests. However, the fact that almost none of this information was transmitted (in some form) through his surviving material suggests that these issues were not foremost in Holm's life.

³⁵³ Lincoln's Inn Archive. Registry Books (1911)

³⁵⁴ Macmillan, 132; Christraud Geary. "Africans and Photography" *In and Out of Focus: Images from Central Africa, 1885-1960* [Washington, D.C.]: Smithsonian National Museum of African Art in association with Philip Wilson, London; New York, N.Y.: Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by Palgrave Macmillan, 2003; 103. Geary suggests that Holm also had an English grandfather but provides no further details. I myself have been unable to trace any details of this part of his family tree. However, this relation may explain his later frequent trips to London, which seem unrelated to his Lagos-based photography business.

known to apprentice young Africans assistants who learned the trade and went on to launch their own studios.³⁵⁵ Based on evidence of this trend extending well into the 1940s, it seems likely that Holm was also apprenticed sometime after completing his primary school education to a, as yet unknown, photography studio in Accra. As per the trend, Holm would have apprenticed for several years, learning the technical and commercial aspects of photography, before striking out on his own. It is imperative to note that while early, well-run photography business could be quite lucrative in the 1880s and 1890s, they were largely so due to the resourcefulness and enterprising nature of their proprietors. These photographers often had other careers to supplement their photographic income, and catered solicitously to their most consumptive clients; Europeans.³⁵⁶ While there is no indication that Holm had another career, there is evidence that a significant number of his commissions were colonial requests and his commercial works were tailored to appeal to European clientele.

While Holm's business in Accra was still developing, he also traveled on photographic tours to at least to Lagos and likely to other major cities on the West African coast (Freetown, Monrovia, etc). Like apprenticeship, the photographic tour was a typical practice for Africa-based photographers.³⁵⁷ These tours allowed photographers to maximize their possible client-base by tapping into new markets, and also to present themselves as well-traveled, and expose themselves to alternative or newly emergent trends of their

³⁵⁵ Geary (2003), 107.

³⁵⁶ Liam Buckley, "Self and Accessory in Gambian Studio Photography" *Visual Anthropology Review* 16.2 (2000-2001): 71 – 91; Geary, 2003. Buckley and Geary have written about the trend for many early photographers to have secondary jobs such as barbers, tailors, and storekeepers, in addition to their posts as photographers. Buckley in particular compared these professions belong to a category of "adornment work."

³⁵⁷ In a similar thread, Erika Nimis (*Etre photographe en Afrique de l'Ouest: les Yoruba du Nigeria et la diffusion de la photographie au XXe siècle* (thèse doctorat: Histoire) Université Panthéon-Sorbonne (Paris): 2003) has written extensively on the nomadic mobility of Yoruba photographers moving out of rural Nigeria to other modestly populated towns and villages on the periphery of the West African urban centers. This movement was by no means unidirectional, or geographically constrained as photographers were often the most-travelled populations of their communities.

profession. Holm's Ghanaian contemporaries, Frederick R. C. and Erick Lutterodt, often toured as "The Lutterodt Brothers" and traveled along the West African coast on commercial or passenger steamships. On 6 February 1886, the Lutterodt Brothers posted an advertisement in the *Lagos Observer*, announcing their arrival and one month stay in Lagos. It read:

"Lutterodt Brothers, Photographers, (Established, 1876). Beg to inform the public of their recent arrival here on Photographic Tour, and that they are quite prepared to receive sitters at their studio, erected in the premises of the late Hotonu's house, Balogun Street. From their acquired experience and many years' practice of the Art, they earnestly hope to be able to afford the utmost satisfaction to all who may favour them with a sitting. Samples of photographs, Landscape views, &c, &c, are always on hand, and can be seen at our studios. Terms Very Moderate."

It is apparent from this advert and the details of Holm's early career that he and his contemporaries engaged in processes through which they could establish and cultivate lucrative, *commercial* ventures that could extend beyond the geographical boundaries of their immediate locality, while proliferating their own reputations as well.

There is significant evidence that Holm traveled out of Accra on extended photographic tours, much like his contemporaries. For example, the 17 December 1887 issue of *The Mirror* (Lagos) featured an advertisement that is attributed to Holm. It read:

PHOTOGRAPH! PHOTOGRAPH!! PHOTOGRAPH!!! N. Walwin Holm begs to notify the Public that he has commenced his Photographic business, in his residence at Tinubu Street, Lagos, next door to Messrs: Witt and Busch where he has always on hand for sale, Views and Types of this West Coast of Africa. Business hours—

From 7 to 11 and from 1 to 4p Sundays exclusive. Terms and rates will be made known upon application.

Just five years after starting his photography business in Accra, Holm seems to have also traveled to and or established himself in Lagos from December 1887 through 24 November 1888, the last date that the advertisement ran in *The Mirror* (Lagos). These adverts like those of his contemporaries were directed at a particular socio-economic class of the community that was literate, affluent, and subscribed to newspapers, like *The Mirror*, which were considered “opposition press” and highly critical of the colonial administration. According to Fred I. Omu and Emmanuel Taiwo Babalola, there was a boom of such newspapers being launched in Lagos at this time, following the “Indigenous Newspaper Movement” in the city.³⁵⁸ However, many of these publications did not survive for a significant time so it is impossible to directly identify their subscription lists and readership. For instance, *The Mirror* only ran from 1887-1888 and was described by owner/editor Adolphus Mark, as “A Temporary Publication” in the masthead of the paper.³⁵⁹ The yearlong advertisements in *The Mirror* as well as the photographs discussed below seem to suggest that Holm stayed in Lagos much longer than was advertised in *The Mirror*, which fell out of print around at the end of 1888. This is significant evidence that Holm not only traveled to Lagos but also in fact stayed there for an extended period of time, which raises the question of the status of his Accra studio during this extended tour in Lagos. This advertisement and Holm’s later photographs also raise the question of his political ambivalence, as demonstrated by his seeking out a particular socio-economic class that was critical of the government while also accepting government commissions like the ones described below.

³⁵⁸ Fred I. Omu, “The Dilemma of Press Freedom in Colonial Africa: The West African Example” *The Journal of African History*, 9.2 (1968): 289; Emmanuel Taiwo Babalola, “Newspapers As Instruments For Building Literate Communities: The Nigerian Experience” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 11.3(2002): 405.

³⁵⁹ Michael J C Echeruo. *Victorian Lagos: aspects of nineteenth century Lagos life*. London: Macmillan, 1977; 4-5

The National Archives, Kew, UK are home to four photographs which have been attributed to Holm.³⁶⁰ One of the four photographs was captioned as having been taken in 1889 after the separation of Lagos Colony from the Gold Coast.³⁶¹ It features the Governor of Lagos at the time, Sir Alfred Moloney K.S.M.G. (1886-1891) with his staff and officers (fig. 5.2). The remaining three photographs were taken after the annexation of Ijebu by British forces in 1892 and feature various arrangements of then Governor of Lagos, Sir Gilbert Carter (1891-1897) with Colonel Scott, and the British military officers who were involved in the military action (figs. 5.3 – 5.5). Each group portrait documents particularly important historic events for the colonial administration in Lagos, with the subjects seated and standing simply arranged in practical, simple rows. As discussed in chapter one, these images belong to the category of photographic documents that borrow from and perpetuate the visual idiom of colonialists as victors and agents of European imperial might. As James R. Ryan writes, “enthusiasm for the military applications of photography stemmed in part from the increasingly prominent place of warfare in the Victorian imagination, particularly where Empire was concerned. Indeed, the Victorian Empire was sustained in large measure by regular shows of military force.”³⁶² While Holm’s photographs do not represent the use of photography in depicting the actual moment of “warfare’ and domination, they certainly embody the spirit of the genre.

Again, not only do these prove that Holm toured the West African coast, but they also demonstrate that he was resourceful (and perhaps well-connected) enough to be able to secure the commission to capture the official photographs of these significant. That he

³⁶⁰ COPY 1/413/248; COPY 1/413/249.

³⁶¹ This official separation of Lagos from the Gold Coast occurred on January 13, 1886. It is uncertain why Holm dated the photograph with the later date of 1889. However, considering that his photographic business in Accra only launched in 1886, perhaps he was not able to leave his duties to travel to Lagos until this later date.

³⁶² Ryan, 73.

returned twice to Lagos, in 1889 and 1892, suggests that this arrangement was an ongoing relationship that links a significant part of Holm's early professional success to the continued presence of the colonial administration.³⁶³ However, this particular aspect of Holm's career will be discussed in greater detail as concerns his political ambivalence and discretion.

Returning to the photographs at hand, it is also important to note that these prints were accompanied, in the archives, by two "Memorandum for Registration of Copyright (Work of Art)," forms that were used to record copyrights with Stationer's Hall (figs. 5.6, 5.7)³⁶⁴

Apparently Holm signed and dated the documents on 20 July 1893, before submitting them in person, to the Stationer's Hall registry where they were stamped received on 22 July 1893 just two days later. The brief span between these two dates suggests that Holm was actually in London during this period.³⁶⁵ That is, in the ten years after his studio was established in Accra, Holm was traveling to Lagos to fulfill commissions, and to London to file his work with an international copyright firm, in the colonial capital. The speed and extent to which Holm's business grew--from a local Ghanaian to a pan-African (Lagos), and then an international venture--is indicative of his success as a photographer and his skill in parlaying commissions into career currency that thrust his reputation to the international stage.

In addition to these transitory activities, Holm made some permanent changes when he moved from Accra to Lagos in 1896 and remained there until 1910.³⁶⁶ While in Lagos,

³⁶³ Killingray and Roberts also claim that "The Gold Coast photographer, N. W. Holm, was commissioned in 1891 to record the raising of the British flag in parts of southwestern Nigeria." (201) This information re-raises earlier questions about how often Holm traveled away from his Accra studio and who was in fact running the business while he was away.

³⁶⁴ Vernon Sullivan, *Stationers' Hall: A Pictorial History*. London: Phillimore for the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers, 2004. Stationer's Hall was established in 1557 to collect and register all copyrighted works in Britain until the Copyright Act of 1842 which made registration with the hall non-compulsory but these services are still available to the public.

³⁶⁵ As discussed above, Geary mentions that Holm had an English grandfather. This might explain the photographer's travels to London, which seem to be more frequent than previously thought (see below for a more detailed discussion of the photographer's attendance at the Pan-African Conference of July 1900)

³⁶⁶ It is uncertain why Holm made the move to Lagos however Kevin Joseph Hales ("Matter of Record" *American Visions* 13.6 (1998/1999; 22-6) suggests that "by 1900, black photographers in the Gold Coast had

Holm started a new, long-term photography business which he advertised widely in the *Lagos Weekly Record*. One particular advertisement that first appeared in the 1 October 1904 issue of the paper read:

EVOLUTION! EVOLUTION!! EVOLUTION!!! We follow. Now is your chance, for we shall not rest until we have put in every home our photographs. PRICES EXTREMELY CHEAP A large supply of photographic materials have just arrived and we are in position to offer for 5 6 one dozen mounted and finished C. D. V. likenesses of yourself or anyone else. Now time waits for no man secure the shadow ere it fades. COME ONE! COME ALL!! Holm's Limited, Photographers, Wesley Street, Lagos, August, 1904

While extremely reminiscent of Holm's earlier advertisement in *The Mirror* in 1887, this later advertisement features several shifts in sales tactics that indicate changes in the photographers' clientele, working milieu and his engagement with the non-local photographic practices. For one, this second advertisement seems to focus, not on providing "views and types" as in *The Mirror*, but rather on providing C.D.V. or carte-de-visite reproductions, which are specifically priced in the advertisement (5 6), rather than being "made known upon application" as they were previously. As discussed in chapter one, the CDV --developed in 1854 by French photographer André Adolphe Eugene Disderi-- was a staple of photographic practice by the time of Holm's 1904 advertisement. The CDV was achieved by exposing more than one negative (usually twelve or eight) unto a typical glass wholeplate using a camera fitted with four identical lenses and a repeating back

begun creating 'circuits'; each photographer would define specific territory that he would cover exclusively. Competitors adhered to a 'gentlemen's agreement' to stay out of the other photographers' areas." Assuming that Hales' reading of this milieu is correct, it is likely that Holm moved to Lagos to seek out more fertile, slightly less territorial pastures for his work.

mechanism.³⁶⁷ The resulting prints were then cut and cardboard mounted to 2 ½ by 4 inch CDVs. By the late 1850s and by 1864, the popularity of the CDV had peaked in the Britain and photographers were beginning to complain of “‘cheap jacks’ who introduced prices of five shillings per dozen, or were ‘grieved to chronicle’ a situation where a company advertised ‘in enormous letters over their door, that they supply the public with “12 cartes de visite for 3s 6d.”’³⁶⁸ As in most technological industries at this time, Lagos colony was well behind the trends and fashions in Britain and therefore, the CDV was slower to emerge in that milieu.³⁶⁹ This delayed trend tracking explains Holm’s later boldness in announcing the pricing of his work directly on his advertisement in the *Lagos Weekly Record*. By this period in Lagos, photography was a well-established service, and materials and supplies were easier to obtain than in the late 1880s. While early rates were more expensive and therefore omitted from the advertisements to keep clients from being put off, by the early 1900s, the prices were an attractive aspect of the service, rather than a deterrent. It is striking how much this temporally and geographically distant pattern echoed what British photographers complained of in the 1860s. This suggests that the photographic practice in Lagos was not so very different from what was occurring in the colonial capital at earlier times.

In the closing entreaty of his advertisement, “now time waits for no man secure the shadow ere it fades,” Holm shows just how close his practice was to those abroad. A closer reading of this quote reveals a poignant subtext which engages European traditions of commemoration and transience. The lead-in, “time waits for no man,” was by this time a common adage that was originally came from a line in the medieval play “Everyman” in which the character of Death responds to a man’s attempt to delay his day of reckoning. The

³⁶⁷Audrey Linkman, *The Victorians: Photographic Portraits* London and New York: Tauris Parke Books, 1993; 61

³⁶⁸ Linkman, 75.

³⁶⁹ If, as Killingray and Roberts write, “photographs were taken in Lagos in 1860, although the details are still obscure,” then it stands to reason that the CDV was not introduced in the city until much later. (199)

correlation between this fictional character's feeble attempt at deferral and the actual time-stopping illusion of the photographic portrait is striking. The second half of the line, "secure the shadow ere it fades" was a bastardization of a phrase coined by daguerreotypist William C. North, when he announced his arrival in Amherst, Massachusetts with an advertisement in the *Amherst's Hampshire and Franklin Express* on 10 December 1846.³⁷⁰ The ad read:

William C. North, Daguerrian (sic) Artist, takes this method to inform the citizens of Amherst and its vicinity that he has taken rooms at the Amherst House, for the purpose of executing Daguerreotype Miniatures in his acknowledged superior style... These Likenesses are true to nature, which renders them valuable, particularly so to the surviving friends of the deceased. Secure the Shadow ere the substance fades.

In its full context, the quote was meant to advertise the memento mori genre of daguerreotypes that was popular in the 1840s when photographs of deceased subject were commissioned by surviving loved ones. However, Holm's advert misquoted the slogan as; "secure the shadow ere it fades," implying that it was the shadow that would fade. Whether this was a mistake of understanding or brevity, it effectively excised the suggestion of physical mortality from the quote and instead suggests the passing of more innocuous "shadow" and whatever meaning that might have for individual clients. Ultimately, the quote indicates Holm's awareness of and engagement with the advertisement (and likely photographic) techniques of his predecessors and contemporaries abroad.

Interestingly, the handful of Holm's works that have been dated to this early period are not personal portraits but rather commissions completed for the colonial administration in Lagos. However, this fact does not in any way indicate a definitive political affiliation on

³⁷⁰ Mary Elizabeth Kromer Bernhard. "Lost and Found: Emily Dickinson's Unknown Daguerreotypist" *The New England Quarterly*, 72.4 (1999); 594-601.

his part. As briefly mentioned above, Holm's political leanings were not clearly apparent in any of the surviving records of his work. However, there are several instances when he had close, yet inconclusive, brushes with politics. In their brief outline of photography in Africa, Killingray and Roberts indicate that "by the 1800s, photography was being used more or less systematically by those engaged in the extension of colonial rule" or by the proxies of these colonial agents.³⁷¹ While Holm was not directly involved in the colonial project, he can certainly be considered a proxy who contributed to its furtherance. His 1897 enrolment as a Fellow in the Royal Photographic Society (RPS) made him the first (and for a time, the only) black photographer in this elite group. Aside from being a coup for his career, his enrolment in the RPS further marks him as a proxy for "those engaged in the extension of colonial rule" and aligns him with the photographic colonization of the continent.³⁷² Taken together with Ryan's previously cited text on the visual codification of Empire, this assessment situates Holm's business relationship with the colonial administration in a category of tacit complicity, if not outright collaboration.³⁷³ After all, Holm was regularly commissioned to record British colonial officials and administrators of West Africa in their moments of triumph against subjugated black colonized subjects. On one occasion in 1891, Holm was asked to "record the raising of the British flag in parts of southwestern Nigeria."³⁷⁴ This single specific historical event is emblematic of the larger questions surrounding Holm's work for the colonial administration; that is, was there a degree of collusion inherent in this relationship? How much does his work for the colonial government represent the raising of

³⁷¹ Killingray and Roberts, 200.

³⁷² Macmillan, 132. It is not certain whether Holm had to travel to London to complete his enrolment but considering the frequency of his movements, would not be out of the question.

³⁷³ It is important to acknowledge that Holm was by no means the only photographer to work for the British administration during this time (Lisk-Carew Brothers, Lutterodt Brothers, George S. A. da Costa, and H. Sanya Freeman are others). In many cases, the colonial government was the most reliable and best paying employer of these photographers.

³⁷⁴ Killingray and Roberts, 201.

a metaphoric, ideological flag of colonialism and collectorship over Africa and Africans?³⁷⁵ If his contributions to the larger machinations of imperial Empire do not directly implicate him in the perpetuation of colonial projects, then at the very least, they put his profiteering from these activities into a questionable grey area.

However, there are also interesting instances that locate Holm in closer proximity to the anti-colonial opposition. In July 1900, the Pan-African Conference was held in Westminster Town Hall, London. According to Geiss, the “initiative was taken largely by Afro-West Indians, prominent among them Henry Sylvester Williams from Trinidad...”³⁷⁶ The conference was conveniently scheduled to follow the World’s Christian Endeavor Conference and precede the World Fair in Paris in order to attract the maximum number of African attendees who might be traveling to attend either event.³⁷⁷ Indeed, the preparatory session of the conference which took place the previous year had already attracted some prominent names in the pan-African/pan-Negro movement, including Bishop Alexander Walters (USA), Bishop J. F. Holly (Haiti), Bishop James Johnson (Lagos), Otunba Payne (Lagos), Bishop Henry Turner (USA), Booker T. Washington (USA), and Tengu Jabavu (South Africa).³⁷⁸ According to the conference report written by Bishop Alexander Walters, the actual event was attended by a modest thirty-two participants; however, this number does not include those who “signed an address of congratulations to James Johnson on his appointment as bishop several days before the Conference began. In this

³⁷⁵ Anne Maxwell (*Colonial Photography & Exhibitions: Representations of the ‘Native’ and the Making of European Identities* London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1999) discusses this idea concisely: “For many people, these images...were part of the Victorian passion for collecting, an activity that strengthened colonialism because it enabled participants to possess the whole world, if not literally then at least visually...Victorians were great collectors...But Victorian collectors did not simply amass things; taking their cues from scientists, they arranged postcards and photographs into series and sets that resembled the hierarchical taxonomies of race.” (11)

³⁷⁶ Immanuel Geiss. “Pan-Africanism” *Journal of Contemporary History*, 4.1 Colonialism and Decolonization (1969); 190.

³⁷⁷ Immanuel Geiss. *Pan-Africanism: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe, and Africa*. New York; Africana Publishing CO, 1968; 181.

³⁷⁸ Geiss (1968), 181.

document...appeared the following names: Mrs. M. T. Cole, N. W. Holm (Lagos), Dr. Schomerus, D. E. Tobias, and J. W. D Worrell.”³⁷⁹ The letter to the newly ordained Bishop James Johnson began:

Your Eminence, The African Association, constituted of members of the native and diasporic black race of the world and living in London, kindly ask you to accept this modest token of the admiration and appreciation that we have for your human qualities...³⁸⁰

In addition to this new evidence that Holm was in London in 1900 and in attendance at the beginning of the conference, it also appears that he may have been a member of the African Association, or at the least sympathetic to its objectives. The Association was started in 1897 by Henry Sylvester Williams (and many of the individuals who would later organize the 1900 Pan-African Conference) in response to the “brutality of British conquests in what is now Rhodesia and Botswana and by the continuation of the slave trade along the East African coast.”³⁸¹ The recipient of the letter, Bishop James Johnson was a Sierra Leonean born, Ijesha-descendent, Church Missionary Society (CMS) clergyman who was also known to be an outspoken proponent of African nationalism.

“From his advent to Nigeria in 1874 and until his death, James Johnson was to become the greatest spokesman for the African peoples in general and for the Nigerian peoples in particular...More than any other individual...he persuaded the Colonial Office...that the various political, social and economic grievances of the different sections of the Nigerian community were real...Both in Church and State

³⁷⁹ Geiss (1968), 183

³⁸⁰ Organisation internationale de la francophonie. *Le mouvement panafricaniste au vingtième siècle : recueil de textes*. Paris: Organisation internationale de la francophonie, 2007; 59 (translated by author)

³⁸¹ Thomas H. Henriksen, “African Intellectual Influences on Black Americans: The Role of Edward W. Blyden” *Phylon* 36.3 (1975); 286.

he was to advocate the “Africa for Africans” policy to the exasperation of British administrators...and of the European missionaries.”³⁸²

In fact, his vociferousness on the topic had long kept him from being promoted to full Bishop within the ranks of the CMS.³⁸³ As it was, the promotion that the African Association’s letter of congratulations referred was from Curate/Reverend to Assistant Bishop, not Full Bishop. But this hardly mattered as any promotion for Johnson was likely viewed as a victory in the struggle for African nationalism. Being a resident of Lagos, it was unlikely that Holm did not know of Johnson’s history or the significance of his cosigning a letter congratulating and praising such a controversial figure in African nationalism. On the other hand, it is difficult to ignore the fact that even though he signed the letter, Holm apparently did not stay for the actual conference, as his name was not listed on the roster of attendees. While this particular incident suggests that Holm had some political engagement with the current affairs of his milieu, it also leaves questions unanswered as to the sincerity of these interactions. However, it is only fair to reiterate that many of Holm’s Lagosian contemporaries also trafficked in ambivalence, positioning themselves expediently, and navigating the “margins of power” in their socio-political milieus in order to promote their own social projects (vis-à-vis Sherry Ortner’s “serious games” as discussed in chapter one). It is not my intention to suggest that Holm’s activities were significantly unlike or more calculating than those of his contemporaries; however, his project had more far-reaching (pan-African and international) implications than that of many other Lagosians.

³⁸² E. A. Ayandele. *Holy Johnson: pioneer of African nationalism, 1836-1917* London: Frank Cass & Co, 1970; 108.

³⁸³ Ayandele (1970) writes in greater detail about Johnson’s rebellious role as principal African negotiator in the breaking away of the Niger Delta Pastorate from the Church Missionary Society in the late 1890s (226-258)

2. *From the Bush to the Brush: Becoming Aina Onabolu*³⁸⁴

Aina Onabolu was born J. Aina Roberts in 13 September 1882³⁸⁵ in the isolationist Yoruba territory of Ijebu-Ode.³⁸⁶ After the annexation of the territory in 1892 by Lagos-based British military forces under the command of Governor Carter, Ijebu was opened to European trade and missionaries. Onabolu began his primary school education at St. Saviour's Primary School in Ijebu-Ode after this 1892 period.³⁸⁷ Oloidi elaborates on Onabolu's experiences during these primary school days with evidence from the artist's private papers:

while in elementary school Onabolu was always charmed by the photographs or very naturalistic pictures, usually in lines, common in various British 'magazines and books which were still very new to our culture in those days'. These illustrations appeared like magic to him, for having been brought up in a culture which had abstraction as its artistic language, he could not believe that any man could create such human images that were a facsimile of man himself. He wondered, at that early age, about 'this wizardry of the white man'.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ A note about the resources regarding Roberts/Onabolu: Many authors have done primary field research on Onabolu, utilizing information discovered through second-hand interviews with **feuding family members (OMIT?)**. However, the only academic known to have seen any of Onabolu's papers is Ola Oloidi, who wrote extensively on the artist in a dissertation project and three subsequent published articles. Because Onabolu's early history so problematic, this section will identify all uncorroborated claims about the artist's life history.

³⁸⁵ Sylvester Okunodu Ogbechie. "The 30s in Lagos Nigeria: Onabolu, Lasekan and the Murray School," *Anthology of African art: the twentieth century*, edited by N'Goné Fall; Jean Loup Pivin. New York: D.A.P./Distributed Art Publishers, 2002.

³⁸⁶ Adelola Adeyemi, *African pioneers of modern medicine: Nigerian doctors of the nineteenth century*. Ibadan: University Press, 1985; 107; E. Latunde Odeku, *An African neurosurgeon*. S.I.: s.n., 1976; 9. *The Nigerian Pioneer*, Friday April 9th, 1920, page 10. While Adeyemi refers to Onabolu as Aina Roberts, *The Nigerian Pioneer* article on his 1920 exhibition refers to him as J. Aina Roberts and mentions that he only *recently* changed his name to the Yoruba version, which means "artist by way of God." This late name change suggests that Onabolu was influenced but the sporadic debates on the topics of cultural/ethnic nationalism and Anglicized vs. native names and dress that often took place in the city. (Echeruo, 37-9)

³⁸⁷ Nzegwu, 407. However, Ogbechie (171) counters that Onabolu actually began his primary school education in 1889. Neither dates are attached to references but Ogbechie's 1889 date seems unlikely given the vehement isolationist policies of the Ijebu up to the 1892 British annexation of the region.

³⁸⁸ Ola Oloidi, "Growth and Development of Formal Art Education," *Transafrican journal of History* 15 (1986); 112. Nzegwu (408) also corroborates these claims writing that Onabolu "taught himself to draw by copying

That Onobolu was introduced to the arts through photography is ironic considering his later disdain for the medium, which will be discussed in this section and later in relation to Holm. However, it is clear to see how influential the experiences and materials of early education were to Onobolu's burgeoning interests in the fine arts and how they foreshadow his later campaign to introduce art education into Lagos area schools. As with the shift in his attitude towards photography, Onobolu's fascination with the "wizardry" of the white man (mentioned retrospectively in a 1921 letter to a friend) is an interesting juxtaposition to what would become his disciplined and scientific approach to executing and teaching art in subsequent years. That is, rather than lingering on his initial credulity, Onobolu turns to quantifiable and technical methods in an effort to master this "wizardry".³⁸⁹ This would become a persistent theme in his later promotion of African artistic skill and modern art education.

In a move that was reminiscent of Holm's earlier relocation from Accra to Lagos, Onobolu also immigrated to the city from his home in Ijebu-Ode. Ogbechie writes that Onobolu "completed his primary education in 1895 and moved to Lagos where he lived with J.K. Randle, a friend of his father, political activist and medical practitioner who served as his guardian and mentor while Onobolu attended secondary school."³⁹⁰ Nzegwu adds that Onobolu's parents were Jacob and Oshunjente Onobolu --a successful Ijebu merchant and

illustrations in textbooks and newspapers since art books were not available then. By 1894, when [Onobolu] was twelve...he was designing charts and teaching aids for teachers who were his first local audience."

³⁸⁹ While Nzegwu argues that Onobolu's skills can in part be attributed to his familiarity with the "secular and religious arts of his culture," I find this claim weak as there is no evidence that Onobolu was ever apprenticed to a local artisan of any kind, as Nzegwu suggests. However, I do take a broader point that "European lens, artistic prejudices, and biases are being used to frame our idea of the modern" but this point still does not provide evidentiary support for her claims.

³⁹⁰ Nzegwu writes that Onobolu moved in the early 1900s to complete his secondary education at the CMS Grammar School, however, this is not possible because all sources agree that he started working at the Marine Department in 1900.

market trader, respectively.³⁹¹ Randle and Onabolu senior became acquainted while the former was serving periodic tour postings in Ijebu-Ode in fulfillment of his duties as Asst. Colonial Surgeon (1888-1893).³⁹² This is how Onabolu came to be under Randle's guardianship during his early years in Lagos. It is apparent that Onabolu's proximity to Randle strongly influenced his awareness of the socio-political milieu of the city in which he now lived. Moreover, as Randle's guest and ward, for a time, Onabolu would have been exposed to his mentor's political activities and immediate circle of associates. In this formative period, Onabolu's political education occurred concurrently with his secondary academic coursework.

According to Oloidi, the artist completed his secondary education sometime in 1899 and began working with the Marine Department in Lagos in 1900, all the while, practicing his art.³⁹³ In his first salon at Randle's residence in 1901, "the drawings, still-lives, landscapes, and portraits he produced while in Lagos were exhibited and favorably received."³⁹⁴ Undoubtedly, Onabolu's self-taught and seemingly inherent talents exemplified the substance of anti-colonial arguments set forth by Randle and his compatriots, which extolled African intellect, ingenuity, and capacity for sovereign rule, in the aftermath of the racist policies that began with Governor Carter (1891-1897) and escalated under Governor McCallum (1897-1899).³⁹⁵ By painting his way into the traditional role of the European

³⁹¹ Nzewgu, 424f11. It is clear from the information listed in footnote 40 of this chapter (Adeloye; *The Nigerian Pioneer*, Friday April 9th, 1920, page 10) that Onabolu had been known as J. Aina Roberts from his early school days in Ijebu-Ode until just before his 1920 trip to London. It seems likely that his original surname was Onabolu, and that he took the English surname of Roberts while in school in Ijebu-Ode. Andrew Wingate, et al (*Anglicanism: a global communion*, New York: Church Pub., 1998) discuss the phenomenon of African converts taking English names as a sign of their spiritual membership in the Anglican denomination in particular (79)

³⁹² Adeloye; 101-2. Ola Oloidi, "Art and Nationalism in Colonial Nigeria," *Nsukka Journal of History*

1.1(December, 1989), 95. Oloidi is the original source for Everlyn Nicodemus' ("The Black Atlantic and the Paradigm Shift to Modern Art in Africa" *Critical Interventions* 3/4 (2009); 12) troublingly misleading and problematically anecdotal account of Onabolu's early life.

³⁹³ Oloidi (1986), 112-3.

³⁹⁴ Nzewgu, 414.

³⁹⁵ Ayandele (1970), 178. Nzewgu, 411, 414

“genius” artist, Onabolu symbolically inhabited a position that had typically been reserved for specialist subclasses of gifted cultural producers, everything the colonized individual could not possibly be. Indeed, Onabolu was a wunderkind who entertained commissions from Randle’s associates and raised the curiosity of colonial administrators.

As mentioned above, one of Onabolu’s most noted commissioned works was a watercolor portrait of Mrs. Spencer Savage completed in 1906 at the request of the noted socialite (fig. 5.8) In the painting, Mrs. Spencer Savage, also known as Augusta Savage, is wearing a fashionable yoked white dress, accessorized with a dark belt, large pendant necklace, and a generous ribbon pinned at the shoulder. She stands beside an unoccupied upholstered chair, with hands demurely clasping a spray of flowers, and her gaze focused on an imaginary beyond to her right. The portrait was painted in an academic portrait tradition that was typical of the British Royal Academy of Art, and its prominent eighteenth century founder, Joshua Reynolds.³⁹⁶ Reynolds was known for painting only the sitter’s faces when in their presence, and completing all other components at a later time, with the help of a model³⁹⁷. As will be discussed in depth later, Onabolu was an admirer of the British Royal Academy and Joshua Reynolds and so, it was entirely possible that he experimented with the techniques of this master in attempting his first works.³⁹⁸ This possibility, in addition to Onabolu’s artistic immaturity, would explain the awkward proportioning of the subject bodies in his earliest works. For example, Mrs. Spencer Savage’s head is slightly larger than ordinary and her torso, slightly more abbreviated than is proportionally correct. Onabolu cleverly concealed his early difficulty with rendering hands by painting Mrs. Spencer holding

³⁹⁶ Linkman, 9-10. As will be discussed in depth later, Onabolu was an admirer of both the Royal Academy and Joshua Reynolds. It is entirely possible that he experimented with the techniques of this master in completing his first works.

³⁹⁷ Linkman, 9-10.

³⁹⁸ It is clear from the text of Onabolu’s *A Short Discourse on Art* (Lagos: --, 1920) that he is aware of the details of Reynolds practice and the history of the Royal Academy, and engaged with how these histories may be brought to bear on his own practice and that of modern art in Nigeria, in general.

a spray of flowers. However, for all its shortcomings, the portrait was an impressive accomplishment for an untrained artist, working with limited materials and no professional guidance.³⁹⁹ Unfortunately, there are no reproductions of Onabolu's other paintings from this period and these works themselves are not available for public viewing.⁴⁰⁰ However, it is clear from the dignified and serene facial features, fashionable dress, and genteel background details in the portrait of Mrs. Spencer Savage that Onabolu was invested in developing an exclusive and elegant portrait practice that would rival that of Europe and Britain. I will expound more on Onabolu's ambitions to create a noteworthy Lagosian portrait practice and broad-spectrum artistic tradition, in the following sections.

While Mrs. Spencer Savage was a relatively uncontroversial socialite in the city, Onabolu also completed portraits for more politically active individuals, who were acquainted with his mentor, J. K. Randle. In particular, Onabolu is known to have completed a portrait of Asst. Bishop James Johnson, who was the subject of the African Association's letter of congratulations. In 1888, after the scandal of the Adeola Affair – during which the Lagosian woman was given negligent care by two British doctors in the Colonial hospital and died as a result— Rev. James Johnson led a persistent campaign demanding that Africans be appointed as Assistant Colonial Surgeons.⁴⁰¹ Using the fallout from the Adeola Affair and his position (1886-1894) on the Lagos Legislative Council as a bullhorn, Johnson was able to get J. K. Randle and Dr. Obadiah Johnson appointed to these posts. And so, it was in the process of confronting and challenging the racist policies of the

³⁹⁹ Oloidi (Dec. 1989) writes that “by 1901, he had, through advertisement in foreign newspapers and magazines, already contacted a London art shop that, for over four decades, was to become [his] main supplier of art materials like sketch and instrumental books, brushes, papers, canvases, pastel, oil and poster colours as well as various technical and historical art books.” (96)

⁴⁰⁰ Oloidi (Dec. 1989) suggests that Onabolu's first commission was a portrait of an unnamed Director of Public Works in the city; however there are no further details about the client or painting. (96) Onabolu painted at least one other portrait in this period, a canvas of his mentor Dr. J. K. Randle dated to 1910. However there are no extant reproductions of the work.

⁴⁰¹ Ayandele (1970), 177-8

colonial government that Randle and Johnson came to be acquainted. Even though Randle would later lose his new colonial post in 1893 and start a private practice, the two remained close acquaintances.⁴⁰² As Onabolu was just beginning his stay at Randle's residence around this same time, it was inevitable that the two would also become acquainted. In this sense, Onabolu's political education and increasing awareness continued well after his academic career had ended.

When the Asst. Bishop Johnson passed away in 1917, the Women's Branch of the Committee of the West African Bishopric Fund (CWABF) decided to commission a portrait in his honor.⁴⁰³ Because the reproduction of the portrait in question is not available, I quote Ayandele at length for the full details of the portrait and the circumstances of its creation:

...it was decided immediately, after his death that a portrait should be painted, every woman in Lagos contributing no more than a shilling. It was agreed that the portrait "should be placed in a public building in Lagos, as a memorial in honour of him". In due course the sum of £48 was raised. The portrait was painted by the first western-trained artist, Chief Aina Onabolu, at a cost of about £24 and a further sum of £8 was spent to obtain twenty-four smaller copies which could be purchased by the friends and admirers of Holy Johnson. The portrait, which still hangs over the main entrance to the rebuilt Glover Memorial Hall, is 45" inches high and 32 inches wide. In sepia wash and watercolour, it was laid on canvas and framed in oak with a fold inset. It represents Holy Johnson in his closing years—standing upright, a tall gaunt figure in Episcopal robes, ascetic in appearance, with the light of battle in his eyes and his aged face worn deep with the lines of thought, struggle and sorrow. At the

⁴⁰² Ayandele (1970), 188. In 1890, when Randle married Victoria Davies (daughter of James Pinson Labulo Davies and Sarah Bonetta Forbes Davies, and god-daughter to Queen Victoria) at St. Paul's Church in Lagos, the ceremony was performed by Rev. James Johnson (Adeloye, 95).

⁴⁰³ Ayandele (1970), 372

ceremony in which it was placed in a cynosural position at the entrance of the Old Glover Memorial Hall, and which took place on 26 November 1918, the speaker was no less a person than Henry Carr, the finest intellect of his day who had been sent by his parents to Fourah Bay College in 1879 at James Johnson's persuasion. The occasion was witnessed by the Governor General, Sir. Frederick Lugard.⁴⁰⁴

Ayandele's account might be accurate were it not for the fact that the portrait of Johnson was a painted photograph ordered from Britain, and not a canvas painting by Onabolu. In fact, Onabolu gives his own account of this sequence of events in his *Short Discourse on Art* which was published in 1920:

Immediately after the death of the late Bishop Johnson, meetings were being held in many central and public places by men and women of the upper and middle class to consider what could be done to perpetuate the memory of this great man...The Lagos Christian women resolved to have the late Bishop's portrait painted in England that may be handed down to posterity and to perpetuate his memory. The women did something tangible although their efforts were misdirected; instead of a painting they have got a coloured photograph and the colour of the Bishop's face and hands made him look like an Arab; a photograph or coloured photograph, as far as I know can never last as long as a painting. Another portrait of this description is that of the late Mr. A. C. Willoughby that was unveiled at the Glover Memorial Hall about twenty six years ago, which has become a ruin and had been brought to my studio for restoration about six months before the burning of the Town Hall. When the enlarged coloured photograph of the late Bishop came to the hands of the women I was called upon and asked to take it up and retouch it. I then replied

⁴⁰⁴ Ayandele (1970), 372-3

frankly that the picture would be better left alone; that I would not mind to paint my own portrait of the Bishop if they like. *Now I am glad that today, I have among my other pictures that of the late Bishop Johnson which I have painted on my own accord*⁴⁰⁵.

In these two extended excerpts are two conflicting accounts of the same portrait which ultimately stem from a case of mistaken attribution of a colored photograph as a canvas painting. Even Ayandele's description of the scheme to "obtain twenty-four smaller copies which could be purchased by the friends and admirers of Holy Johnson" sounds like a reference to the CDVs discussed above, rather than to hand painted miniatures. The high price of these CDVs was likely due to the fact that they were colored photographs, and required more attention than regular prints. Even though the reproduction of this particular portrait photograph was unavailable, there are two unattributed photographs of James Johnson that give a good representation of him (figs. 5.9, 5.10). However, Onabolu would likely ridicule these standard portraits as much as he would the colored photographs: a particularly ironic response considering that he himself used photographs and other illustrations to learn how to draw in primary school. When asked by the Women's Branch of the CWABF to touch up the Late Bishop's photograph, Onabolu firmly declined. It is probable that, after restoring the colored photograph of Abraham Claudius Willoughby just a few months earlier, he now found the task distasteful (fig. 5.11). Originally commissioned and unveiled at the Glover Memorial Hall twenty-six years earlier in 1894, the portrait was commissioned in honor of Willoughby who was Inspector and Deputy Sherriff of the Lagos Police before he died at Mojola on 21 May 1892 during the Ijebu Expedition.⁴⁰⁶ Interestingly, after Onabolu's retouched it, Willoughby's portrait looked more like a painting

⁴⁰⁵ Aina Onabolu. *A Short Discourse on Art*. Lagos:--, 1920; 7-8.

⁴⁰⁶ Mac Dixon-Fyle, *A Saro community in the Niger Delta, 1912-1984: the Potts-Johnsons of Port Harcourt and their heirs*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1999; 15, 107.

than a hybrid of the two media. The artist seemed compelled to completely efface the evidence of photography from the portrait, as if to prove that painting was the superior artistic technique next to the colored photograph. In the resulting retouched photograph, the compositional spaces are flattened such that even with the added stratum of paint materials, there is a lack of depth that suggests an unnatural single-plane effect. In this visual flatness, the original background has been obscured by a vague darkness and Willoughby's body is partly enunciated by a halo effect that breaks through the darkness that permeates the remainder of the colored photograph. All of the photographic indices of this portrait were painted over such that the portrait no longer looked like a photograph, but rather, an idealized, approximated portrait. With this aggressive retouching, Onabolu effectively unmade or *untook* the photograph by stripping it of all that made it *photographic*. After this perhaps unsatisfactory experiment in rehabilitating the colored photograph, Onabolu simply chose to complete *his own*, more agreeable painted portrait of Holy Johnson, rather than retouching Holy Johnson's colored photograph-- even though he was not commissioned or paid to do so. In his writings, Onabolu has explained that his disdain for photographs stemmed from the poor quality and transient nature of the photograph; however, I would also suggest that his livelihood was threatened by the increasing popularity, ease of operation, inexpensiveness of the medium, none of which his own craft possess.⁴⁰⁷ This lack of popular recognition for what he considered the superior art of painting paired with his own staunch devotion to the practice of painting, led Onabolu to denounce other media and techniques: "...let me here remind my reader that portrait painting is certainly the highest

⁴⁰⁷ While Onabolu was well patronized by middle- to upper-class and colonial administrators, his popularity emanated more from his notoriety than from the popular demand of his work. Moreover, due to the time-consuming nature of his painting, which he did on a part-time basis, Onabolu could only complete a limited number of commissions per year, regardless of how much demand he had. Even though he never charged very much for his canvases (pers comm. Dapo Onabolu, Jun. 2006), the technological advances in photography meant that this medium was even more affordable than Onabolu's paintings.

and the most difficult of Pictorial Art, requiring in its extended practice, at least, subordinate education in all other branches.”⁴⁰⁸ He felt that his mission as an artist and budding art educator was to enlighten the masses, that they may know the difference between true art and weak substitutes such as colored photographs.⁴⁰⁹ His dedication to this mission was such that, Ayandele’s misidentification of Holy Johnson’s colored photograph would have annoyed the artist to no end, all the while strengthening his argument for the necessity of proper art education in schools.⁴¹⁰

3. *On the verges of Onabolu and Holm*

In short, the biographies of Holm and Onabolu converge and diverge on various topics, including their early introduction into their professions, circumstances surrounding their migration and integration into the city, the extent of their dealings with individual versus commercial clients, and their engagements with the political milieus in which they worked. While Holm’s status as an autodidact is subject to further research, his introduction to photography is undoubtedly more commercially-oriented than Onabolu’s initiation into an interlaced socio-amalgam of nationalist aesthetics, anti-colonial thought, and grassroots protest. Onabolu matured into a community-oriented artist who was personally invested in calling attention to his profession and bringing about lasting reforms to ensure its longevity. His success was measured less in pecuniary terms than in the acclaim that he received for his

⁴⁰⁸ Onabolu, 11

⁴⁰⁹ Nzegwu rightly comments that “Other than cost, the significant difference between Onabolu’s portraits and the photo-portraits of the renowned Lagos photographer George S. A. da Costa was that Onabolu rendered his clients’ images in color. His expertise notwithstanding, da Costa could only produce black-and-white images of his clients...Onabolu’s critical edge and popular appeal lay in the lifelike hues and tones of his color palette.” (415)

⁴¹⁰ In his *Short Discourse*, Onabolu writes that “Now in this country, it is a blessing that we begin to value the portraits of our parents, of great men, and of those who are dear to us. Yet there is something wanting and that is, that we have not learned to distinguish painting from coloured photograph or the requisite qualities that make a good picture.” (5-6) In fact, Oloidi also comments that Onabolu “saw portraiture as a means of immortalizing all those people (European or African) who have helped the African cause (Dec. 1989, 98)

work, while Holm was a financially successful, well-connected, and well traveled photographer who, even though he was frequently outsider, used his business savvy and photographic skills to produce significant financial and career returns. Though there is little evidence that Holm formed personal relationships with individual clients on the level that Onobolu did, it is clear that he had an ongoing mutually beneficial relationship with the colonial administration. Holm's uncritical, insensibility to his own role in populating *and* inhabiting the imperial photographic archive contrasts drastically with Onobolu's intervention into the same image-making genre in Lagos. Onobolu raided the art historical archives *of the Empire*, confiscated 18th century British academic portrait techniques, and punctuated these styles with the idealizing aesthetic of Joshua Reynolds' distinctive Grand Style. Steeped in history and prestige, Onobolu used these appropriated devices to recast and interject black subjects *using* the normative visual language of the Empire. I will return to these particular divergences in Holm and Onobolu's practices in following sections.

Part II – Into the Eye of the Colonial Storm: To London and Back Again with Onobolu and Holm

Following the above examinations of Holm and Onobolu's early career trajectories, it is also important investigate the motives behind each portraitist's mid-career travels to London, how these passage influenced the trajectories of their later careers, informed their local and international artistic interventions, and furthered their individual social projects.

1. Parallels in Art Programming and Activist Nationalism

As mentioned earlier, *A Short Discourse on Art* was Onobolu's brief essay on what he perceived as the stagnant state and hopeful transformative future of contemporary art in Nigeria. The treatise was published as the accompanying literature for a major exhibition of Onobolu's work (1909-1919) that took place at Empire Hall in Lagos from 27 - 30 April,

1920. However, the pamphlet was more than simply an exhibition catalogue; it was an articulation of the artist's personal aesthetic partialities (realism and academic canvas painting), his ambitious (but somewhat unfocused) abridged history of art and Nigeria's role within it, and his plans for establishing formal art education in newly amalgamated Nigeria. In his treatise, Onabolu exalted the merits of painting over all other techniques, even dismissing "Our Geledes, Alapafajas, the Ibejis, (sculptures) and our drawings..." Similarly, in his uneven section on the history of art in the world, he wrote glowingly of the Royal Academy of Art, giving detailed accounts of its beginnings, dedicated patrons, and superior artistic production. However, when his focus turned from the international to the local, his tone changed dramatically;

Let us now come home to ourselves in Nigeria. What have we done to promote Art or Science? Our Geledes, Alapafajas, the Ibejis, (sculptures) and our drawings are still crude destitute of Art and Science; our canoes remain as they were since the day, when first they came into use without the slightest improvement. Why! Are there not among us young men, or men of brain capable of improving our condition and surroundings? There are, I say emphatically a good number of young men among us with fine brains, but for want of self application and perseverance they cannot bring themselves forward, and therefore they remain unknown.⁴¹¹

While Onabolu's attacks of the aesthetic deficiencies of his people may seem wanton, I suggest that his writing comes from a place of frustrated ambition at the general lack of progress/interest in bringing local cultural arts into conversation with the global historical narratives. By setting up a comparative relationship between the lack of art education in Nigeria and illustrious history of art in London, he in fact suggested that

⁴¹¹ Onabolu, 14-15

Nigeria was just as capable of having similar prestigious cultural institutions. However, the lack of available opportunities in the country and trained discipline among the youth kept this potential unfulfilled. Here, Onobolu's plan for formal art education was framed not only as a service to the country but also to the youth. However, in spite of his seeming progressiveness, Onobolu had very specific and conservative ideas about how Nigeria's future institution would be modeled; that is, after the Royal Academy in London and with a Joshua Reynolds figure like himself at the helm. In making the above claims, Onobolu problematically identified Britain's art historical legacy as the yardstick by which future Nigerian artistic progress and creativity ought to be conceived and measured. Though Onobolu's *Short Discourse* and overall formal art education campaign had undertones of nationalistic ideologies, his arguments and proposals for structured, academic, art curricula and institutions in Nigeria were paradoxically based on British academic criteria that restrict the sovereign potential of his project.

Short Discourse was a particularly significant document for Onobolu to circulate given that he was about to embark on a two-year course in Fine Arts at St. John's Wood College, London. After two quiet but productive decades of working in the Marine Department, the Customs Office, and as a free-time painter, Onobolu was finally ready to take steps towards professionalizing his passion for painting and his desire to teach. Although, as Oloidi writes, even before 1920, Onobolu had "started teaching art, though unofficially and without any reward, in few primary schools."⁴¹² However, this minor work was nothing compared to the artist's grand vision of an expansive system of formal art education in the country: that is, an organized, systematic program in place at every school and fully supported by the colonial government. While he could have successfully continued to reach a small number of local

⁴¹² Ola Oloidi (Jun.-Dec. 1989); 30.

schools with his self-taught skills, it was likely that Onabolu also wanted the prestige and legitimacy that came with a degree.⁴¹³ After decades of being praised for his artistic brilliance by Lagosians residents, a Fine Arts degree would have elevated him from the level of local luminary to that of internationally-validated professional. In addition to advancing his narrative into the professional realm, a diploma would provide the credentials necessary to push his legacy --formal art education in Nigeria-- through the appropriate colonial channels. While there was undoubtedly some desire for self-validation behind Onabolu's decision to pursue the certificate after twenty years of doing without. However, it is more pertinent to this examination to consider how he used this certificate to negotiate a power position for himself with the colonial Education Department so that he could implement his formal art education program.

During his stay in London, Onabolu came into contact with Modernist engagements with the art of Africa (formalist inversions of his own engagements with academic portraiture) as well as with reminders of the pan-African nature of the anti-colonial movement. In a validation of his notoriety in Lagos, the Principal of St John's Wood College declared that "no African in West Africa, or no African, to his knowledge, had practiced Western type of art before [him]."⁴¹⁴ Even in Britain, Onabolu occupied a pioneering and uniquely talented position and distinguished himself as a student when he "won the second-best award in drawing details from the classical figures of Greece and Rome... [and] attended two years of lectures offered to advanced students the Royal Academy..."⁴¹⁵ However, he also encountered the work of European Modernists, which he "found

⁴¹³ Oloidi (Jun.-Dec. 1989), 48f6

⁴¹⁴ Oloidi (1986), 125f24

⁴¹⁵ Nzegwu, 425f20

...uninspiring and weakly imitative of traditional African works,”⁴¹⁶ an bold and cutting commentary on a movement that was considered avant-garde for its time, and perhaps an indication of Onabolu’s conservative aesthetic tastes. He was not so conservative in his interactions with the anti-colonial ideas that had been such a significant part of his youth. In 1920, he was visited in London by at least four prominent Lagosians: Amodu Tijani the Chief Oluwa of Lagos, J. E. Casely Hayford, Bankole Bright, and Herbert Macaulay.⁴¹⁷ All of these individuals were participants in the 1920 London conference meeting of the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA).⁴¹⁸ In fact, Macaulay and Amodu Tijani were also in London to appeal the decision of the Nigerian Courts to deny Chief Oluwa’s the rights to ancestral Lagos to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council: an appeal which they won in a surprised victory in 1921.⁴¹⁹ Both made headlines late in 1920 when they were presented to King George V (fig. 5.12) just before Macaulay made controversial remarks to the *Daily Mail* that precipitated in the Eleko Affair that was discussed in details in chapter three.⁴²⁰ To be affiliated with these individuals reiterates the nationalist slant to Onabolu’s artistic work and larger social project. Upon visiting the artist’s St. John’s Wood art exhibit late in 1920, Bankole Bright commented that “our man, the first African to study art in London, has

⁴¹⁶ Nzegwu, 416.

⁴¹⁷ Oloidi (Dec. 1989), 98. J. E. Casely Hayford (1866-1903) was a Gold Coast politician, newspaperman, lawyer, educator and a pan-Africanist disciple of Edward Wilmot Blyden. Similarly, Herbert Bankole Bright was a newspaperman and one of the founding members of the NCBWA. Chief Oluwa, Amodu Tijani and Herbert Macaulay were discussed in chapter three in connection with the Oluwa Land Case of 1921 and the Eleko Affair of 1920-31.

⁴¹⁸ In September 1920, Chief Oluwa and Herbert Macaulay were among the ten NCBWA delegates selected to present a petition to King George V concerning the 1865 House of Commons Select Committee recommendation that the British government return sovereign power to Africans. The petition was understandably received with “icy coolness” by the colonial government (Geiss, 287).

⁴¹⁹ Takiu Folami, *A History of Lagos, Nigeria: The Shaping of an African City*. Smithtown, New York: Exposition Press, 1982; 43-7; M P Cowen and R W Shenton, “British Neo-Hegelian Idealism and Official Colonial Practice in Africa: The Oluwa Land Case of 1921.” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 22.2 (1994); 217-250.

⁴²⁰ Folami, 45; Patrick Cole, *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975; 124-26

made Africa proud on a white soil.”⁴²¹ Hayford wrote that Onobolu’s art “will be an additional *weapon* needed to confront the mental and psychological imprisonment of our people back home...”⁴²² Macaulay added that Onobolu’s work was “clear, marvelous vindication of our struggle – a manifestation of our much repeated feelings that Africans are capable politically intellectually and creatively.”⁴²³ These comments expand the scope of Onobolu’s London visit beyond his own personal self-validation, or even his one-man campaign for formal art education in Nigerian, and into the realm of a broader pan-African struggle for recognition and sovereignty.

The period from Onobolu’s return to Lagos in 1922 through his associate Kenneth Murray’s relocation to Ibadan College in 1934 respectively marked the realization of Onobolu’s campaign and the development of two divergent approaches to art education and practice in Nigeria. Upon returning to Lagos, Onobolu began to teach part-time in secondary schools like the CMS Grammar School, Wesleyan Boys’ High School, Eko Boys’ High School, King’s College, and Christ Church Cathedral School.⁴²⁴ In addition, he also completed several well-publicized works including a 1924 poster, entitled *Nigerian Weaver*, for the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley. (fig. 5.13) Depicting a local woman seated at a loom, the gouache painting was part of a poster series that was widely reproduced and sold as souvenirs of the Exhibition. Onobolu also completed a commission for the colonial government, entitled *The Trumpeters* (1924) that was later presented to Edward, Prince of Wales, and son of King George V.⁴²⁵ In the next year, Holm completed a commission for the Ret. Rev I. Oluwole that was reminiscent of the earlier works that he had done in his

⁴²¹ Oloidi (Dec. 1989), 98

⁴²² Oloidi (Dec. 1989), 92

⁴²³ Oloidi (Dec. 1989), 98

⁴²⁴ Oloidi (1986), 113

⁴²⁵ Nzegwu, 417

earlier career. (fig. 5.14) When the demand for his services became overwhelming, Onobolu filed a request for assistance with the colonial Education Department and Kenneth Crosswaite Murray was sent from Britain in 1927. While waiting for his assigned post at Ibadan College, Murray took over Onobolu's duties at King's College and quickly came to discover that the image of Africa that was perpetuated in Britain was less than accurate. By the 1928, he was advocating traditionalism and urging his students⁴²⁶ to "be local (Nigerian or African) in [their] conception, interpretation, characterization and general attitude to art."⁴²⁷ This was in direct contradiction to Onobolu's own conventional, academic teaching style which was predominantly based on his St. John's Wood syllabi.⁴²⁸ When Murray later relocated to the newly built Ibadan College site in 1933⁴²⁹ he continued to teach a culturally-rooted approach to artistic practice that he passed on to his students, which included Uthman Ibrahim, Christopher I. Ibeto, and Ben Enwonwu.⁴³⁰ Onobolu and Murray's divergent teaching philosophies marked the inception of two strands of art education and production in Nigeria (essentially, formalism versus culturalism).⁴³¹ On the one hand, Onobolu's conservative, formalist method of art practice and instruction was rooted in a Lagos-based, predominantly Yoruba political atmosphere. On the other hand, Murray's liberal culturalist approach was distinguished by his removal from Lagos into the ethnically diverse interior of Nigeria. Interestingly, Onobolu and Murray's divergent teaching methods

⁴²⁶ Oloidi (1986), 115

⁴²⁷ Oloidi (Dec. 1989), 100. Murray is an interesting antecedent to the later (1960s and 1970s) trend of European expatriates (Frank McEwen, Ulli Beier, etc) teaching or mentoring young African artists to return to traditionally-rooted practices.

⁴²⁸ Oloidi (1986), 100, 115

⁴²⁹ Oloidi (1986), 114

⁴³⁰ Oloidi (1986), 115

⁴³¹ However, it is important to note that the "divide" between formalism versus culturalism was not an insurmountable or even well defined aesthetic distinction. This is apparent in the work of the Zaria Art Society and the Nsukka Group, both of which invoked formalist technique with culturalist motifs of their work. (P Chike Dike and Pat Oyelola. *The Zaria Art Society: a new consciousness*. Lagos, Nigeria : National Gallery of Art, Nigeria, 1998; Simon Ottenberg, *The Nsukka artists and Nigerian contemporary art*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian National Museum of African Art in association with University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2002)

mirrored the ongoing shift in the local political arena from a predominantly Lagos-based nationalist movement to one increasingly infused with non-Yoruba and non-Lagosian actors. Specifically, Murray's move to Ibadan in 1933 was concurrent with the emergence of a younger generation of ethnic/cultural nationalist activists. As discussed in chapter three, the Lagos Youth Movement was organized in 1934 largely in response to the British colonial scheme to replace Oxford and Cambridge School certificates with Nigerian certificates that were seen as degrees of inferior, sub-professional educations.⁴³² The circumstances around the launching of the Lagos Youth Movement demonstrate how inextricable education was from nationalistic aspirations and further urge that Onabolu's campaign for art education be read along the same political lines.

2. The Multi-talented Arbiter: Neils Walwin Holm as Photographer and Barrister

In 1910, twelve years after relocating to Lagos for his photographic practice, Neils Walwin Holm left for London "for the benefit of his health."⁴³³ Just three years earlier, in a 26 January 1907 issue of the *Lagos Weekly Record*, Holm was announcing his return to Lagos from a sporting tour on the Gold Coast:

Notice: Mr. N. Walwin Holm F.R.P.S. Photographer for 21 years in the Colony has returned from his sporting tour to Gold Coast and will be at home to receive all

⁴³² Richard L Sklar. *Nigerian political parties: power in an emergent African nation*. New York: NOK Publishers International, 1963; 48-9. This group was renamed and reconceptualized as the nationalist Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) in 1936 and joined by Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1937, just in time for its three Legislative Council wins in 1938. (Sklar, 52) The NYM disbanded over controversial intra-group suspicious of ethnic/regional favoritism and discrimination during an attempt to replace a resigning NYM member of the Lagos Legislative Council. (Wale Adebani, "Hegemony and Spatial Politics: The Press and the Struggle for Lagos in Colonial Nigeria." *African Development* 29.4 (2004); 81) Four member of this group, Obafemi Awolowo with Ernst Ikoli and Nnamdi Azikiwe with Samuel Akinsanya would go on to form two major and rivaling political parties of Yoruba-dominated Action Group (AG) and the Igbo dominated National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC), respectively (Adebani, 81)

⁴³³ Macmillan, 132. Incidentally, this same year, four of Holm's portrait photographs were reproduced in Richard Edward Dennett's text, *Nigerian studies; or, The religious and political system of the Yoruba* (London, Cass, 1968).

friends and clients on business from Monday the the (sic) 21st inst. and until further notice. Daguerre House. January 19, 07

Among other things, this advertisement was evidence of Holm's ongoing self-promoting campaign and problematic position in relation to the colonial project. In the ad, Holm makes sure to mention that 1) he was a Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society, 2) he had been working as a photographer in Lagos for 21 years (since 1886, as per the Lagos Observer advertisement discussed earlier), 3) that he was recently on a leisurely, gentlemanly "sporting tour" in Gold Coast, and 4) that his residence was now called "Daguerre House". While the first two remarks are designed to set Holm apart from other photographers in reputation and prestige while also endearing him to discerning clients, the next two statements are seem calculated to communicate his elevated socio-economic class and affected membership in the Victorian lifestyle. The sporting tour, a hunting pastime with roots in the expansive discourses of imperialism, repressions of the nature and the natural, and exclusivity of noble British traditions, was an activity that was closely tied to the ethos of the colonial project. This ad aligned Holm with this pastime and all that it represented: again, putting his positionality in this colonial milieu into question even though it was most likely the inference of affluence surrounding the sporting tour that he sought. Holm's participation in the tour and his announcement of it in an ad for his photography business was a striking experiential rehearsal of what Susan Sontag has described as the "sublimation of the gun".

...there is something predatory in the act of taking a picture...just as the camera is a sublimation of the gun, to photograph someone is a sublimated murder.⁴³⁴

So what does it mean that Holm, as a sporting huntsman, loads, aims and shoots his gun in the same way as his camera, not metaphorically but in reality?⁴³⁵ This existential enactment

⁴³⁴ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*. New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977; 14-5

of Sontag's theoretic allusion implicates Holm even more as contributing to and perpetuating the work of photographic colonial archive while also incriminating him in the related discourses of imperial leisure and practice. Holm's reference to his residence as Daguerre House suggest his awareness of the histories of his craft and his affiliation with the colonial, Euro-centered applications of the medium. Like other affluent Lagosians at the time, Holm indulged in the fading European middle-class tradition of naming his home with a title that advertised his profession and marked his membership within the upper-classes of the city. And so, even as he catered to the self-fashioning projects of his clients, Holm simultaneously pursued his own self-making work.

Although the previous ad showed that Holm was just as active and vigorous as his business in the three years before his trip to London "for the benefit of his health", by 26 June 1909, Holm was adverting in the *Lagos Weekly Record* for an apprentice:

Wanted. Two youths as apprentices to learn the Art of Photography. Good prospects for willing youths. Apply to "Camera" Holm's Limited. Photographers. Lagos.

It was possible that Holm's Limited was growing at such a rate that he required assistants, or perhaps he was hiring and training addition help in premeditated preparation for his absence. In any case, Holm left Lagos in 1910, leaving his son, Justus A. C. Holm, in charge of Holm's Limited, presumably with two recently apprenticed youths. It was also possible that this was the same arrangement that Holm made for his Accra photography business when he travelled to Lagos for an extended year in 1886.

When he arrived in London, Holm applied for admission at Lincoln's Inn in 22 December 1910 after completing his preliminary exams, paying his admissions fee of £8,

⁴³⁵ I have not been able to find any photographs taken of Holm during his sporting tour though, being an avid, professional photographer, he most likely recorded the event.

12/9d and providing a £50 deposit on his tuition (fig. 5.15). From the large sums of money involved in enrolment, the submission of the application so soon after Holm arrived in London, and the fact that he was admitted to the Inn on 10 January 1911, it is apparent that studying law was not just a whim that resulted from his health-related travels. Instead, these points suggest that Holm traveled to London with the express purpose of obtaining a law degree and consequently put into doubt the claims that health concerns brought Holm to London in the first place. However, it remains unclear why he chose to pursue this new career at forty-five years of age. Holm was called to the Bar on 26 January 1917 having been recommended by the Treasurer (Lincoln Inn's highest officer) for the year, Lord Muir-Mackenzie, and in the presence of the following benchers (senior members who form the Inn's governing body); Sir William P Beale, Thomas Tindal Methold, William Donaldson Rawlins, Edward Beaumont, Edgar Percy Hewitt and Rigby Swift (fig. 5.16).⁴³⁶ After this point and presumably in better health, Holm returned to Lagos where he launched his new career as a barrister-at-law (fig. 1).⁴³⁷ Just three years after his return to Lagos, a photograph of Holm wearing full barrister's regalia was published in the pages of the 1920 "who's who" publication, *The Red Book of West Africa*. Smiling engagingly in the bust-posed portrait, Holm was identified by the simple yet telling caption, "N. Walwin Holm, Barrister-at-Law, Lagos." Not only was Holm identified by his new profession (with no mention of the old) he was also included in a photographic montage of illustrious Lagos residents entitled, "Some Native Representatives of Law and Medicine, Lagos"⁴³⁸ (fig. 5.17) This montage featured photographs of affluent, and influential Lagosians, such as the Hon. Kitoyi Ajasa (nationalist activist and editor of *The Nigerian Pioneer*), Dr. Oguntola Sapara (a medical pioneer), and I.K.

⁴³⁶ Lincoln's Inn, Holdings B, Bar Book, 1917, entry 5

⁴³⁷ Macmillan, 132.

⁴³⁸ MacMillan, 60

Doherty (another Lincoln's Inn graduate).⁴³⁹ The fact that Holm was featured in this text and among these illustrious individuals was testament to the completion of his career change and his entrance into the ranks of the upper echelons of the elite society that he had photographed for so long. In this particular case, his photograph as a barrister (and its inclusion in the montage) does the work of articulating this metamorphosis and situating him in the company of those "like" him. However, in an interesting twist, Holm's photographs--of landscapes, colonial individuals, and the Lagos attractions—from his previous career were also used to illustrate various sections of *The Red Book* (fig. 5.18, 5.19). Many of these images are captioned with the photographer's name and a brief description of the visual contents. These illustrations made Holm's visible past career as photographer visible and put this past into tension with his (then) current occupation as a barrister. In this way, Holm's appearance in the *Red Book* as a barrister *and* as a photographer reiterates Sherry Ortner's suggestion that individuals working in colonial contexts occupied multiple positions and pursued concurrent social and self-fashioning projects (individual and collective) by working from the "margins" of their particular locations.⁴⁴⁰ In a serendipitous articulation of Ortner's multiple positions, Holm was represented simultaneously in both of these roles in the *Red Book*. He worked his way from colonial inscribed margins to become a successful photographer and later, a barrister; both positions in which he arbitrated the lives of others by taking their concerns and re-addressing them for optimal results.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ MacMillan, 131, 136

⁴⁴⁰ Ortner (*Anthropology and social theory: culture, power, and the acting subject*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006) continues that "many projects are full-blown "serious games," involving the *intense play of multiply positioned subjects* pursuing cultural goals within a matrix of local inequalities and power differentials" 143-5

⁴⁴¹ Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate the records of Holm's activities as a barrister, or the length of his practice. Further work is required on this point.

Conclusions

The self-fashioning projects of individual subjects standing before the camera or canvas are not the only ones that are underway during the photographic event or the painting process.⁴⁴² This chapter considered the portraitist-subject relationship, which, although it is not immediately discernible, brings the portrait into being in the first place. In this case, I suggest that in a colonial, subjugated context, portraitists are not just the technical composer of these portraits, but also invested participants whose self-fashioning projects are caught up in that of their clients. By recuperating the biographical, professional production, and writings (treatises and advertisements) of these Onabolu and Holm, this chapter attempted to create an access point for addressing how these portraitists converted the services that they performed for their clients into local and transnational currency for themselves, positioning themselves more advantageously within their communities, and creating lasting legacies. Ultimately, these portraits do not simply speak or work for their subjects alone, they are also deployed by those who contribute to their making, the collectives and groups identities to which they refer and the locales to which they speak.

⁴⁴² In addition to these obvious individual subjects, other related subjects are captured concurrently, but not necessarily with the same visibility: these portraits represent indirect access points that intimate the main subjects' relationships with other (physically and visibly absent, but aesthetically influential) social subjects, collective groups and organizations, local and transnational communities and inter-dynamics. These intimated relationship layer portraits with more profound meanings and reiterate that they must be seen and understood beyond their immediately perceptible content matter.

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(Accessed 8/23/2008)

Illustrations



Figure 1.1 – James Waterhouse. Bheels of the Vindhyan Range, Malwah, Central India. Plate 337, vol. 7 of *The People of India*. Letterpress: “The group of Bheels, or Bhils, is taken from members of the Malwah Bheel corps, and the men have a much more civilized look than in their native condition. They have been drilled, and are soldiers of governments, which has improved them.”

(John Falconer, “A Pure Labor of Love: A Publishing History of *The People of India*” in *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, edited by Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D Sampson. London and New York; Routledge, 2002; 66)



Figure 1.2 - Benjamin Simpson. Mishimi. Hill tribe. Assam, 1862. Plate 28, vol. 1 of *The People of India*.

(John Falconer, "A Pure Labor of Love: A Publishing History of *The People of India*" in *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, edited by Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D Sampson. (London and New York; Routledge, 2002); 65)



Figure 1.3 – Unidentified Photographer. Zahore Begum. Mahomedan. Allahabad, c. 1862.

Plate 104, vol. 2 of *The people of India*. Letterpress text: “Zahore Begum is a Cashmere Mussulami, and follows the profession of a courtesan. As may be supposed, her character is not very respectable”

(Falconer, “A Pure Labor of Love: A Publishing History of *The People of India*” in *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, edited by Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson. (London and New York; Routledge, 2002); 60)



Figure 1.4 – Unidentified Artist. “Portrait of Maharaja Bhim Singh” Jodhpur, Marwar, Rajasthan, 1795. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper (Roda Ahluwalia, *Rajput Painting: Romantic, Divine and Courty Art from India*. (London; Mapin Publishing 2008); 93)

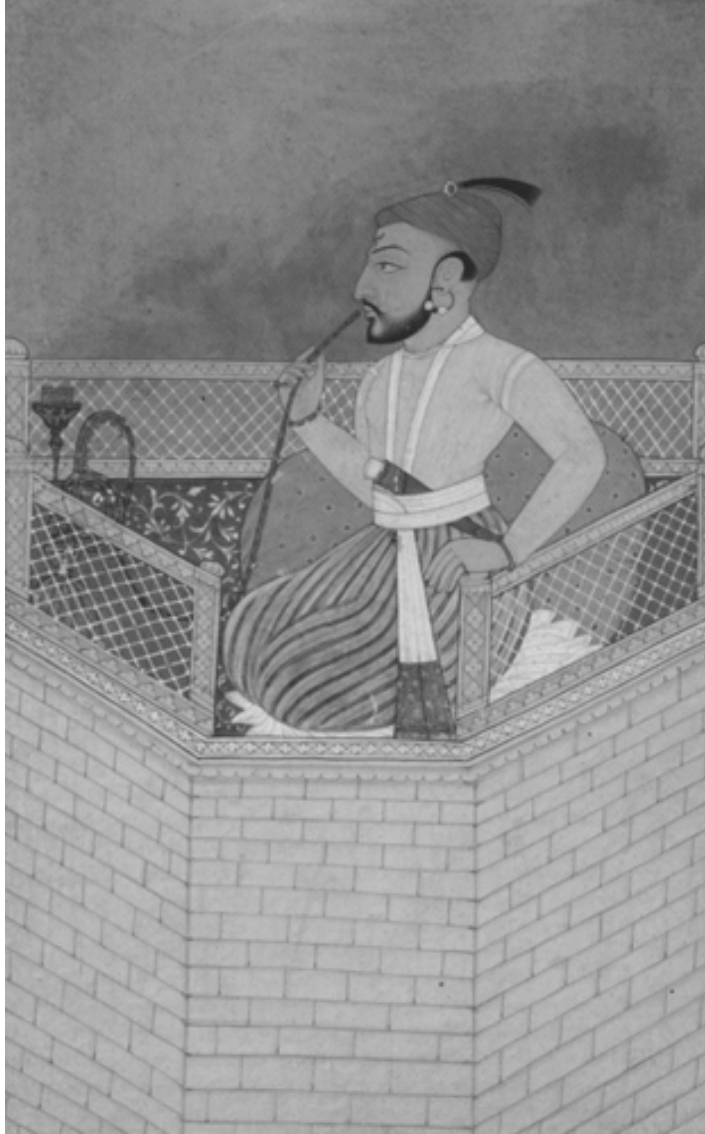


Figure 1.5 – Laharu. “Portrait of Mian Shamsheer Singh” Chamba, Punjab Hills, 1750-60.
Opaque watercolor on paper
(Roda Ahluwalia, *Rajput Painting: Romantic, Divine and Courtly Art from India* (London; Mapin
Publishing 2008); 141)



Figure 1,6 – Hurreychund Chintamon. Coronation of Maharaja of Baroda, 1871. left:
Albumen right: Albumen, with opaque watercolor
(Judith Mara Gutman, *Through Indian Eye: 19th and early 20th century Photography from India* (New
York: Oxford University Press, 1982); 108+118)



Figure 1.7 – Unidentified Photographer and painter. Raja from Patiala, ca 1875. Albumen, opaque watercolor
(Judith Mara Gutman, *Through Indian Eye: 19th and early 20th century Photography from India*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); 118)



Figure 1.8 – J. T. Zealy. “Jack (driver), Guinea. Plantation of B. F. Taylor, Esq.” Columbia, S.C., March 1850
(Peabody Museum, Harvard University)

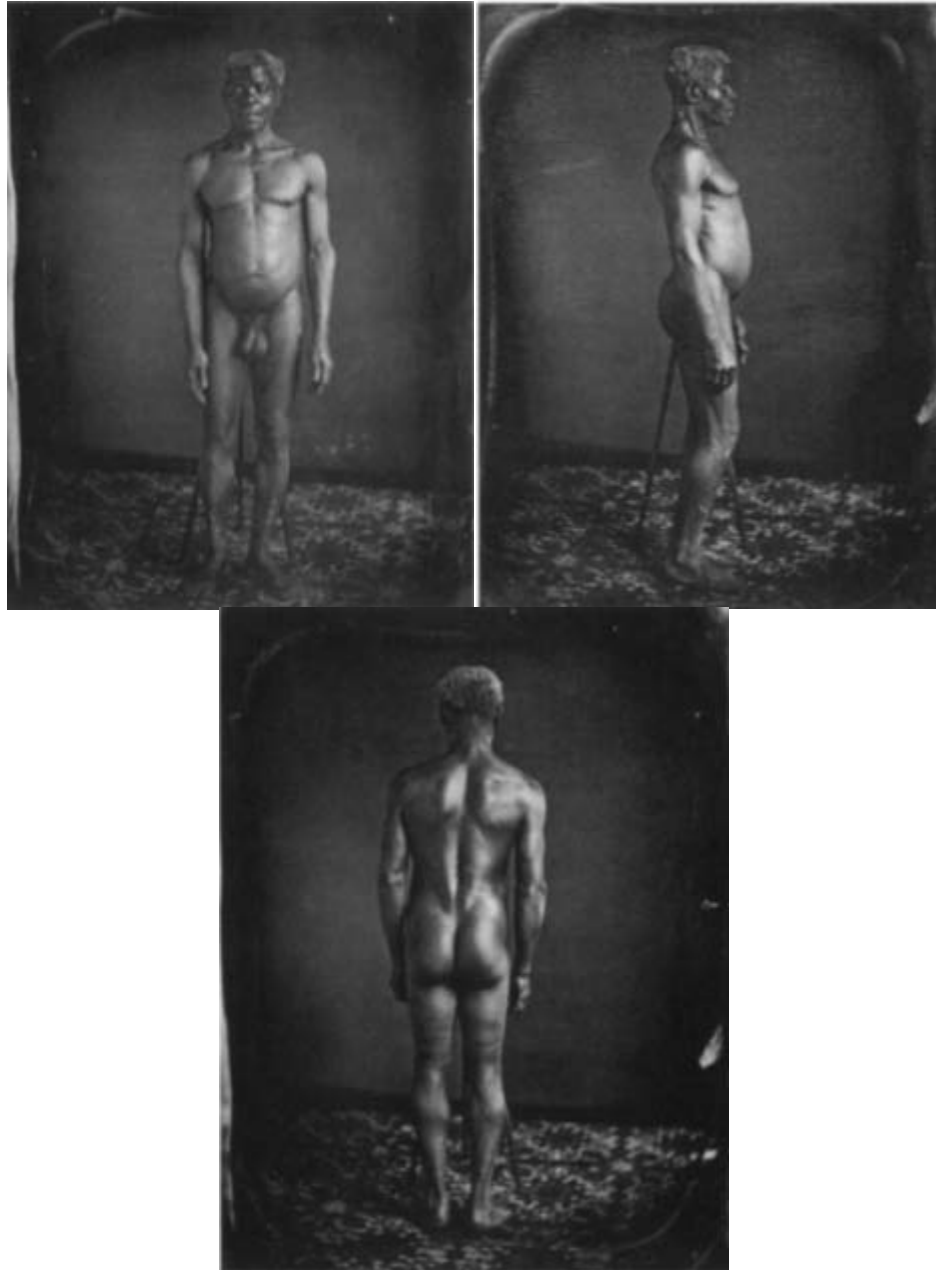


Figure 1.9 - J. T. Zealy, "Jem, Gullah, belonging to F. N. Green." Columbia, S.C., March 1850
(Peabody Museum, Harvard University)



Figure 1.10 - J. T. Zealy. "Drana, country born, daughter of Jack Guinea. Plantation of B. F. Taylor, Esq." Columbia, S.C., March 1850.
(Peabody Museum, Harvard University)

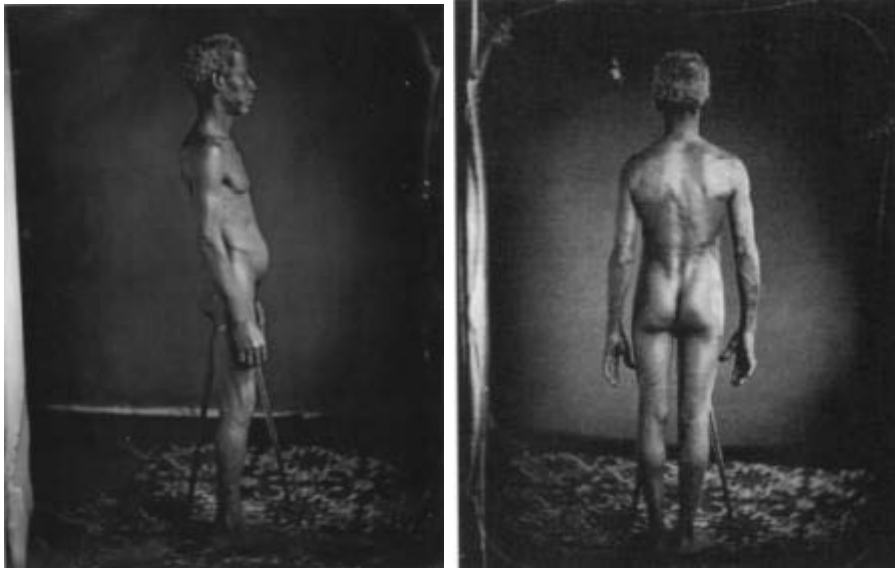


Figure 1.11 - J. T. Zealy. "Alfred, Foulah, belonging to I. Lomas," Columbia, S.C. March 1850.

(Peabody Museum, Harvard University)



Figure 1.12 - J. T. Zealy. "Renty, Congo. Plantation of B. F. Taylor, Esq." Columbia, S.C. March 1850.

(Peabody Museum, Harvard University)



Figure 1.13 - J. T. Zealy. "Delia, country born of African parents, daughter of Renty, Congo." Columbia, S.C. March 1850.
(Peabody Museum, Harvard University)

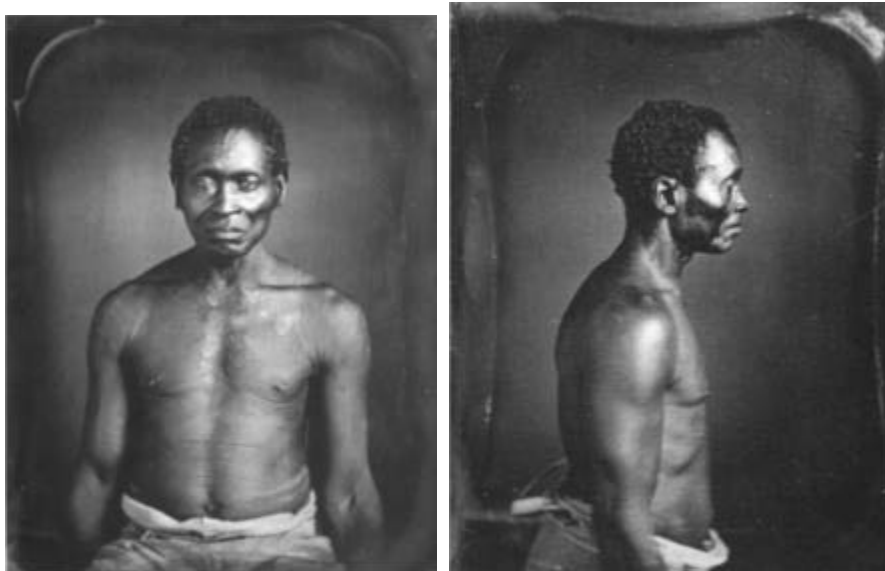


Figure 1.14 – J. T. Zealy. "Fassena (carpenter), Mandingo. Plantation of Col. Wade Hampton," Columbia, S.C. March 1850.
(Peabody Museum, Harvard University)



Figure 1.15 – Unidentified artist. Engraved frontispiece of Frederick Douglass
(*Frederick Douglass, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*
(Boston, 1845))



Figure 1.16 – Unidentified artist. Frederick Douglass, c. 1844. Oil on canvas
(The National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. USA,
NPG.74.45)

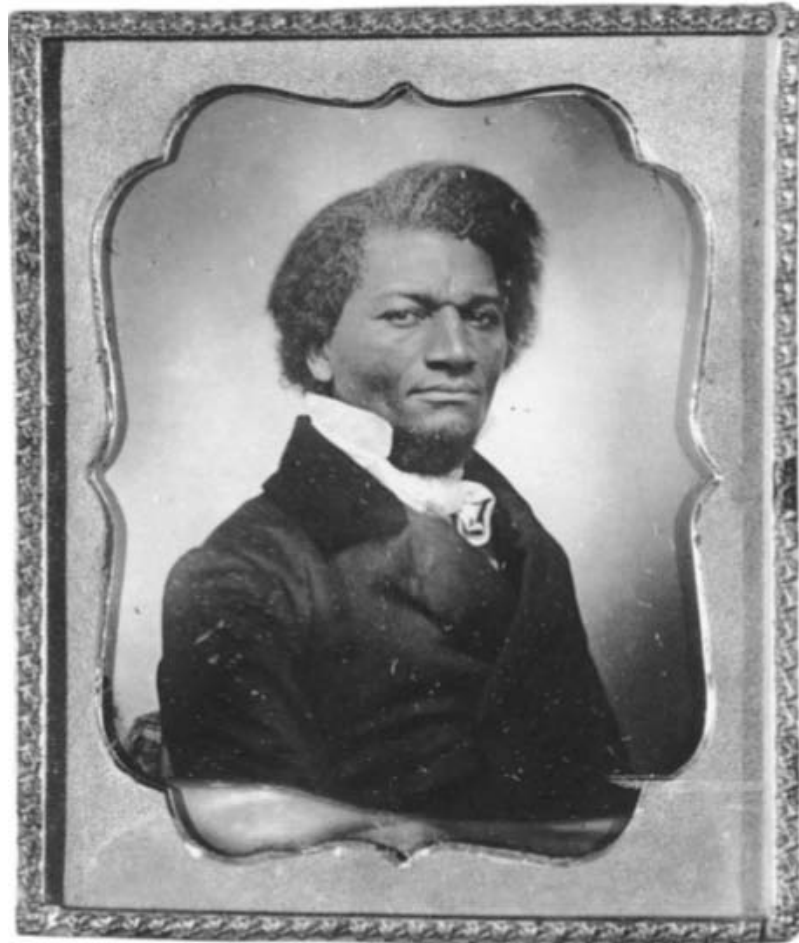


Figure 1.17 – Unidentified Photographer. Frederick Douglass, c. 1855. Daguerreotype. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Rubel Collection, promised gift of William Rubel, 1997 (1997-84-8)).

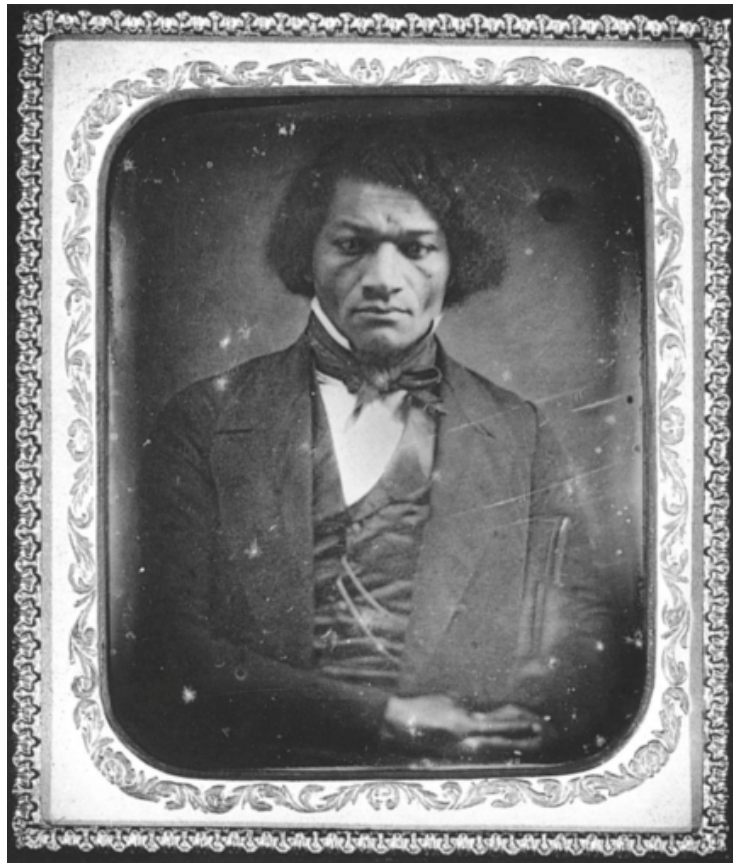


Figure 1.18– Unidentified Photographer. Frederick Douglass, c. 1850 (copy after plate made in the mid- 1840s). Daguerreotype.
(The National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. USA
(NPG.80.21))



Figure 1.19 – Unidentified Artist. Engraved frontispiece of Sojourner Truth
(*Frederick Douglass, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*
(Boston, 1845)



Figure 1.20 – Unidentified Photographer. Carte-de-visite of Sojourner Truth, “I sell the Shadow to Support the Substance”, ca 1864
(Bernice Lowe Collection, Bentley Historical Library, Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan)



Figure 2.1 – Oba Akitoye I
(Folami, *A History of Lagos, Nigeria*, 1982; 30)



Figure 2.2 – Oba Akitoye I with attendants
(Folami, *A History of Lagos, Nigeria*, 1982; 32)



Figure 2.3 – Joao Esan da Rocha, pre-1870
(da Cunha, *From slave quarters to town houses*, 1985; 52)



Figure 2.4 – Louisa Angelica Nogueira da Rocha with son Candido, ca 1870
(da Cunha, *From slave quarters to town houses*, 1985; 52)



Figure 2.5 – Sarah Forbes Bonnetta
(Forbes, *Dabomey and the Dabomans...*, 1851, frontispiece)



Figure 2.6 - Sierra Leone II. Interior of a Girls' school, ca 1850-1860
(Museum of London, 2006.44/46)



Figure 2.7 – Sarah Forbes Bonnetta, mid to late 1850s
(www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk)



Figure 2.8 – Sarah Forbes Bonnetta Davies, ca 1862
(www.madamesays.com...)



Figure 2.9 - Camille Silvy. James Pinson Labulo Davies and Sarah Forbes Bonetta (Sarah Davies), 1862
(National Portrait Gallery-UK, NPG Ax61385, albumen print, 3.25X2.25)



Figure 2.10 – Camille Silvy. James Pinson Labulo Davies and Sarah Forbes Bonetta (Sarah Davies), 1862
(National Portrait Gallery-UK, Ax61382, albumen print, 3.25X2.25)



Figure 2.11 – Camille Silvy. Sarah Forbes Bonetta (Sarah Davies), 1862
(National Portrait Gallery-UK, Ax61380, albumen print, 3.25X2.25)



Figure 2.12 – Camille Silvy. James Pinson Labulo Davies, 1862
(National Portrait Gallery-UK, Ax61381, albumen print, 3.25X2.25)



Figure 2.13 – Camille Silvy. James Pinson Labulo Davies, 1862
(National Portrait Gallery-UK, Ax61383, albumen print, 3.25X2.25)



Figure 2.14 –Camille Silvy. Sarah Forbes Bonetta (Sarah Davies), 1862
(National Portrait Gallery-UK, Ax61384, albumen print, 3.25X2.25)



Figure 2.15 – “Right Rev Samuel Adjai Crowther, DD. Bishop of Niger”, c. late 1880s
Church Missionary Society Album
(National Archives of Nigeria, University of Ibadan branch, C.M.S. (P) 1-105)



Figure 2.16 – James Johnson as a Young Man
(Ayandele, *Holy Johnson*, 1970, frontispiece)



Figure 2.17 – Archdeacon Samuel Johnson and family, ca 1880s
Church Missionary Society Album
(National Archives of Nigeria, University of Ibadan branch, C.M.S. (HP 1-67))



Figure 2.18 - "Prince of Jebu Ode", "The family group", "Women selling Agidi", "Game of Warri", ca. 1880s

Church Missionary Society Album
 (National Archives of Nigeria, University of Ibadan, C.M.S. (HP 1-67))



Figure 2.19 - “Ms A. Lisbon”, “Mr. and Mrs. Oyebode, Catechist in Ibadan”, “Lucretia Smith”, and “CMS (old) Bookshop, Rev C. A. Gollmer, Mr. da Costa, Ojo”
 Church Missionary Society Album
 (National Archives of Nigeria, University of Ibadan, C.M.S. (HP 1-67))



Figure 2.20 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Photograph of Sir C. Alfred Moloney, 1st Governor and Commander in chief of the Colony of Lagos after the separation from the Gold Coast Colony and staff of officials taken 1889. Photograph consisting of 16 persons, 11 sitting, 5 standing.”

(National Archives (UK) CO 1/413/248)



Figure 2.21 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Photograph of His Excellency Carter (successor) 2nd Governor & Commander in Chief of the Colony of Lagos & His Officials, taken 1892. Photograph consisting of 21 persons.”
(National Archives (UK) CO 1/413/249)



Figure 2.22 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Photograph of the herds of ‘Jebu’ W. Africa alias Colonel Scott C. B. and his officers of the Jebu Expedition, 1892. Photograph consisting of 17 people, 8 sitting, 9 standing”
(National Archives (UK) CO 1/423/249)



Figure 2.23 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Photograph of the herds of ‘Jebu’, W. Africa alias Colonel Scott and his officers of the Jebu Expedition, 1892, Photograph consisting of 17 persons, 8 standing 9 sitting”
(National Archives (UK) CO 1/413/248)

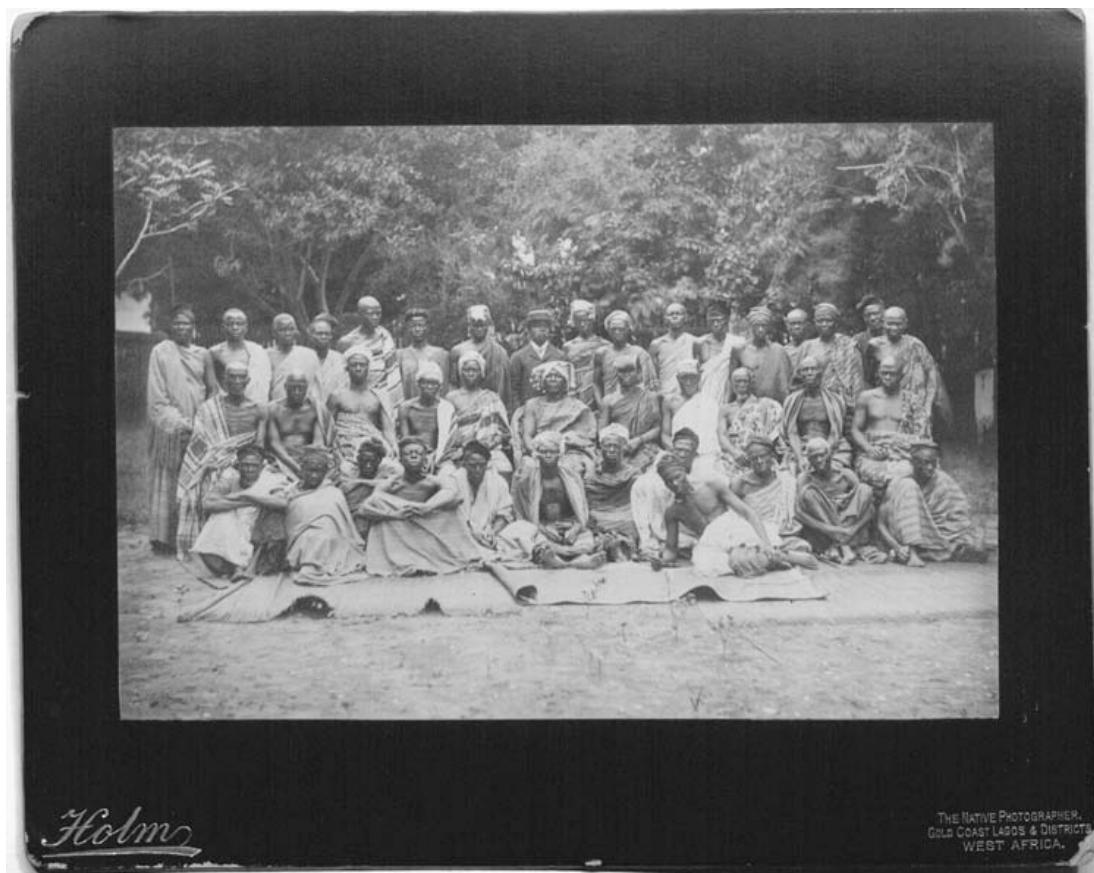


Figure 2.24 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Chief Olowa at Jubilee Durbar, Lagos, June 22 1897,”
(Cambridge University Library: Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Y3043K)



Figure 2.25 – Late Otunba Payne, Eminent leader and prosecutor, High Court, Lagos, cs. 1890s (Courtesy: Glover Memorial Hall, Lagos, Nigeria)



Figure 3.1 – “Abraham Claudius Willoughby, Killed in Action at Mojoda (Ijebu Expedition) 21st May 1892” – Colored photograph, unknown photographer, retouched by Aina Onabolu (Courtesy: Glover Memorial Hall Board of Trustees, Lagos Island)



Figure 3.2 – Dr. John K. Randle, undated
(Adeloye, *African Pioneers of Modern Medicine*, 100)



Figure 3.3 – Dr. Orisadipe Obasa, undated
(Adeloye, *African Pioneers of Modern Medicine*, 133)



Figure 3.4 – Native Lands Tenure Delegate in England, 1913
(Ajisafe, *History of Abeokuta*, plate 184)

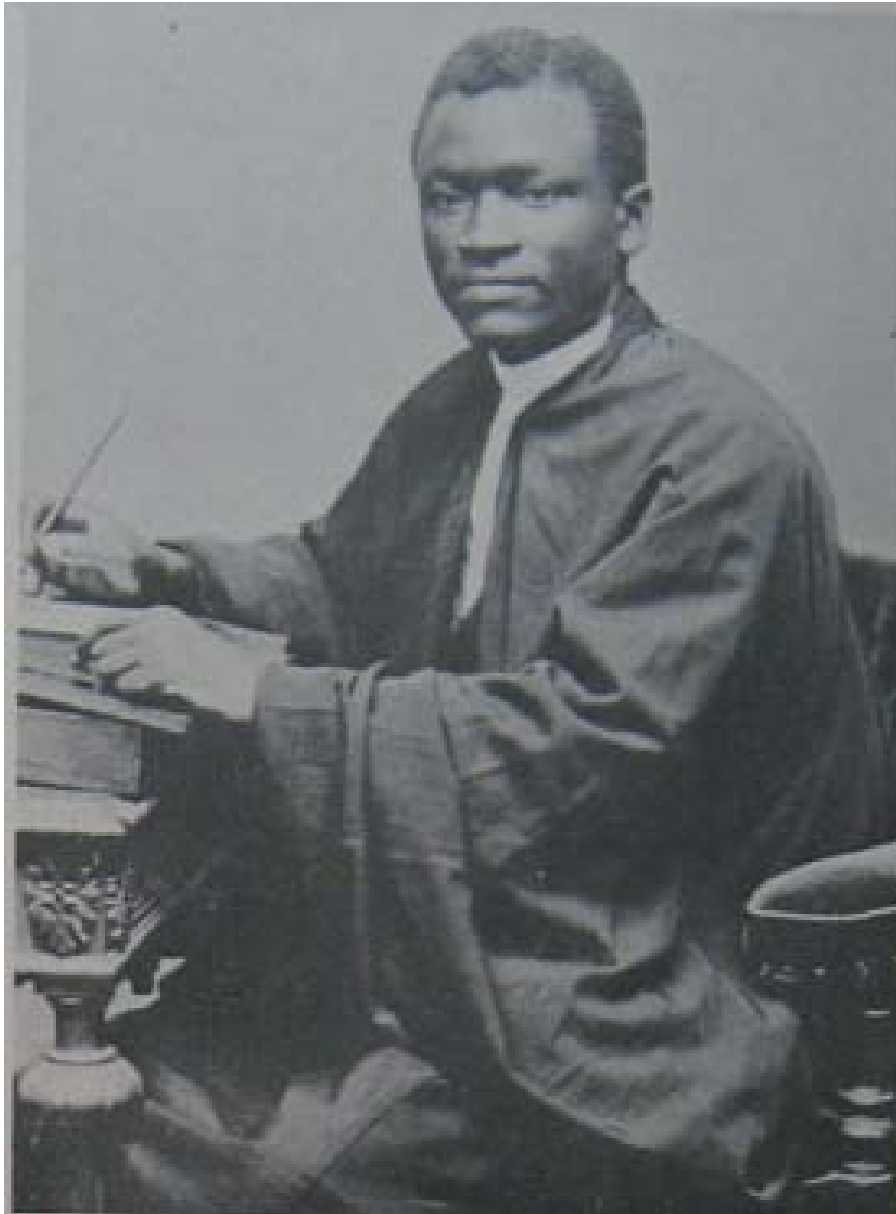


Figure 3.5 – Rev. Mojola Agbebi (formerly David Brown Vincent), undated
(Michael J.C. Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos*, plate 16)



Figure 3.6 – Dr. Oguntola Sapara, undated
(Adeloye, *African Pioneers of Modern Medicine*, 133)



Figure 3.7 – “The Late Hon. Christopher Sapara Williams”, undated
(Courtesy: Glover Memorial Hall Board of Trustees, Lagos Island)



Figure 3.8 – “Lagos. The Ladies Recreation Club”. Postcard photograph with French notations, dated 10 October 1902
(Courtesy: Dr. Christraud Geary, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Figure 3.9 – “Late Mrs Danko Williams, Wife of the Late Hon. Christopher Sapara Williams, A Great Social worker,” 1904
(Courtesy: Glover Memorial Hall Board of Trustees, Lagos Island)



Figure 3.10 – Mr. Herbert Macaulay, undated

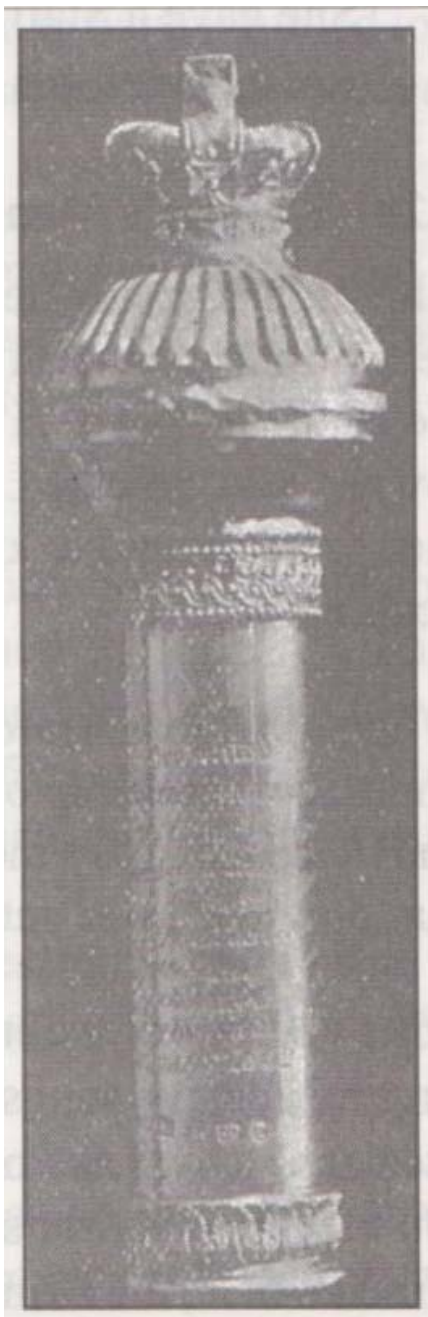


Figure 3.11 – Keturah Collings (photographer). Staff of Office belonging to Oba of Lagos (Fasinro, *Political and Cultural Perspectives of Lagos*, 73)



Figure 3.12 – King George V, Herbert Macaulay carrying the staff of office of Oba Eshugbayi Eleko, presented by Queen Victoria taken during a garden party at the Royal Botanical Garden, London during the Oluwa land case. King George was seen shaking hands with Amodu Tijani Oluwa, 1920
(Folami, *The History of Lagos*, 1982, figure 23)



Figure 3.13 – Bassano. Amodu Tijani, Chief Oluwa of Lagos, 12 July 1920
(National Portrait Gallery, NPG x84007, vintage print)



Figure 3.14 – Bassano. Amodu Tijani, Chief Oluwa of Lagos, 12 July 1920
(National Portrait Gallery, NPG x75017 whole-plate glass negative)

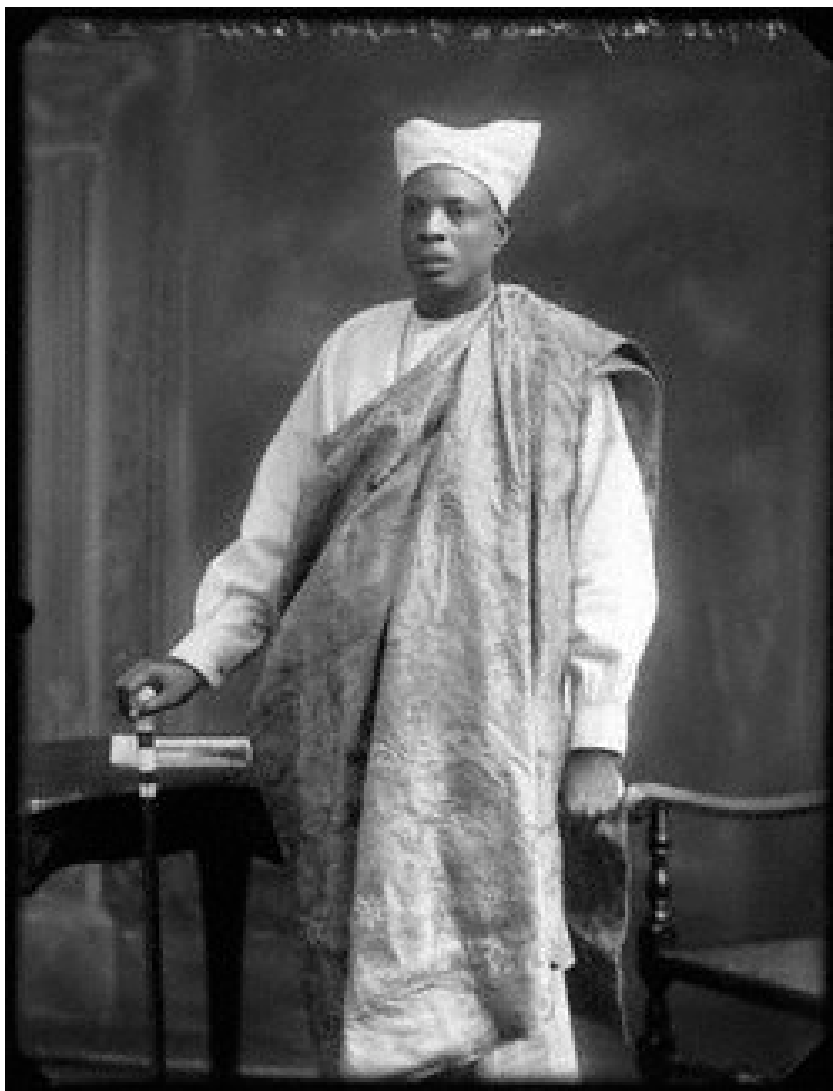


Figure 3.15 – Bassano. Amodu Tijani, Chief Oluwa of Lagos, 12 July 1920
(National Portrait Gallery, NPG x75018, whole-plate glass negative)



Figure 3.16 – Bassano. Amodu Tijani, Chief Oluwa of Lagos, 12 July 1920
(National Portrait Gallery, NPG x75019, whole-plate glass negative)



Figure 3.17 – Bassano. Sir Adeniji-Adele II, Oba of Lagos, 12 July 1920
(National Portrait Gallery, NPG x75020, whole-plate glass negative)

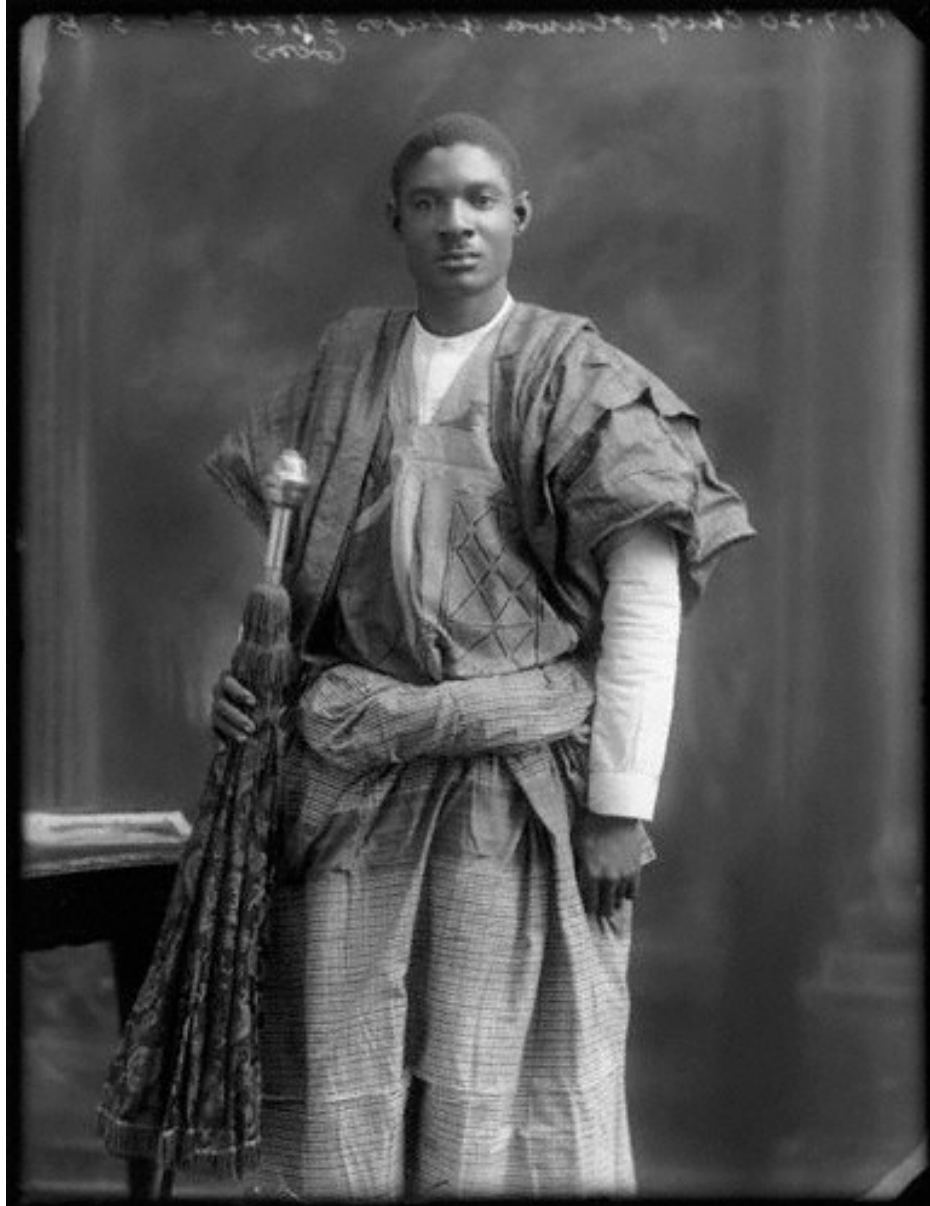


Figure 3.18 –Bassano. Sir Adeniji-Adele II, Oba of Lagos, 12 July 1920
(National Portrait Gallery, NPG x75021, whole-plate glass negative)



Figure 3.19 – Chief Oluwa, Herbert Macaulay, and Prince Adeniji-Adele II in London, 1920-

1

(Fasinro, *Political and Cultural Perspectives of Lagos*, 110)



Figure 3.20 – Oba Eshugbayi Eleko, undated
(Folami, *A History of Lagos, Nigeria*, 42)

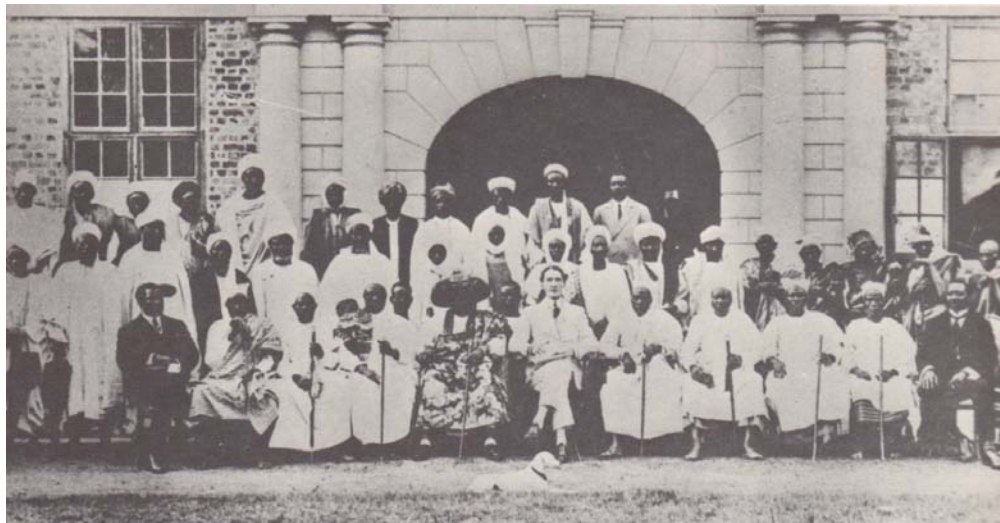


Figure 3.21 – Oba Eshugbayi, Chief Obanikoro, and ranking indigenous chiefs, with Resident of the Colony Major Birrell-Gray, before the Eleko Affair

[*First row (left to right):* Dr. Obasa, X, X, Chief Obanikoro, Oba Eshugbayi Eleko, British administrator, X, X, Chief Olorogun Adodo, X, Sir Kitoyi Ajasa; *Second row (left to right):* Giwa Agoro, X, Buraimah Adele (father of the late Oba Adeniyi Adele II), X, X, Alli Balogun, X, Imam Ibrahim]

(Folami, *A History of Lagos, Nigeria*, 50)



Figure 3.22 – H. S. Freeman, “Oba Eshugbayi and his chiefs, 1901-1925, 1931-1932”
(Courtesy: Iga Ashogbon, April 2007)



Figure 3.23 – Ilu Committee Members, 1931

(First row, (seated bottom, left to right): Olowora. Second row: X, Olusese (Ina Itowo), Mr Aregbe, X, X, Abibu Oki-Balogun of Central Mosque, X, X, Alaji Sansi Giwa. Third row: X, X, X, X, X, Herbert Macaulay, Mr Joacquim (Treasurer), X, X, X, X, X Oseni Matti
 (Courtesy: Iga Ashogbon, April 2007)



Figure 4.1 - Sir Manuel Raymond Menendez. "Group portrait of over sixty adult male Hausa soldiers in front of European building. Soldiers sitting in front two holding rifles. Two cannons amongst soldiers. Soldier at centre holding ceremonial staff. Two male children holding drums at centre..." 1880-1905"
(From British Museum Library, Af.A49.38)

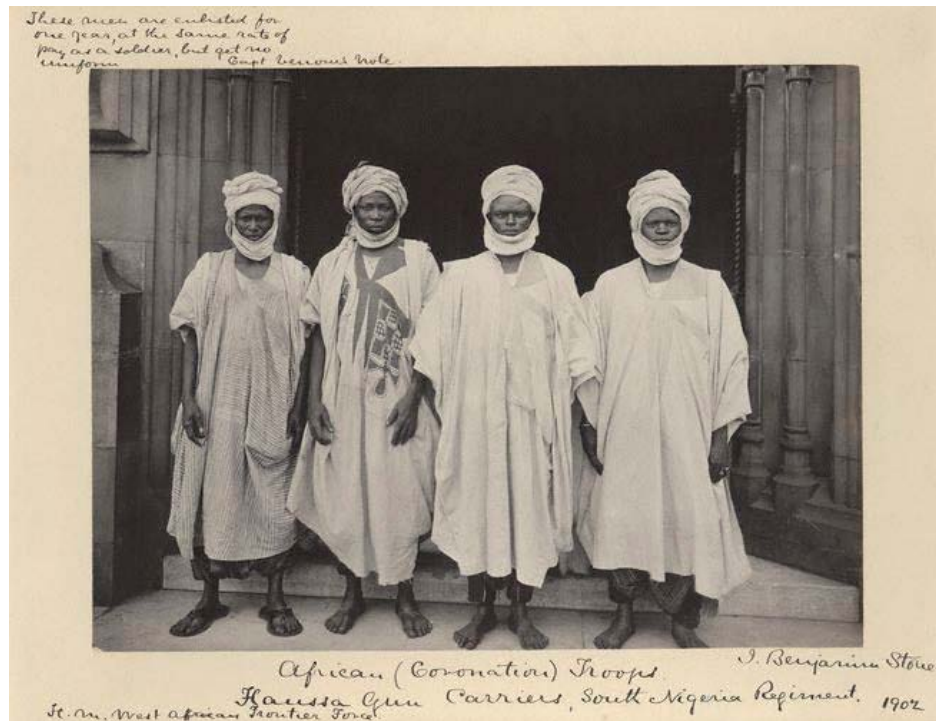


Figure 4.2 - Sir (John) Benjamin Stone. "Four Hausa Gun Carriers of the South Nigerian Regiment, 1902"

(From National Portrait Gallery (UK), NPG x125431, platinum print in card window mount)

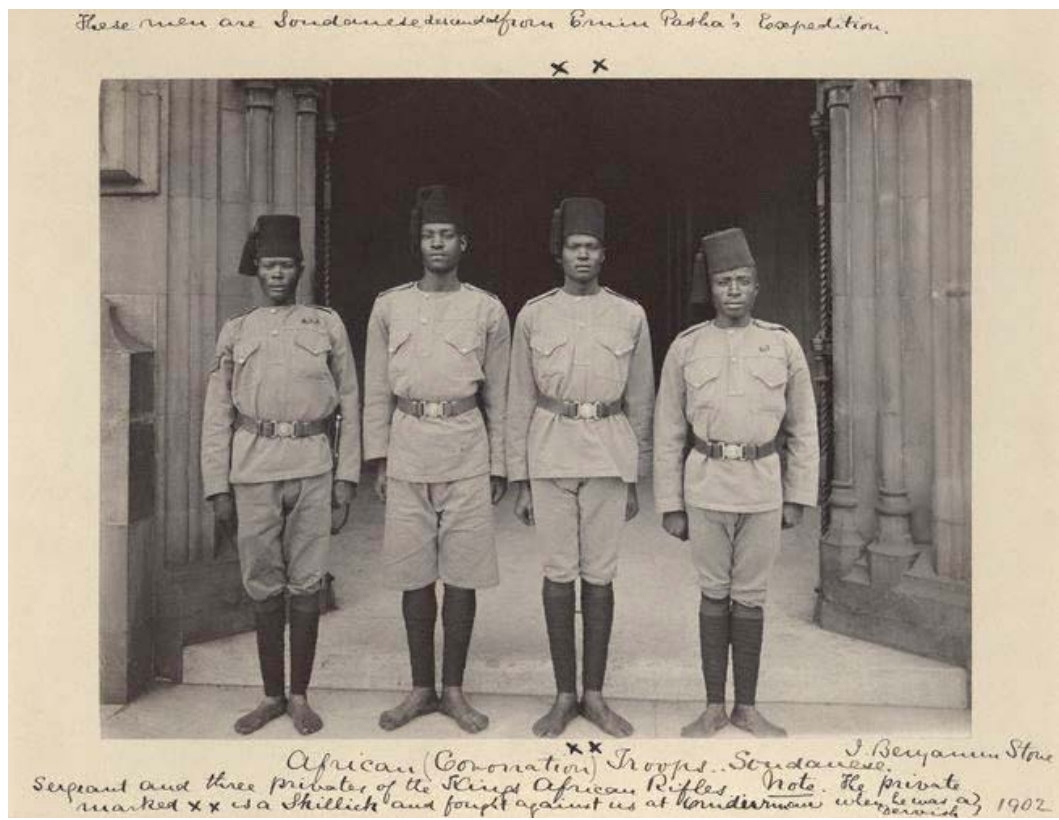


Figure 4.3 - Sir (John) Benjamin Stone (photographer). Four soldiers of King Edward VII's African Rifles, 1902

(National Portrait Gallery (UK), NPG x125434, platinum print in card window mount)



Figure 4.4 - Sir (John) Benjamin Stone (possibly self-portrait), July 1899
(National Portrait Gallery, NPG x35201, platinum print in card window mount)



Figure 4.5 - Top: "Modern Marriage Group"

Bottom: "Modern Baptismal Group"

Church Missionary Society Album, unpaginated, undated
 (National Archives of Nigeria, University of Ibadan Branch, C.M.S. (HP) 1-67)



Figure 4.6 - Top, left: "Family Group"; Top, middle: "Women selling Agidi" Top, right: "Prince of Jebu Ode" Bottom: "Native Games of Warre"
 Church Missionary Society Album, unpaginated, undated
 (National Archives of Nigeria, University of Ibadan Branch, C.M.S. (HP) 1-67)



Figure 4.7 - "C.M.S. (old) Bookshop, Rev C. A. Gollmer, Mr da Costa, Ojo"
Church Missionary Society Album, unpaginated, undated
(National Archives of Nigeria, University of Ibadan Branch, C.M.S. (HP) 1-67)

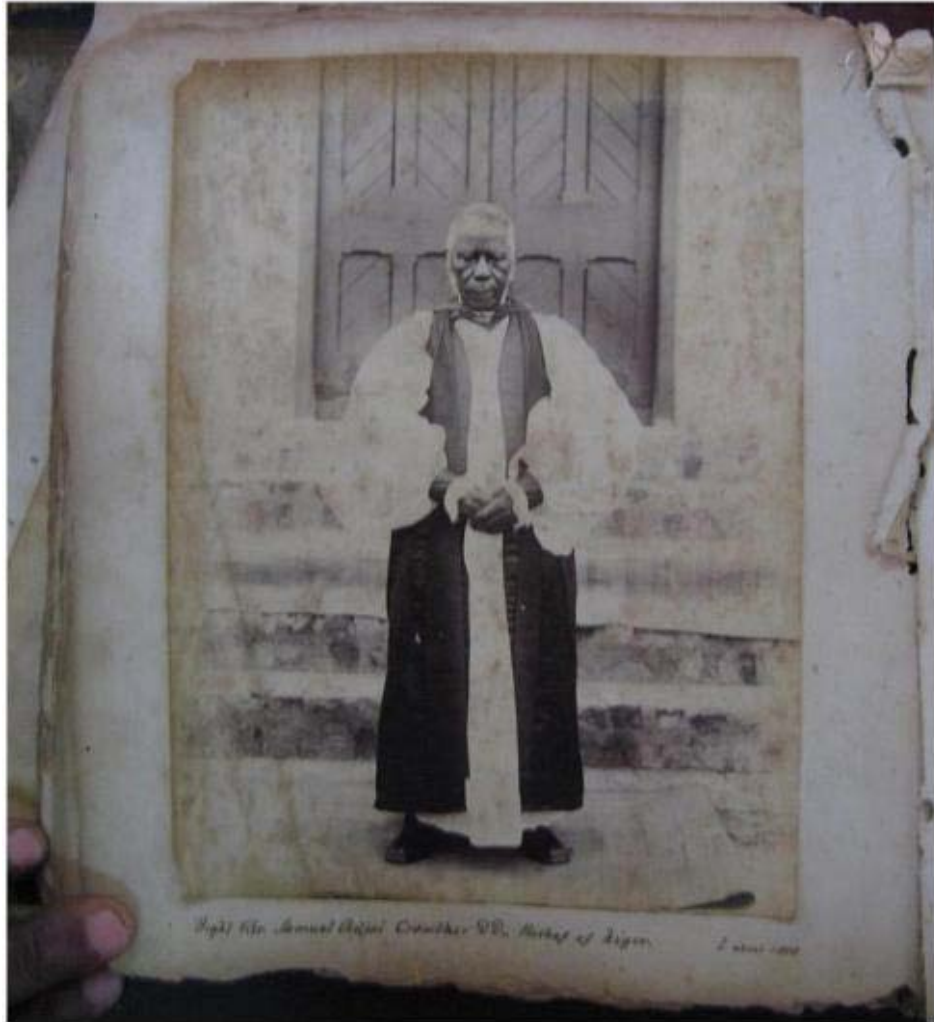


Figure 4.8 - "Right Rev. Samuel Adjai Crowther DD. Bishop of Niger"
Church Missionary Society Album, unpaginated, undated
(National Archives of Nigeria, University of Ibadan Branch, C.M.S. (P) 1-105)



Figure 4.9 - "Lower Niger Conference Group, 1889"
 Church Missionary Society Album, unpaginated, undated
 (National Archives of Nigeria, University of Ibadan Branch, C.M.S. (P) 1-105)



Figure 4.10 – “Shewu of Bornu” (in “Native Types” section)
Nigeria Snaps album, unpaginated, undated
(National Archives, Kew (UK), CO 1069.71)



Figure 4.11 – “Bornu Chiefs” (in “Native Types” section)
Nigeria Snaps album, unpaginated, undated
(National Archives, Kew (UK), CO 1069.71)



Figure 4.12 – Untitled (in “Native Scenes and Native Life” section)
Nigeria Snaps album, unpaginated, undated
(National Archives, Kew (UK), CO 1069.71)



Figure 4.13 – Untitled (in “Native Types” section)
Nigeria Snaps album, unpaginated, undated
(National Archives, Kew (UK), CO 1069.71)



Figure 4.14 – Untitled (in “In Lagos” section)
Nigeria Snaps album, unpaginated, undated
(National Archives, Kew (UK), CO 1069.71)



Figure 4.15 - Untitled (in "Recreation" section)
Nigeria Snaps album, unpaginated, undated
(National Archives, Kew (UK), CO 1069.71)



Figure 5.1 - Neils Walwin Holm.
(MacMillan, *The Red Book of West Africa...* 60)



Figure 5.2 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Photograph of Sir C. Alfred Moloney, 1st Governor and Commander in chief of the Colony of Lagos after the separation from the Gold Coast Colony and staff of officials taken 1889. Photograph consisting of 16 persons, 11 sitting, 5 standing.”

(National Archives, Kew (UK) CO 1/413/248)



Figure 5.3 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Photograph of His Excellency Carter (successor) 2nd Governor & Commander in Chief of the Colony of Lagos & His Officials, taken 1892. Photograph consisting of 21 persons.”
(National Archives, Kew (UK) CO 1/413/249)



Figure 5.4 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Photograph of the herds of ‘Jebu’ W. Africa alias Colonel Scott C. B. and his officers of the Jebu Expedition, 1892. Photograph consisting of 17 people, 8 sitting, 9 standing”
(National Archives, Kews (UK) CO 1/423/249)



Figure 5.5 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Photograph of the herds of ‘Jebu’, W. Africa alias Colonel Scott and his officers of the Jebu Expedition, 1892, Photograph consisting of 17 persons, 8 standing 9 sitting”
(National Archives, Kew (UK) CO 1/413/248)

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(Memorandum for Registration of Copyright (Work of Art))

I, *Neils Walwin Holm* of *Lagos West Africa* do hereby certify that I am entitled to the Copyright in the above-mentioned Work, and I hereby require a Memorandum of such Copyright (with the Assent of such Copyright) to be entered in the Register of Copyright in Drawings, Designs and Photographs kept at Her Majesty's Stationery Office in the following particulars.

Description of Work.	Date of Agreement, or Assignment.	Name of Parties to Agreement or Assignment.	Name and Place of Maker of Photograph of Copyright.	Name and Place of Maker of Edition of Work.
<i>Photograph of the herds of Jebu in West Africa, taken by the Government Commissioner in charge of the Colony of Lagos, under the supervision of the Hon. Mr. G. C. B. (Colonial Secretary) and the Hon. Mr. G. C. B. (Colonial Secretary) at the Jebu Expedition, 1892, consisting of 17 persons, 8 standing and 9 sitting.</i>			<i>Neils Walwin Holm, Lagos West Africa</i>	<i>Lagos West Africa</i>
<i>Photograph of the herds of Jebu in West Africa, taken by the Government Commissioner in charge of the Colony of Lagos, under the supervision of the Hon. Mr. G. C. B. (Colonial Secretary) and the Hon. Mr. G. C. B. (Colonial Secretary) at the Jebu Expedition, 1892, consisting of 17 persons, 8 standing and 9 sitting.</i>			<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>

Neils Walwin Holm

Figure 5.6 – Neils Walwin Holm. Memorandum for Registration of Copyright (Work of Art)
(National Archives, Kew (UK) CO 1/413/248)

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(Memorandum for Registration under Copyright) (Works of Art) A.1.1

BY THE AUTHORISED OFFICER APPOINTED BY THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE
Neils Walwin Holm of *Lagos, West Africa* do hereby certify, that I am entitled to the
 Copyright in the undermentioned Work, and I hereby require a Memorandum of such Copyright to be entered at the Register of Proprietors of
 Copyright in Paintings, Drawings, and Photographs, kept at His Majesty's Hall, according to the provisions underwritten.

Description of Work	Date of Acquisition, or Assignment	Names of Parties to Acquisition or Assignment	Name and Place of State of Proprietor of Copyright	Name and Place of State of Author of Work
Photographs of the headlands of the Lagos (Lagos) 2nd Garrison surrounding an island of the island of Lagos, & the island of Lagos the island of Lagos (Lagos) (Lagos)			<i>Neils Walwin Holm</i> <i>Lagos, West Africa</i>	<i>Neils Walwin Holm</i> <i>Lagos, West Africa</i>
Photographs of the headlands of the Lagos (Lagos) 2nd Garrison & the island of Lagos (Lagos) 2nd Garrison (Lagos)			<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>

Handed to *Neils Walwin Holm* *July 1910* *in 3*

Neils Walwin Holm

Figure 5.7 – Neils Walwin Holm. Memorandum for Registration of Copyright (Work of Art) (National Archives, Kew (UK) CO 1/413/249)



Figure 5.8 - Aina Onabolu. "Portrait of Mrs. Spencer Savage" (1906) watercolor, unknown collection.



Figure 5.9 – James Johnson as a Young Man
(Ayandele, *Holy Johnson*, 1970, frontispiece)

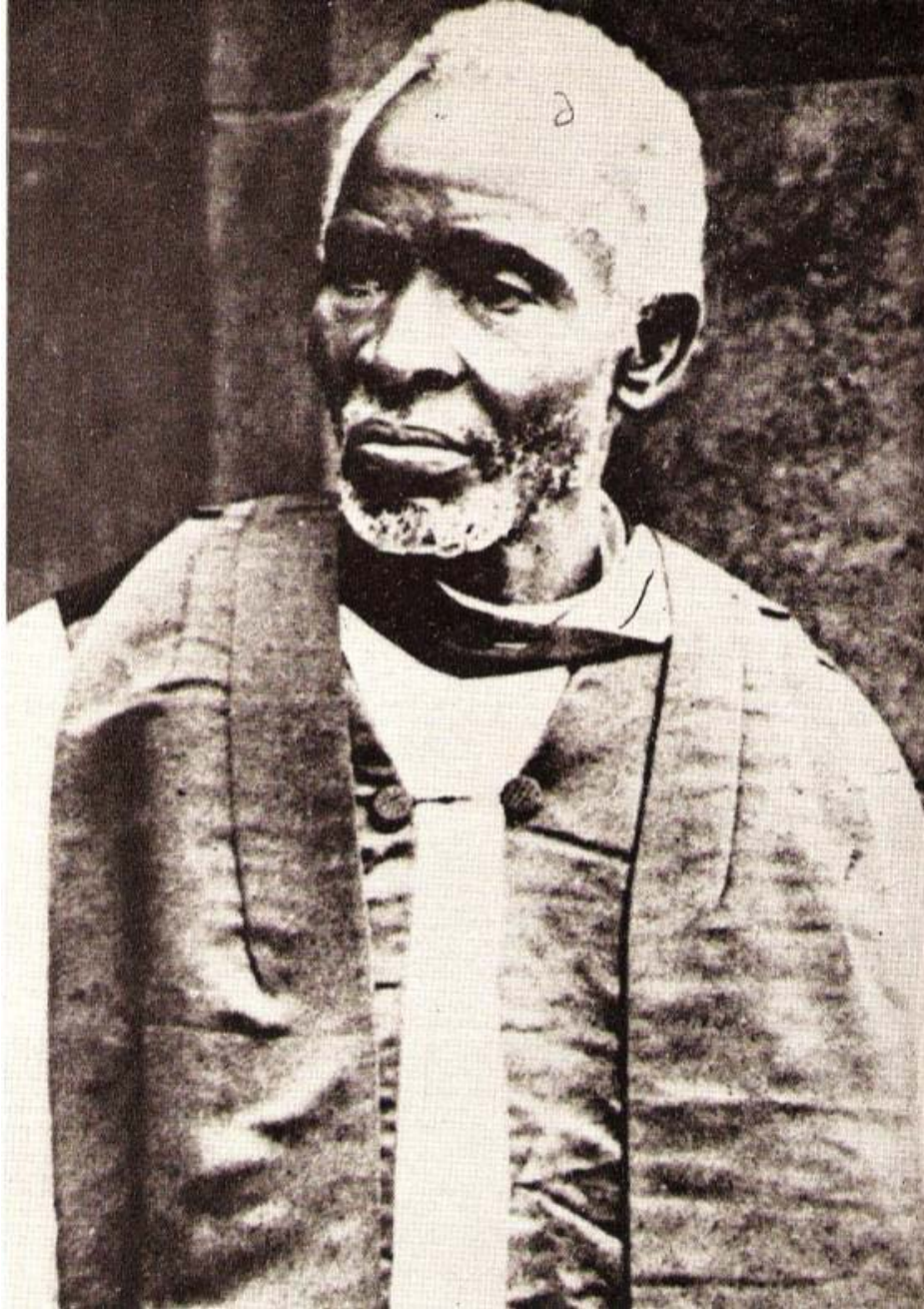


Figure 5.10 – James Johnson in his later years
(Ayandele, *Holy Johnson*, 1970, plate 4)

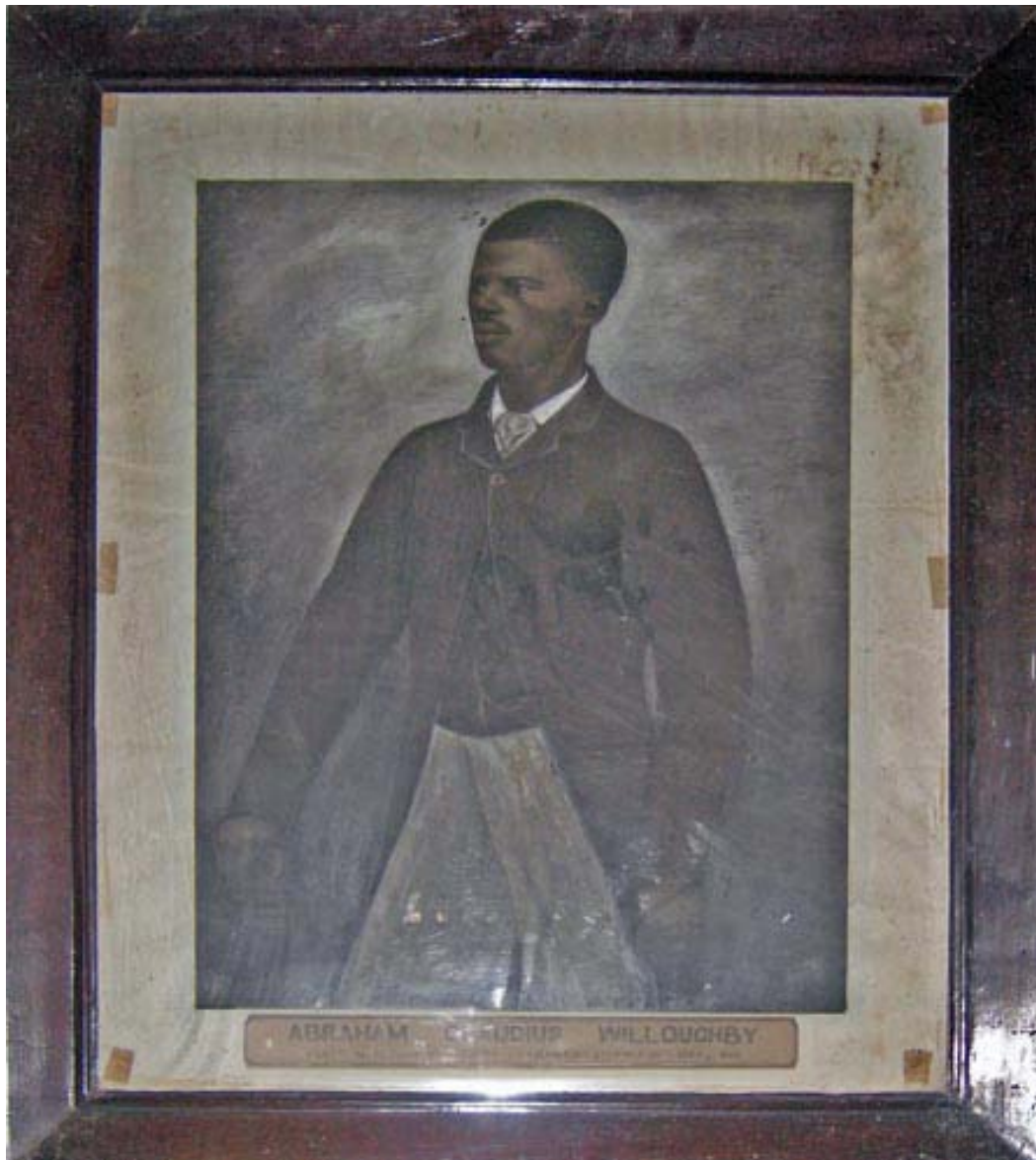


Figure 5.11 – “Abraham Claudius Willoughby, Killed in Action at Mojoba (Ijebu Expedition) 21st May 1892” – Colored photograph retouched by Aina Onabolu (Courtesy: Glover Memorial Hall Board of Trustees, Lagos Island)



Figure 5.12 – King George V, Herbert Macaulay carrying the staff of office of Oba Eshubayi Eleko, presented by Queen Victoria taken during a garden party at the Royal Botanical Garden, London during the Oluwa land case. King George was seen shaking hands with Amodu Tijani Oluwa, 1920
(Folami, *The History of Lagos...*fig. 23)

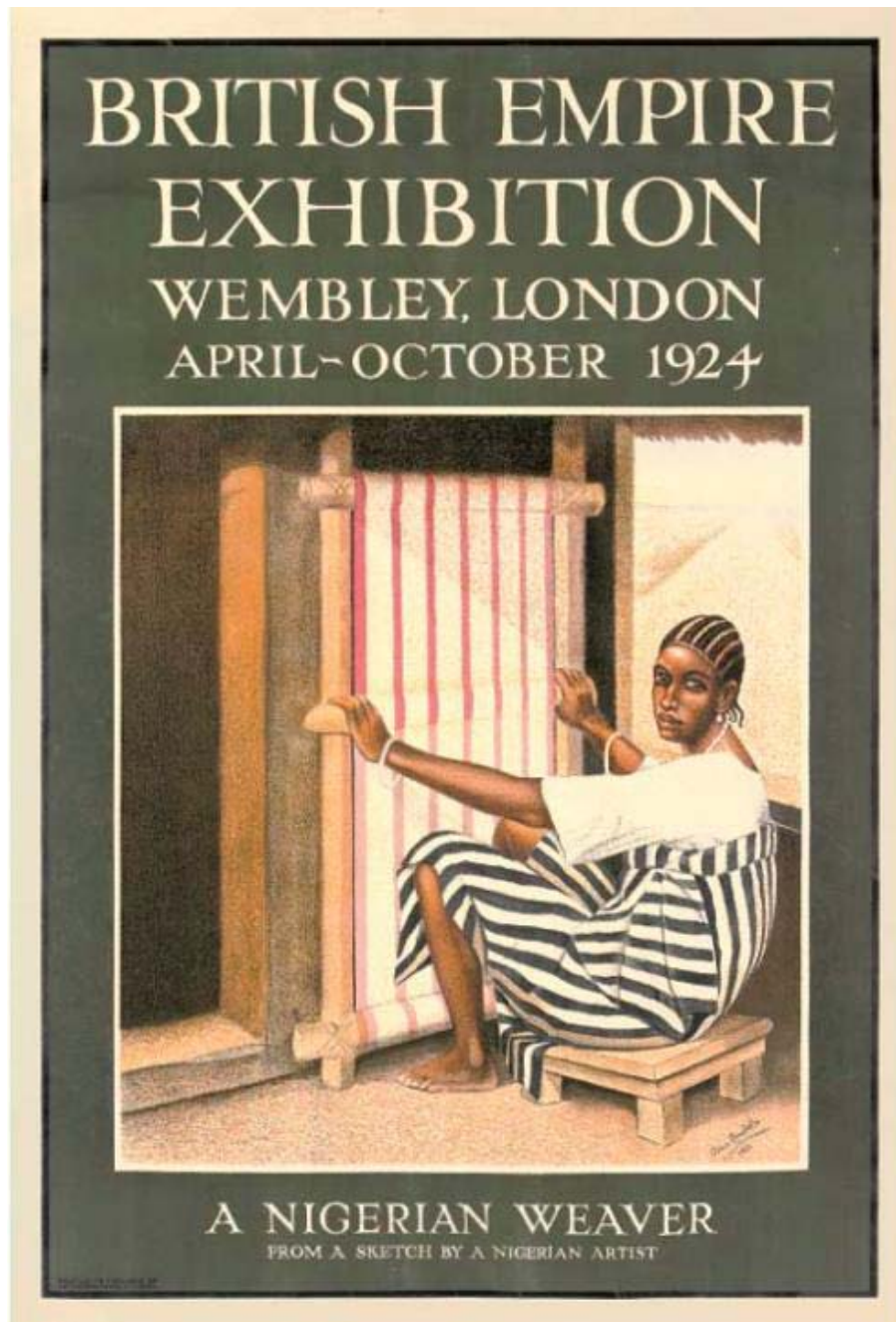


Figure 5.13 – Aina Onabolu. Wembley Exhibition Poster: “A Nigerian Weaver, from a sketch by a Nigerian Artist”
(Christie’s Auction Lot 144, sale 4930 (misattributed to Clina Anabolu))

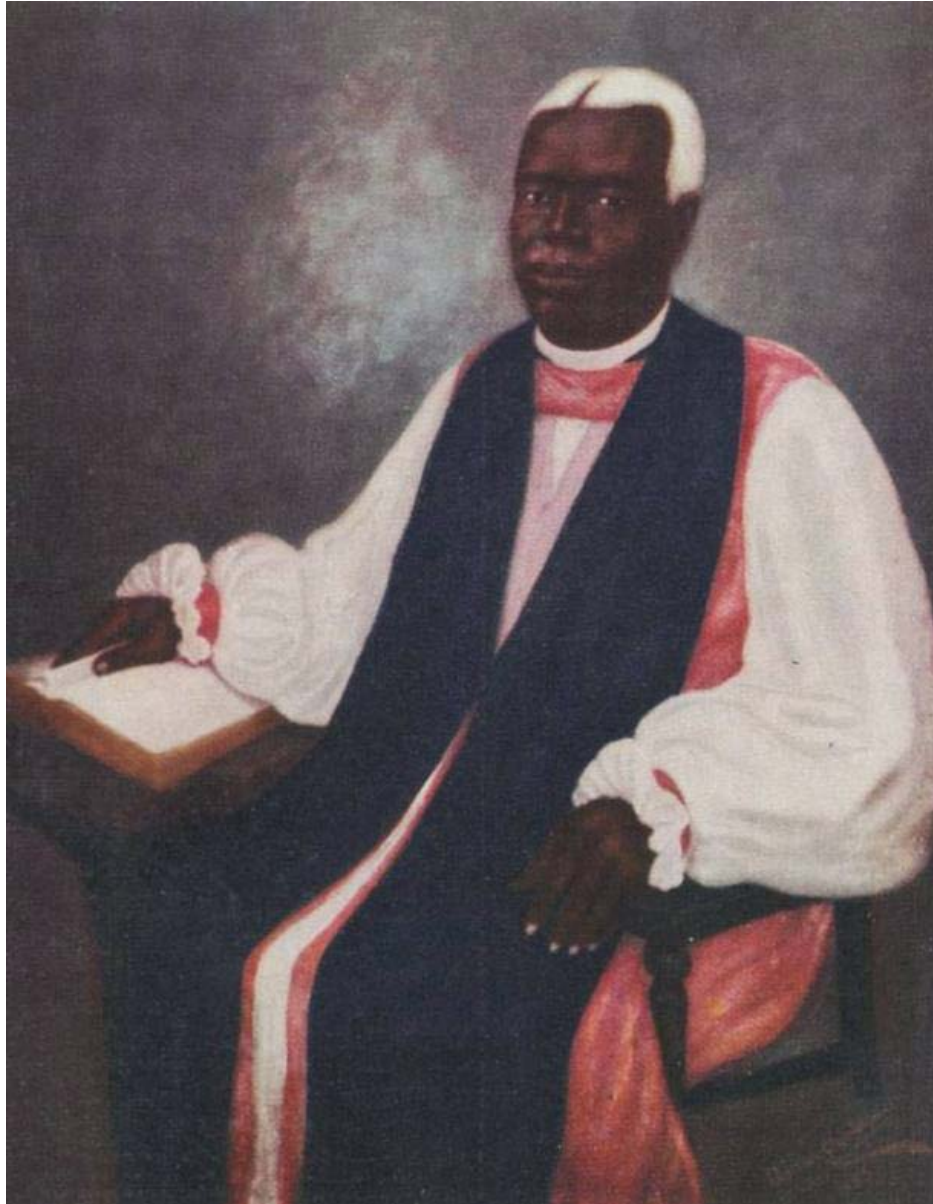


Figure 5.14 – Aina Onabolu, “Portrait of Ret. Rev. I. Oluwole” (1925), oil on board, (Onabolu, Dapo. “Aina Onabolu.” *Nigeria magazine*...,296; Unknown collection)

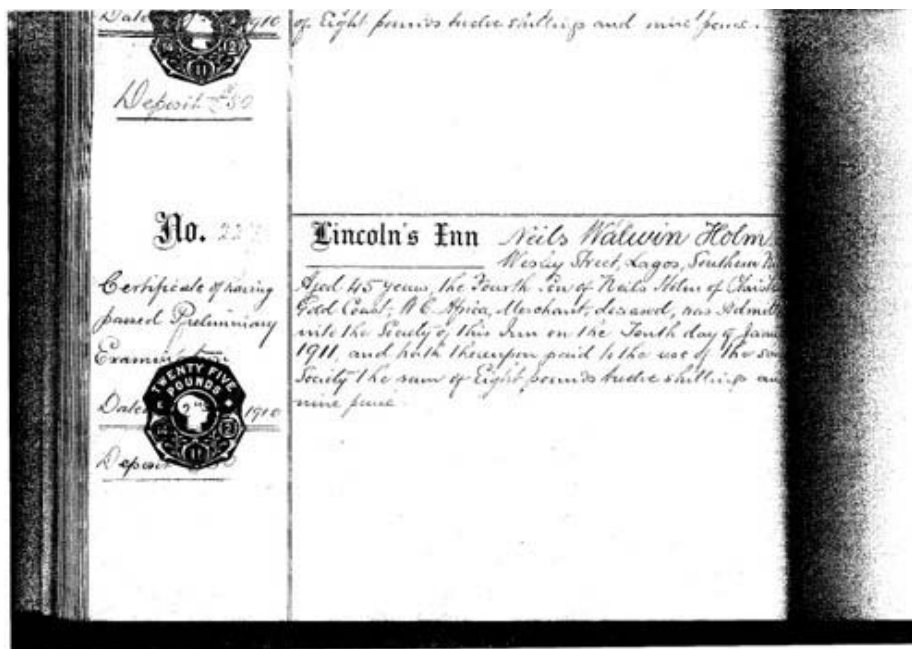


Figure 5.15 – Lincoln's Inn Registry Book
 (Lincoln's Inn, Admissions Registers B1a30 vol. 23 (1910-1924) p. 25, entry no. 227)




Lincoln's Inn.		38
		<i>Hilary Term 1917.</i>
<p>DEPOSED by <i>The Rt Hon Lord Mac</i> <i>Kings, G.C.B., Treasurer.</i></p> <p>ADMITTED to the BAR by <i>The Rt Hon Lord</i> <i>MacKenzie, G.C.B., Treasurer</i> on <i>the day of January 1917</i> in the presence of <i>Sir William P. Beale, Bt. & Co. &</i> <i>Thomas, Esq. & Michael Esq.</i> <i>William & Frederick Hamilton Esq.</i> <i>Edward & Thomas Esq.</i> <i>Edgar Perry Russell Esq.</i> <i>and</i> <i>Regis. Esq. Esq.</i></p> <p>IN ACCORDANCE to an ORDER OF COUNCIL of <i>23rd January 1917.</i></p>	<p>No. <u>4</u></p> 	
<p>DEPOSED by <i>The Rt Hon Lord Mac</i> <i>Kings, G.C.B., Treasurer.</i></p> <p>ADMITTED to the BAR by <i>The Rt Hon Lord</i> <i>MacKenzie, G.C.B., Treasurer</i> on <i>the day of January 1917</i> in the presence of <i>Sir William P. Beale, Bt. & Co. &</i> <i>Thomas, Esq. & Michael Esq.</i> <i>William & Frederick Hamilton Esq.</i> <i>Edward & Thomas Esq.</i> <i>Edgar & Perry Russell Esq.</i> <i>and</i> <i>Regis. Esq. Esq.</i></p> <p>IN ACCORDANCE to an ORDER OF COUNCIL of <i>23rd January 1917.</i></p>	<p>No. <u>5</u></p> <p><i>W. P. Beale</i></p> 	
<p>DEPOSED by <i>James Esq. Esq.</i></p> <p>ADMITTED to the BAR by <i>The Rt Hon Lord</i> <i>MacKenzie, G.C.B., Treasurer</i> on <i>the day of January 1917</i> in the presence of <i>Sir William P. Beale, Bt. & Co. &</i> <i>Thomas, Esq. & Michael Esq.</i> <i>William & Frederick Hamilton Esq.</i> <i>Edward & Thomas Esq.</i> <i>Edgar & Perry Russell Esq.</i> <i>and</i> <i>Regis. Esq. Esq.</i></p>	<p>No. <u>6</u></p> 	

Figure 5.16 – Lincoln's Inn Bar Book
(Lincoln's Inn, Bar Books B2a10 1915-1929 p. 38, entry no. 5)



Figure 5.17 – “Some Native Representative of Law and Medicine, Lagos” ca. 1920
(Allister Macmillan, *Red Book of West Africa...* 60)

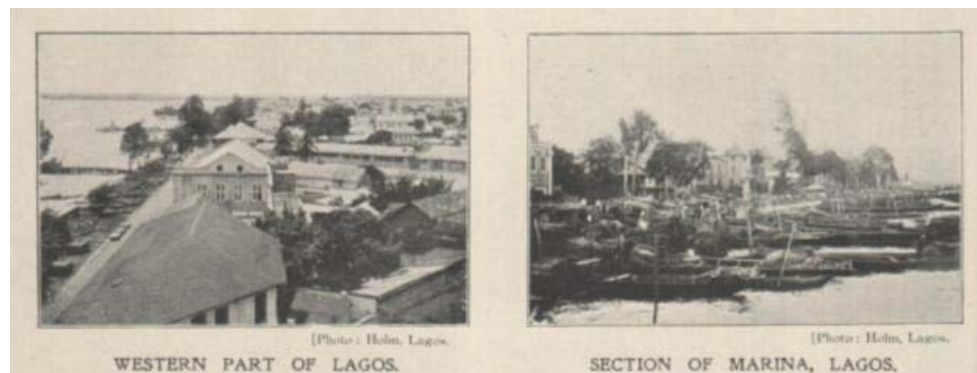


Figure 5.18 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Western Part of Lagos” and “section of Marina, Lagos”
(Macmillan, *Red Book of West Africa...*30)



Figure 5.19 – Neils Walwin Holm. “Ereko Market, Lagos” and “A Lagos Market Stall, where
skins, skulls and smoked reptiles are exposed for sale.”
(Macmillan, *Red Book of West Africa...* 41)