

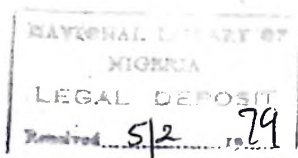
LAGOS

The development of an African City

Edited by A. B. Aderibigbe
with a foreword by J. F. A. Ajayi



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Lagos:

The Development
of an African City

Edited by

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With a Foreword by

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The Development
of an African City



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Foreword

J. F. A. AJAYI

The University is a relative late-comer to the city of Lagos. However, from its foundation, the University has been conscious that while its location in the nation's political, economic, social and cultural capital poses special problems, it also provides unique opportunities for service and intellectual development. Inevitably, the University has a responsibility constantly to study and to explore this city environment.

The publication of this book marks a first attempt at synthesising something of the University's effort at exploring the nature and structure of the city in its historical, economic, social and cultural setting. The occasion of the Second World Black and African Festival of the Arts seems to us most appropriate, as we are expected to play host to the colloquium and the many scholars and artistes attending. This preliminary study of Lagos, apart from clearing the ground for more detailed studies later, can also serve as a useful guide for residents and visitors to the Festival city.

The book presents a brief historical sketch of the development of the city from its earliest known beginnings, with emphasis on the social and cultural life and the changing constitutional situation in the last century. From this historical base it has been possible to sketch out in proper perspective the contemporary situation of a modern urban metropolis that is growing faster than almost any other city in the world. There are studies of its urban population, trade, problems of health, education, religion and social welfare, as well as of the cultural scene. It concludes with a bibliographical essay.

From all this emerges the portrait of an exciting and challenging city. I hope that the book will make the visit of many a scholar and artiste to the World Festival still more memorable. Like the University, the World Festival will be shaped by the limitations

and the possibilities of Lagos. I hope that the visitors wishing to get fullest value out of the Festival will spare some time to explore the city and find this book a useful guide. Lagos represents a cross-section of the peoples who shape the growth of Black and African culture. The effort to appreciate the significance of that culture and generate new impetus for it must begin with a proper appreciation of the peoples in their historical, economic, social and cultural setting. This is what this book attempts for Lagos, and what the Festival colloquium is attempting for Black and African peoples.

The Festival will come and go, but the University and the city will remain. I therefore hope that the contribution that the book makes to the understanding of the city is an enduring one and that the University will continue to explore and study its city. The world has a right to turn to the University as the leading source of knowledge and information about the city. This book is but a confirmation that the University is alive to this responsibility.

J. F. Ade. Ajayi,

Vice-Chancellor.

University of Lagos

May, 1975.

Introduction

A. B. ADERIBIGBE

The phenomenal growth of Lagos from very humble beginnings as a fishing and farming settlement to one of the largest and most important African cities has always aroused the curiosity not only of scholars but shrewd observers and visitors. But there is no single comprehensive book dealing with the various aspects of the development of the city. This book is an attempt by various scholars from different fields to bridge part of this gap in our knowledge and to meet a long-felt need.

This book owes its inspiration to Professor J. F. Ade. Ajayi, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lagos, at whose instance Dr G. O. Olusanya, Professor B. A. Williams, Dr G. O. Gbadamosi and I eventually produced a plan. Our objective, as approved by our Vice-Chancellor, was to produce a book that would be generally informative, popular but scholarly. In other words, the book should appeal both to scholars and the enlightened public.

Editing the work of several contributors presented its own problems which were further complicated by having to work within a very tight time-table. The aim was to get the book published before the Second World African and Black Festival of the Arts scheduled to be held in Lagos in November 1975; and so speed was of the essence of our task. Because of the contributors' other commitments, however, it was not possible to meet either the first or even the second agreed deadline. We just managed to beat the final deadline! Needless to add, the race against time has had its effect on the final product, principally in the inadequacy of illustration occasioned by the difficulty of obtaining relevant photographs in time.

We are greatly indebted to many individuals and establishments, especially to Longman Nigeria for agreeing to bring out this book within so short a space of time; to Mr J. O. Peluola, Cartographer,

Department of Geography University of Lagos for drawing the original maps; and to Mr S. F. Banjo, my personal secretary, for typing the manuscripts.

Lastly, we wish to thank those to whom we are most indebted: Professor Ajayi and my very understanding contributors without whom it would have been impossible to produce this book.

A. B. Aderibigbe

Department of History,
University of Lagos,
May, 1975.

I Early History of Lagos to About 1850

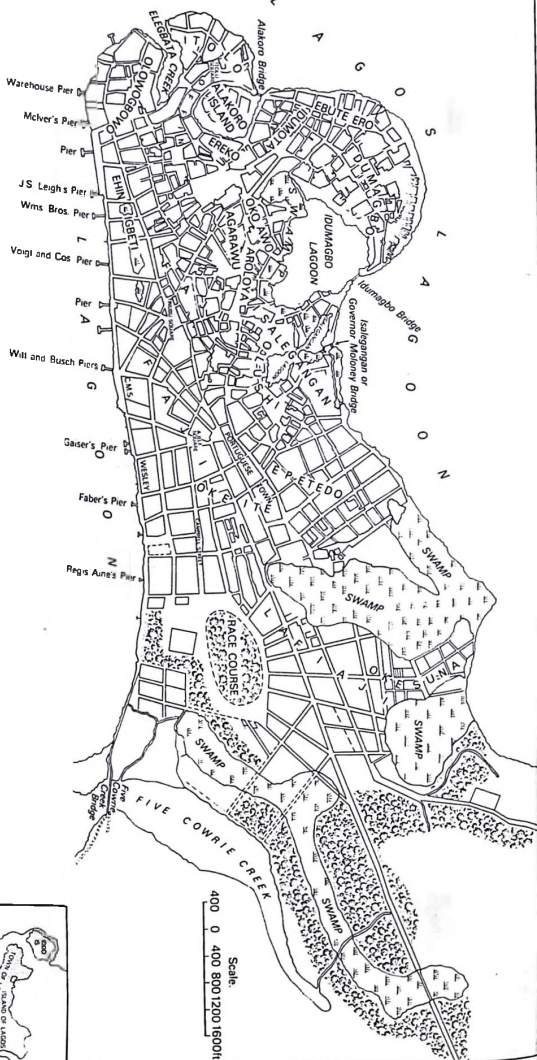
A. B. ADERIBIGBE

In this second half of the twentieth century, it is obvious, even to the least discerning observer, that the City of Lagos occupies a unique position in the Federation of Nigeria. It is the seat of the Federal Government. It is the commercial metropolis of the country. It is the capital of Lagos State. Its rapidly increasing population, partly caused by the influx of Nigerians from the other eleven states, and the attendant problems of inadequate housing and the chaotic traffic point to the giant strides which Lagos has made since its inception about five hundred years ago.¹

Lagos entered the stage of history as a backwoods area, a sandy and insignificant island, far removed from the centres of power in the Nigerian interior. Better known to the outside world were Benin, the Oyo empire, even Badagry. Lagos Island was, indeed, less important than many of the towns and villages on the 'Nigerian' mainland.

Early settlements

The first act in this historical drama², then, took place, not surprisingly, on the mainland. It was at Isheri about twelve miles from Lagos that the legendary Ogunfunminire founded the first of the series of settlements to the north of the island. Shorn of the supernatural powers with which oral tradition endowed him, Ogunfunminire appears to have played the pioneering role which hunters like himself generally played in the establishment of Yoruba towns. More significant perhaps was the claim that he belonged to the royal family of 'Ile Ife', in Yoruba belief the cradle not only of the Yoruba but of the whole human race. Nothing was better calculated to enhance the position of Ogunfunminire and



to put the stamp of authenticity on the official title, 'the Olofin Awogunjoye', that he assumed.

From Isheri, which became the dispersal centre of the Yoruba Awori, other settlements were founded. The settlements at Iro, Irenpa, Ota, Ojo, Ado and the others need not detain us. Of immediate relevance were the settlements towards the south. Ebute Metta (which is now an important part of the mainland) was fertile and, therefore, promising from the point of view of agriculture but this great advantage was soon neutralised by its vulnerability. It was the desire of the inhabitants of Ebute Metta for peace and quiet, at a time when a fierce war, 'the Ajakaye war', was going on in the Yoruba interior, which made them forsake their young settlement for the comparative safety of Iddo island. This particular island had other advantages. Its accessibility to the commerce of the surrounding area had already made it a regular market place for Egbado and Awori traders and was to make it a suitable terminus for the Nigerian Railway in modern times. There was also the human element: the leadership provided by the ruler whose real name seems to have been lost to history but who is now easily remembered by his official title: Olofin. Gifted with a large measure of wisdom, mighty in words and deeds (some of them too supernatural to engage the attention of the scientific historian) and a prolific father, the Olofin was, by any standard, a far-sighted ruler. The title assumed by him was reminiscent of Ogunfunminire of Isheri with whom, according to tradition, he shared the honour of relationship with Ife. He encouraged the founding of other settlements, for example, at Oto and Ijora, which were ruled on lines developed at Isheri.

Destined to become the most successful of these settlements were those founded on a hitherto obscure island, separated from Iddo by the lagoon, and now known as Lagos Island. It is difficult to assign a specific date to this development in the absence of written sources or archaeological evidence. But it is reasonable to infer from the available evidence that it took place in the fifteenth century and over a period of time. And the process itself can be easily reconstructed. Aromire ('lover of water'), one of the many sons of the Olofin and to whom tradition accorded the singular honour of being the first fisherman to farm and settle on the island, demonstrated in his own career the various stages. There was the hope entertained by the settlers on Iddo island of securing additional farming land across the lagoon from which the new island

derived its Yoruba name, *Oko*. There was the phase characterised by the frequent commuting of venturesome fishermen between Iddo and the newly discovered island. There was the second phase when the fishermen ceased to be itinerant and their once temporary fishing tents assumed the appearance of more permanent huts.

But systematic settlement on this island, called *Oko* by the earliest inhabitant, *Eko* by the Bini invaders, at first *Onim* and later *Lagos* by the Portuguese, was not an easy proposition. A thick belt of mangrove forest skirted its coastline. This was Nature's own way of preventing or minimising the inevitable soil erosion but it also acted as a barrier to human penetration. Furthermore, *Lagos* was, in spite of its advantageous geographical location for commerce, an inconvenient mixture of dry land and forbidding swamps with a number of creeks and lagoons. It was this intricate system of lagoons which made the Portuguese rechristen it *Lagos*.

Here was one of the most important reasons for the heavy concentration of human settlement on a very small area of the island until the nineteenth century. More immediately, the founding fathers, with the crude technology then available to them, had to be very shrewd in their choice of places. *Aromire*, the first son of the *Olofin* to settle on the island, chose his 'red pepper' farm on a site well drained and destined to become not only the nucleus of the settlement in the *Isale Eko* area of *Lagos* but also the official palace of many a *Lagos Oba*.

Equally far-sighted was another son of the *Olofin* who saw the immense commercial possibilities of what became known as the *Ebute Ero* wharf, a landing place for traders and travellers from different parts of *Yorubaland* and a most successful market place. The firm control exercised by this particular chief over this area is evident from his title—*Onitano*. The second brother of *Aromire* picked an area easy to cultivate and protected by a tortuous creek—*Itolo*—from which he derived his title—*Onitolo*—and which made surprise attack by an enemy difficult while facilitating the escape of its inhabitants in time of trouble to the safety of their original home on *Iddo* island.

Thus began the settlement and the apportionment of the various parts of *Lagos* island to the *Olofin's* ten 'sons'. These pioneering leaders did more than open up a new territory: they extended the political sway of the *Olofin*; they formed a new class of chiefs with titles indicating the areas under their individual control and leaving no one in doubt that they were 'the owners of the land'. These

Idejo chiefs, as they came to be collectively known, had the distinction of wearing the *kerevesti*³ or white caps, a distinction which they were soon to share with holders of chieftaincies not based on possession of land. But as 'land-owners' from the beginning they (and their successors) remained land-owners till modern times. So well did the Idejos play this historical role that their traditional rights to land in Lagos survived the Bini conquest and the much more recent British annexation, two epoch-making events in the history of the island.

The Bini connection

Worthy of closer investigation is the Bini factor in Lagos history. Although the overall importance of this factor is not in doubt its origins and nature have been subjects of controversy.

How, in fact, did the Bini connection with Lagos begin? One Bini source, recorded by Talbot, says that the first Bini settlers on Lagos island were part of an invading army which was defeated at 'a town called Ogulata to the north' and were consequently unable to return to Benin. Apart from the inadequacy of this piece of oral tradition, there is the impossibility of identifying or locating 'Ogulata'. According to another Bini source, one of the Obas of Benin, Oragbua, during his punitive expedition against recalcitrant vassal states in about 1550 made his camp (*eko*) on Lagos Island and from there attacked his enemies for many years. We may note in passing that this tradition is vague—indeed silent—on the part of Lagos island on which this Oba made his camp. There is the further hint that this occupation was not accomplished at one fell swoop but was carried on for many years. Another point worthy of note is the assertion of this same particular Bini source that Lagos derived its name *Eko* from Oragbua's camp or *eko* though this claim should not be interpreted as contradicting the claim of the Yoruba sources that the Olofin and his subjects regarded Lagos island as an *Oko* or farm. Indeed 'Oko' and 'Eko' mark two distinct periods of Lagos history, periods of Awori Yoruba rule and of Bini hegemony, *Eko* supplanting *Oko* once the Bini were in the ascendant. The similarity between the two words must have facilitated this transition in the minds of the inhabitants of Lagos. Indeed all the Yorubas' oral sources later reduced to writing took it for granted that *Eko* was derived from *Oko*.

The genesis of the Bini factor, according to Lagos sources, however, was quite different. Three stages seem clearly discernible. The first is dramatised in oral tradition by the misappropriation of the goat of a local female dignitary, Aina by name, by the functionaries of the Olofin and Aina's subsequent appeal to the Oba of Benin for redress. One sees here the classical expedient of an aggrieved party—the Aina party—in a state troubled by internal dissensions, appealing for outside help against the majority party—in this case the Olofin's party.

But a question immediately arises: Why did the Aina party appeal to Benin and not to Oyo or Ife for example? One piece of oral tradition asserts that there were Bini traders in the Lagos area through whom the aggrieved party on Iddo island learnt about the might of the Oba of Benin and the possibility of help from that quarter. Could it also not be argued that the alleged Yoruba royal ancestry of the Olofin made an appeal to Oyo and Ife by his subjects unlikely?

The second stage was marked by military encounters between the invading army from Benin and the Olofin's men on Iddo island. The 'patriotic' slants of the traditional account of these engagements—like the alleged invincibility of the Olofin until he was betrayed by his trusted wife, Ajayi—may be discounted; there is clear evidence of heroic resistance on the part of the defenders of Iddo island. Despite the capture of the Olofin, his enforced journey to Benin and his eventual restoration—evidently as a vassal of Benin—the struggle continued. Aşeru (or Işeru), one of the notable three leaders of the Bini invaders, died—'of fever'—in the course of establishing Bini rule by force in the Isheri area several years later. It is the protracted nature of the Bini conquest, about which both Bini and Lagos sources seem to agree, that makes the accurate dating of the event a matter of considerable difficulty.

The third and last stage was symbolised by Ashipa, a Yoruba dignitary at Isheri, conveying to Benin for burial the corpse of Aşeru. Why did Ashipa undertake this hazardous enterprise in the interest of a one-time foe? The usual answer is that the people of Isheri mandated him to do so partly out of fear of a possible reprisal and partly because it was a cherished Bini custom to see to it that their chiefs and dignitaries who died abroad were brought home for interment. Assuming that this explanation is correct, what assurance was there that this act of kindness would not be misinterpreted by the Oba of Benin and the accredited messenger of

the Isheri people held responsible for the death of a Bini 'chief and general'? There seem to be two possible answers. The first is that by the time of Aseru's death a considerable measure of Bini influence was already established at Isheri; and the favourable reception which Ashipa received in Benin from the Oba, the gift of 'a state sword and the royal Gbedu drum' and the title of Olorogun of Lagos were all in aid of the further consolidation of Bini influence and authority in the Lagos area. The second possibility was the claim made by the Bini sources that 'Eskipa'—the Edo version of Ashipa—was not a Yoruba but a grandson of Orogbua, an Oba of Benin sent to Lagos as a ruler and who added many towns in the area to the Empire of Benin. Whatever the antecedents of Ashipa, there is no doubt that his appearance marked the end of one era and the beginning of another in the relationship between Lagos and Benin. For, according to the Yoruba sources, he returned to Lagos not only with his new title and the emblems of authority but with several persons appointed from Benin to help him 'in carrying on the Government of Lagos'. Lagos had become a vassal of Benin.

Such was the appearance on the stage of Lagos history of Ashipa, the personal link between the 'Yoruba' and 'Bini' periods and the new ruler from whom the present lines of Lagos Obas descend. Appointed by the Oba of Benin, this new ruler and his successors remained subject to Benin, as evidenced by the annual payment of tribute, not without intermission as is often rightly pointed out, but certainly until the second half of the nineteenth century when the British displaced the Bini as the overlords of Lagos. Obviously the new regime could not allow the post of Olofin, the symbol of Awori-Yoruba resistance, to continue and in due course, it fell into disuse—with an honoured place in oral tradition.

The emergence of the new regime on Lagos Island was the next logical step. Our authorities for this event are divided: one source affirms that the new government was based in Lagos from the very beginning of its existence, avoiding Iddo island with its long tradition of resistance to Bini influence; according to another source, it was a descendant of Ashipa, Gabaro, the third king of the new dispensation, who moved the seat of his government to Lagos Island. It is strongly and widely believed, however, that the king and his Bini advisers first pitched their camp in the area of Lagos known as Enu Owa with the celebrated Oju Olobun, now a 'national' shrine but at the beginning a spiritual symbol of the

supremacy of the Oba of Benin. The truth of this belief is attested by the fact that the coronation of a Lagos Oba is not regarded as valid without the performance of sacred rites at Enu Owa; an essential part of the *iwuye* (installation or capping) ceremony of the important chiefs was the public performance of *kikam* at this same place.

But Gabaro did more than start a tradition. By choosing for his permanent abode the very site on which Aromire had made his 'red pepper' farm, this Oba showed remarkable political acumen. A new regime had indeed arrived but it was housed on a soil prepared by Aromire, the first settler on the island and a son of the Olofin whose sway the new order had come to displace. This was a visible evidence of the factor of continuity and change in history. The king's official house, rightly called Iga Idu Iganran after the historical circumstances (*idu* means house and *iganran* is an Ijebu word for red pepper), was to become the official palace of many a Lagos Oba. Modified, rebuilt and recently modernised, Iga Iduganran remained the symbol of continuity amidst the many changes that had taken place in Lagos since the days of Gabaro.

Equally important was the beginning of new classes of chiefs not based on the possession of land like the Idejo but on service to the Oba. There was the nucleus of the *Akarigbere* made up of the *Eletu Odibo* and the *Eletu Iwase* who originally came with the Oba to Lagos from Benin. Others, like the *Eletu Ijebu*, placed in charge of the considerable Ijebu element in Isale Eko, were later additions to this important class of chiefs by the Oba. The head of this group was the Eletu Odibo, now recognised as the traditional Prime Minister and who performed the most important role in the selection of a new Oba. Next was the *Abagbon* class, so called because of the *Agbon* mark on their heads. The head of this military class of chiefs was the *Ashogbon*, another chief who originally came from Benin to give military support to the new order. Indeed the *Ashogbon* may be regarded as the 'Chief of Staff' of the army. Finally there was the *Ogalade*, consisting of chiefs versed in the various aspects of the art of native medicine. Each practitioner seemed to have his own speciality. The *Opeluwa*, for example, had the distinction of being what we should today call the gynaecologist to the wives of the Oba.¹ Collectively the *Ogalade* were responsible for the well-being of the community. The 'director' of this Health Service was the *Obanikoro*.

A fruitful discussion of the exact relationships and the various

classes of chiefs belongs to the next chapter. What should be noted here is that even at this formative stage there was systematic consultation between the Oba and his chiefs. There was, for example, the institution of *Ose Iga* when the important chiefs were expected at the palace and at which important affairs of state were discussed. The absence of a chief from this particular meeting was interpreted as an act of defiance against the king. By the end of the eighteenth century there was the *Ilupeju*—literally a meeting of the whole town—which enabled proposals from the Oba to be publicised and commented upon by eminent personalities in the community.

It should not be thought that the effects of Bini hegemony were limited to the aristocracy. The ordinary citizens must have felt the impact of the changes that came in its wake. The Bini element was to become an important strand in the web of the traditional culture of Lagos.

The development of trade

Another important factor in the history of Lagos in the period under survey is trade. This period saw the beginning of the slave trade which was to become the dominant brand of trade. For this reason, it is often assumed that the more natural kind of commercial intercourse did not play a vital role in the relationships between Lagos and her neighbours. The available oral evidence suggests that, on the contrary, the nucleus of the system of periodic markets could be discerned in the period preceding the era of slave trade in Lagos; that even at the height of the slave trading period the 'legitimate' type of trade, especially in articles of domestic consumption, held its own.

To an eighteenth-century inhabitant of Lagos these assertions would have needed no proof: they would have been a commonplace of his day-to-day existence. The 'antiquity' and the indispensable nature of Ebute Ero market for the trade of the large area of the Lagos hinterland must have been obvious to him. He must have seen the large number of traders from the neighbouring places, from Badagry, from Ikorodu and different parts of Ijebu at Obun Eko (*Obun* is an Ijebu word for 'market') which, we may note in passing, is an indication of the magnitude of the influence of the Ijebu element in Lagos history. This market was at this time

one of the most notable Lagos markets for peaceful commerce; it also acted as a forum for social activities other than commerce—in the Roman sense of the word. The periodic markets of Badagry patronised by the people of Lagos and the surrounding countries, no doubt, received greater prominence after the British 'pax'; but were not created by it. The market noted for the profusion of foodstuff brought to Lagos by traders from Porto Novo is now immortalised in a street name—Porto Novo Market Street.

That the commercial activities in these periodic markets went on side by side with the trade in slaves may be illustrated from an eye witness account. Captain John Adams, whose book (*Remarks*) was not published until 1823 but who visited Lagos on two occasions between 1786 and 1800, noted that:

It has always been the policy of the Lagos people, like those of Bonny, to be themselves the traders and not the brokers. They therefore go in their canoes to Ardah and Badagry, and to the towns situated at the N.E. extremity of Cradoo lake, where they purchase slaves, Jaboo cloth, and such articles as are required for domestic consumption.⁶

The towns in the above extract were Ejirin, Ikorodu and Ikosi where slaves, local foodstuff and the locally woven cloth from Yorubaland ('Jaboo cloth') in high demand in Brazil were in constant supply. Adams himself noted the trade link between these towns, especially Ikorodu and 'Jaboo' (Ijebu), 'a very fertile kingdom'. The truth was that not all the articles were produced in these market towns; most came from markets farther afield in the Yoruba Interior, markets whose periodicity made possible the eventual concentration of the items of trade in large quantities at the coastal towns. By Adams' time cowries were already the means of exchange. This system, operated by a large number of varying degrees of 'middlemen' engaged in a sort of commercial relay-race from market to market, would, unknown to the latter-day reformers, facilitate the development of legitimate commerce. But, meanwhile, it was obscured—if not completely overshadowed—by the attraction and the greater profitability of the notorious traffic in human beings, the slave trade.

This is not the place for a long discussion of the slave trade. The origins of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the enforced transplantation of Africans from their natural habitat to the strange environment of the New World with all the horrors of the Middle Passage,

the consequent depopulation of African territories—all these are too well known to engage our attention. The main point of interest is the effect of the trade on Lagos.

Tradition has it that Lagos had its first taste of the slave trade in the reign of Akinsemoyin, the fourth king of the 'Bini' dynasty. Exiled to Apa by his elder brother and predecessor, Gabaro, he made friends with some Portuguese slave traders whom he invited to Lagos on his accession to the throne. With the help of contemporary European records, Akinsemoyin's accession has been assigned to c. 1760.⁷ Thus, compared with other places on the West Coast like Dahomey where the trade had been a 'national' and well organised monopoly or Badagry where the European traders were already deeply entrenched in 'quarters' named after their nationalities, Lagos was a relative newcomer to the slave trade. And yet within a very short time it became a most important 'slaving' port, thanks partly to the decline of the trade in places like Ardrah deserted by the French, but mainly to its fortunate geographical location *vis à vis* the outside world. Equally swift were the visible effects of the trade on Lagos.

It is claimed by very old men that part of the Lagos landscape was transformed by the needs of this new trade: transit camps or 'barracoons' where slaves were kept pending their transportation by sea to Europe grew up on various sites near what we now call the Marina. This view is supported by at least a piece of written evidence concerning 'the barracoons at the eastern entrance to Lagos capable of holding five to six thousand slaves and belonging to the Brazilian Marcos Nobre and Lemon'.⁸ But with only one exception, the exact location of the slave camps operated by traders like Nobre and Lemon are yet to be found. The only well-known site is the area now occupied by St. Paul's Breadfruit Church and the primary school attached to it. It is now common knowledge that the breadfruit trees from which the street, the church and the school derived their names bore indelible marks indicating that slaves awaiting shipment were in fact tied to them.⁹ The historian cannot but commend the sense of history and justice shown by the agents of the Church Missionary Society who deliberately chose the site not only for propagating the Gospel but also for enlightening the minds of the future generations of young Nigerians.

There is no doubt that the slave trade brought much wealth to Lagos just as it did to Liverpool—to mention only one example—

in Britain. The powerful and the ruling classes in Lagos must have benefited from this new source of wealth and greater power. In several ways, the position of the Oba and its government was greatly enhanced.

In the first place, the Oba now had an untold source of revenue—far in excess of the revenue accruing from the old trade in peaceful commodities. His new life style made this quite obvious to his subjects. Oba Akinsemoyin had Iga Iduganran roofed with tiles imported from 'Portugal', and was said to have received from his Portuguese slave-trading friends the gift of a velvet cloth, the like of which—according to the refrain of an old song—had not been seen before in Lagos. Losi, the traditional historian, described this costly piece of velvet as one which when placed in the king's room 'made the room dark in the day and bright at night'. The reign of Ologun Kutere (c. 1775–1805) gave evidence of greater sophistication at the Palace. There were at the Oba's Palace when Captain Adams visited him

... articles of trade, and costly presents, in a state of dilapidation; namely, rolls of tobacco, boxes of pipes, cases of gin, ankers of brandy, pieces of cloth of Indian and European manufacture, iron bars, earthenware, a beautiful hand-organ, the bellows of which were burst; two elegant chairs of state, having rich crimson damask covers... and two expensive sofas. . . .¹⁰

The main point is not that a few of the items were in tatters at the time but, as Adams himself admitted, they were calculated to impress visitors to the Iga with the wealth and grandeur of the Oba in a manner 'similar to the pageantry with which it is thought necessary to surround royalties in civilised countries'.

Secondly, the wealth acquired by the Oba strengthened his position *vis à vis* the chiefs. In Lagos, unlike other parts of Yorubaland, the Oba was not 'the owner of the land'. What the Oba lacked in land he now gained in wealth. He was addressed officially as *Olowo*—the rich (literally, owner of money). If we add to this the power of the Oba to distribute largesse, sometimes with reckless abandon, then his enhanced position among his chiefs is beyond dispute. In this respect it should be emphasised that the Oloto of Oto on Iddo Island did not at first recognise the supremacy of Lagos. Regarding himself as the rightful heir to the prestige and powers once wielded by the Olofin, the Oloto considered himself

the equal of the Oba. This dispute was finally settled in the reign of Ologun Kutere who, by virtue of his wealth, possessed sufficient instruments of coercion and violence—European arms of precision—to defeat the Oloto in the military encounter known as the second Iddo War. The relevant point here is that the Oto version of this event, while ignoring the fact that there was a war over the matter, without any equivocation ascribed the eventual supremacy of the Oba of Lagos to his much greater wealth than that of the Oloto. With this last hurdle out of the way Ologun Kutere was able to establish much more securely 'the hereditary titles of the chiefs of Lagos' mentioned earlier.¹¹

Thirdly, Lagos was able to pursue a foreign policy calculated to further her political and economic interests. When, for example, Dahomey was bent on attacking Badagry, Lagos assuaged the anger of the king of Dahomey by sending many valuable gifts. By this Lagos accomplished a double victory: the prevention of Dahomey from having a foothold near the island with all its implications for trade, and Badagry was put in the debt of its benefactor. In fact, this was the beginning of the subjection of Badagry to Lagos; later in 1793 Lagos had to attack its former protégé for failing to pay the necessary tribute. Lagos had become a power to be reckoned with in the diplomacy of neighbouring countries.

Fourthly, Lagos was able to send diplomatic and trade missions to the court of Lisbon. Because of circumstances beyond their control the first of these missions sent in 1807 consisting of an 'Ambassador and his Secretary' did not get to Lisbon; they certainly had discussions with the Conda da Ponte, Governor of Bahia. From the letters of this Portuguese functionary we learn that the mission was sent by 'Prince Ajan' of Onim (Lagos). Internal evidence from the Portuguese sources¹² and Lagos tradition point to the conclusion that Prince Ajan was Adele who in October 1807 was yet to perform the rites of taking the 'bones' of his deceased father to Benin before he could be confirmed as a real king of Lagos. Ajan is probably the Portuguese version of 'Janjan', a praise-name of Adele. The embassy from Lagos refused to discuss the objects of their mission with the Governor of Bahia in spite of his insistence, but firmly asserted that their instructions were to deliver a letter to the King of Portugal and that they could not vary those orders without further consultations with their prince in Lagos. In other words they behaved like seasoned diplomats. The

Governor of Bahia himself in a letter addressed to the king of Lagos 'greatly commends the steadfast way in which the Ambassadors of Onim (Lagos) strictly abided by the orders which they had received'.¹³ Worthy of note was the aim of the mission: a fraudulent master of a Portuguese vessel trading with Lagos had sold tobacco of an inferior quality purporting it to be the genuine article and was thus faced with the possibility of having his business ruined for the future. To find a way out of this predicament he had sold the idea of the mission to Adele as a means of ensuring a bright future for trade with Bahia. Though this fraudulent Portuguese trader promised to carry the envoys from Lagos 'free of charge' he was in fact sufficiently rewarded; for 'he obtained exemption from the royal dues which amounted to four cantos and several thousand reis for four hundred odd slaves; this largely compensated for the expense incurred in connection with the envoys keep'. We have here a clear indication of the amount of revenue accruing to the Oba of Lagos from the trade—and the wisdom of promoting it through diplomatic channels.

Fifthly, the above episode proved to be the forerunner of the more sustained efforts made in the 1820s to place diplomatic relations between Lagos and Brazil on a more permanent basis. Relations between the two became more dignified and by 1830 there seemed to have been created a permanent Lagos embassy in Brazil. This is indicated in the extant letters written from Bahia by a Colonel Manoel Alvarez Lima who styled himself 'Ambassador of the King of Onim (Lagos) to the Emperor Pedro I at Rio de Janeiro'. This ambassador claimed to have had an audience with King Joao VI of Portugal—or as he put it: 'I spoke in private with his Most Faithful Majesty'.¹⁴ On at least two occasions he travelled to West Africa in grand style and with five persons in his entourage. As could be gauged from the following extract, he was also accorded diplomatic recognition and immunity.

The Ambassador and Colonel, Manoel Alvarez Lima, is departing from this city for the West African Coast; he is taking with him five free servants, Francisco, Joao, Antonio, Joaquim and Joao da Silva, natives of the West African Coast, and Custodio dos Santos, a Creole. I decree that no difficulties shall impede his voyage. In confirmation of this I have sent him the present letter under the seal and arms of the Empire.

Signed by me—V. de C. Government Palace.¹⁵

Some of these African officials of the ambassador were to become founders of influential 'Brazilian' families in Lagos.

The extent to which the trade between Lagos and Bahia was promoted by these early-diplomatic endeavours is difficult to assess accurately in the absence of the necessary statistics. There seemed to have been a marked increase in the volume and the variety of the articles of trade between both countries. But in the political sphere much more seemed to have been achieved. The Portuguese began to know much about Lagos. Whereas in the sixteenth century Portuguese records dealt more with Benin and even 'Jaboo' and referred only in passing to the 'Lagos river', henceforth they showed a greater awareness of Lagos as a seat of commerce, of its relationships with Benin and of its geographical features. In 1854 the word 'Lagos' appeared for the first¹⁶ time and by 1856 had completely replaced 'Onim' in Portuguese records as the name for the island known as Eko on the West African Coast.

Finally, the growing importance of Lagos was not without its effects on Lagos-Bini relations. The formerly strong ties of the Oba of Lagos with Benin became gradually attenuated. True, in times of constitutional crisis appeals to the political and spiritual sanctions of the Oba of Benin continued to be invoked; but with the relative decline in the might of the ruler of this once powerful African kingdom and the growing wealth and power of its vassal, the annual payment of tribute became not only intermittent but also a much more intolerable duty perfunctorily carried out. According to the Rev. J. B. Wood, at least on two occasions (in the reigns of Idewu Ojulari and Oluwole), Lagos sent back with empty hands Bini emissaries who had come to Lagos to demand the customary annual tribute. Intermarriage of the 'Bini' aristocracy—the Oba not excluded—with the local population further weakened these tenuous links with Benin until it received the *coup de grâce* at the hands of the British who annexed the island in 1861.

In sum, these were impressive achievements. The profit, the pomp and power and the glamour of the slave trade were no doubt important, but they did not constitute the only element in the situation. There was the wisdom and state craft of Ologun Kutere; there was the tenacity of Adele, whether he was promoting trade with Brazil or engaged in a disputed succession at home, and there was the intransigence of Idewu Ojulari and Oluwole in dealing with Benin on the question of the annual tribute. Thus the personalities and the characters of the Obas were also of crucial

importance. A more mundane factor, however, should not be overlooked: the system of periodic markets which ensured that while the rich and the powerful played their accustomed roles the common man was able to obtain the foodstuffs necessary for his sustenance at reasonable prices. As a European slave trader himself observed: 'The necessities of life are here extremely abundant and cheap and are brought chiefly from the country' (i.e. markets of the Yoruba interior).

The struggle for the succession

Meanwhile a protracted political upheaval, occasioned by a disputed succession,¹⁷ had begun. Ologun Kutere had died in c. 1805, expressing the wish that Adele, his favourite second son, should succeed him. Adele indeed succeeded his father—but not for long. His eldest brother, Osilokun, had the support of the people; he was also strong enough to defeat his ambitious young brother on the battlefield. Adele had to seek refuge in Badagry. With his royal bearing and force of character, he had no difficulty in getting himself accepted as the paramount ruler of Badagry whence he repulsed several attacks made by Osilokun to dislodge him. At last, in 1829 Osilokun died. Adele, thinking that his opportunity had come, once more attempted to seize the throne of Lagos by force but failed most dismally; his army was completely routed with its general, Bambani, captured and subjected to the most humiliating torture which put an end to his life. The upshot was that Osilokun's young son, Idewu Ojulari, was adopted as heir in 1830. But this luckless king died without an heir, in 1834, having been forced to commit suicide because of his unpopularity. At this point, a new contestant, Kosoko, a brother of Idewu Ojulari and therefore the most eligible candidate, entered the dynastic arena. He failed mainly because of the opposition of the Eletu Odibo, the most important of the kingmakers, who succeeded in restoring Adele to the throne for the next two years (1834–6).

Perhaps this change of fortune was a fitting reward for the tenacity and the seriousness of purpose with which Adele had pursued his claim to the Lagos throne. He had now accomplished by stealth what he had failed to achieve by force of arms. The new and decisive element in Adele's strategy was the Eletu Odibo who had deliberately manipulated the most important part of the king-

making machinery, the Ifa Oracle, against Kosoko and in Adele's favour. And it is revealing to observe that this highly placed head of the kingmakers was to repeat this act on two other occasions against the same victim, Kosoko: in 1836 when Oluwole was appointed; and in 1841, when Oluwole was killed by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, Akitoye became the Oba of Lagos.

Was the Eletu Odibo the most powerful chief under the unwritten constitution of Lagos? This particular Eletu Odibo was the only one known so far to have accomplished such a feat and so it would be wrong to generalise from this single instance. What we have here is the personal factor, the amount of power which a strong-willed and determined character could wield under any constitution, given favourable circumstances. And the situation was indeed favourable. There was no love lost between the Eletu Odibo and Kosoko. As a dashing prince Kosoko had won the favour of a beautiful lady betrothed to the Eletu; Kosoko's sister, Opolu, was successfully—but maliciously—accused of witchcraft by the Eletu Odibo who was thus instrumental in bringing public disgrace on Kosoko's family; and in a fit of hatred the same chief had ordered the remains of Kosoko's dead mother to be exhumed and thrown into the lagoon. The Eletu Odibo may therefore be seen as exploiting his high office to pursue a personal vendetta. But was this just an abuse of a sacred trust? Why was the Eletu able to carry the other kingmakers along with him on the three occasions? Part of the answer to this question may be found in the character of Kosoko. Soft-spoken and handsome, Kosoko was bold, restless, and extremely tenacious in fighting for his rights. And so, in the words of Losi, he was 'feared' by all. The other kingmakers regarded Kosoko as a dangerous choice who might wreak vengeance on them after he had already twice been unjustly robbed of the chance of obtaining the throne. And, seen in the light of subsequent events, especially the way in which Kosoko forcibly replaced the unsuspecting Akitoye, the kingmakers who supported the crafty and vengeful Eletu Odibo were not far from right.

In the event Kosoko proved more than a match for all his political opponents. The failure of Akintoye's policy of appeasement; Kosoko's triumph, his retaliatory measures against the Eletu Odibo and his patriotic stand against the British—all these are outside the period covered by this chapter. They were a fitting end to the protracted power tussle for the Lagos throne. This period of disputed succession from Adele to Kosoko was one

of the most colourful in Lagos history. It brought Yoruba towns in the hinterland which took sides in the dispute into closer relations with Lagos. Fought often with sophisticated weapons, the several battles on land and on the lagoons caused acts of wickedness, of heroism and, on rare occasions of chivalry, to be celebrated in the *Oriki* of the principal actors and in songs still remembered even in the 'Sierra Leonean' quarter of Lagos. Finally, the great loss of lives must not escape our attention. According to Beecroft, the British Consul, about 2,000 men on the side of Oba Akitoye lost their lives in August 1845. 'The lagoon was a pest house for weeks owing to the carcasses in it.' Here was a clear indication of the vast number of those who made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the disputed succession. A warning against the facile interpretation by the contemporary European observers of the events in terms of the survival or otherwise of the slave trade, this colossal loss in men had another significance. That Lagos survived the period was a testimony to its stability and the resilience of its ruling class.

Extent of human settlement

The historian who seeks to study the extent of human settlement in Lagos by the middle of the nineteenth century without the aid of other disciplines like geomorphology and ecology is literally treading on sinking ground. Oral tradition claims, sometimes with visible physical justification, that some areas of Lagos now under water were dry land; and that pieces of land formerly 'dry' are now under water; and that these changes occurred naturally over a period of time; the explanation often offered for this situation is that 'the level of water (lagoon) has never remained the same'.¹⁸ More discerning perhaps is another explanation which connects the receding coastline and swamps with the removal of the mangrove trees (by the earlier settlers in their bid to clear the place for human habitation). This is because the geomorphologists have assured us that the mangrove trees are Nature's own means of minimising erosion or causing sedimentation. This oral tradition contains, in fact, a scientific explanation. It is hoped that the historian, the geomorphologist, the ecologist and the marine biologist working together will eventually produce a definitive study of human settlement in early Lagos.

If there is one point which clearly emerges from the evidence

available to the historian it is that the geographical factor continued to influence, more than ever before, the course of human settlement. Some areas of Lagos were, in fact, islets within the island. One was the Alakoro section of Lagos which, according to a map drawn as late as 1885, was called 'Alakoro island'. The Idumagbo area was also separated from the rest of the island by a large stretch of water appropriately named 'Idumagbo lagoon'. Further inland were places at present thickly populated but which in time past were swamps. The place name 'Reclamation Road' is a living testimony to the amount of efforts and the money spent in the first half of the twentieth century to reclaim the swamps of the Oko Awo and Isalegangan areas to make them suitable for human habitation. Another example was Igbosere—not Igbosere Road—with its stretches of water from which the type of fish known as sawa was regularly caught and in commercial quantities. This point may be illustrated from the peculiar mode of advertising this brand of fish in Lagos till very recently as 'sawa Igbosere', no matter whence it came, the word Igbosere being a guarantee of quality.

Faced with this situation the latter-day settlers, like Aromire before them, were very careful in their choice of site. By the end of the first half of the nineteenth century four 'quarters'—as areas under more or less continuous human settlement were named—had already emerged. By far the earliest and the most important—and without which the other 'quarters' could not have existed—was the Isale Eko quarter.

With the help of place names and oral tradition the extent of this important 'quarter' of Lagos may be delineated. It must have extended from the Offin quarter to Ebute Ero, 'the heart of Isale Eko', to that part of Lagos named Victoria Street, after Queen Victoria of England, during the colonial era and renamed Nnamdi Azikiwe Street after the first Nigerian Governor General of an independent Nigeria. The original name of this place was Ehin Ogba, meaning 'outside the fence' thus indicating that it was outside the inhabited part of the town. According to oral tradition, Ehin Ogba was indeed the dumping ground for the corpses of the paupers and of the class of children regarded as mysterious by the Yoruba, the Abiku (literally 'children born to die')—the ceremonious burial being considered a kind of deterrent to these children from dying so often! That this was the limit of human settlement is made most certain by the piece of evidence which says that 'It was a jungle then and seldom traversed.'¹⁹

The area thus delimited was the hub of Lagos politics. Its focus was Iga Iduganran. Here several of the chiefs lived, each in his own Iga, a lesser version of the Oba's palace. Here also dwelt the most influential of those who took part in peaceful commerce, in the slave trade and in the protracted dynastic struggles discussed above. The population was diverse in origin. There was the Awori Yoruba and Bini aristocracy; there was the considerable Ijebu population at Idumagbo; there was the substantial body of immigrants from Ota who first came in search of trade at the Obun Eko market but eventually settled at Idumota, named after them; and there was the hard core of settlers from Idoluwo Ile who came with the first Obanikoro, head of the Ogalade class of chiefs and who gave the name Idoluwo to their present abode.

An extension of this premier quarter but with its own distinctive features was Offin. Its main 'centre' was Itolo square with the Onitolo and the descendants of the earliest inhabitants who had migrated with this chief from Iddo Island. Outside this centre was Offin 'proper' said to have been settled by immigrants from Offin Ile in Jebu Remo territory. The unique feature of the whole area was the internal waterway formed by the Offin Canal, the Elegbata creek and Itolo, which made the canoe an effective means of transportation.

There were two other 'quarters' which, judged by their names, were originally farms; Ereko and Oko Faji. These areas seemed to have served the interests of the inhabitants of the Isale Eko quarter. But the distinction between 'town' and 'farm', usually maintained rigidly in other parts of Yorubaland by a town wall, was fluid in Lagos, and the farms soon began to assume the appearance of settled 'quarters'. The transformation was generally started by influential chiefs of Isale Eko who, in their search for more dry land for their clientèle (the 'domestics' of oral tradition) eventually turned farmlands into more permanent abodes. Ereko was to be completely transformed into a princely dominion with an Iga of its own by the intransigent Kosoko after his *rapprochement* with the new British authorities and his consequent return to Lagos in 1862. Oko Faji, on the other hand, had the unique distinction of being owned and governed by a wealthy lady named Faji. It was 'a very large farmland' stretching from the present Faji market, to the Trinity Methodist Church, Tinubu and St. Peters Church (Faji). It was within this same quarter that another distinguished lady, Efunroye Tinubu, played her remarkable economic and anti-

British political roles, roles for which the British expelled her from Lagos to her native Abeokuta but which also won her the admiration of succeeding generations and an honoured place in the history of Lagos. Place-names (Faji market, Ita Faji, Tinubu Street, Tinubu Court) now proclaim the significance of the activities of Faji and Tinubu in this 'quarter' of Lagos and should serve as a warning to historians who often ignore the vital roles played by women in African societies.

The growth in population

A striking feature of these 'quarters', taken together, was the remarkable increase in their total population by the end of the first half of the nineteenth century. This may be illustrated from the evidence of two eye-witnesses. About the end of the eighteenth century, Captain Adams described the town of Lagos as 'of inconsiderable size' and estimated the population at five thousand (5,000). But when Sir Richard Burton visited Lagos almost sixty years later, he spent a whole afternoon inspecting the town and came to the conclusion that it was 'about five miles in circumference' and contained thirty thousand (30,000) inhabitants.²⁰ Even allowing for the fact that these two figures are rough estimates, there is no doubt about the remarkable growth in population between the two visits. How do we account for it?

One major factor was the southward movement of peoples to the coast from the Nigerian interior in the nineteenth century. This was one of the indirect consequences of the Islamic revolution in Hausaland led by the pious reformer and learned scholar, Usman dan Fodio. The revolutionary movement not only created the theocratic state, the Sokoto Caliphate, with all its religious and political implications, it also set in motion the chain of events which led to the collapse of the tottering Old Oyo Empire; and the founders of the successor-state had to move southwards to modern Oyo. The subsequent establishment of Ibadan, the military bulwark of this new Oyo Empire, led to the enforced migration of the Egba from their original abode to their present home in Abeokuta. The activities of the Egba in turn led to the movement of the Egbado and the Awori towards the coast. In terms of population the Lagos area—the town itself and various parts of the Lagos mainland—benefited vastly from these movements of peoples.

The creation of the British 'pax' when Britain annexed Lagos in 1861 further accentuated the influx of peoples to various parts of the new colony. A full discussion of this important element is outside the scope of this chapter, but it is essential here to show its general significance. The prevailing peace in British Lagos induced a large number of Yoruba to forsake their homeland plagued with internecine wars and to seek their fortunes in the colony. A few examples should suffice. After the destruction of the town of Ijaiye as a result of the war which ended in 1862 a large number of Ijaye refugees found a new home in the Oke Arin section of Lagos named Ijaye Court and Ijaye Street after them. A much more important exodus of people to Lagos was occasioned by the upheaval in Abeokuta, the expulsion of the missionaries and the converts locally known as Ifole in 1867. So great was the number of the refugees to Lagos that Sir John Hawley Glover, the Administrator of the Colony, had to settle them at 'Ebute Metta upon the mainland in the quarter now known as "Ago-Egba"; the Egba Camp'.²¹

Finally the continuous growth of two new types of quarters, new in the sense that the two were exclusively settled by freed slaves—or their offspring—from Sierra Leone and from Brazil, was due in part to the British presence. Separated by distance, the Sierra Leoneans or 'Saro' at Olowogbowo and the Brazilians or 'Aguda' at Portuguese Town (Popo Aguda) brought with them different but complementary skills: the former the benefits of the grammar school type of education with little or no emphasis on its practical application, the latter rich experience and expertise in craftsmanship. These qualities were to make the two communities very important in the future development of Lagos.²²

It should not be imagined, however, that Lagos was in this period the exclusive preserve of the Africans, indigenous or immigrant. A small European quarter was already in evidence near the coast. Situated in an area called Ehingbeti by the local people who valued it mainly as a place for refuse disposal²³ and therefore beyond the pale of respectability, this incipient 'European' area must have excited the curiosity of the local people concerning the sense of judgement of the 'white man'. The local people could understand the first phase of this European enterprise when it consisted only of 'piers'²⁴ or trading wharfs; but when by the end of the 1850s a few pretentious buildings belonging to the trading Houses, the Anglican and Methodist Missions and the iron

Residence of the British Consul appeared on the scene, the situation must have become more intriguing. The point often emphasised in oral tradition was the almost unbelievable idea that the British Consul could site the Consulate²⁵ in this neglected area and also incur the expense of building it with iron! The British Consulate, we may note in passing, was prefabricated in England with little or no regard for local conditions in Lagos; and, judged by the rapidity with which some of the Consuls followed each other to their untimely grave, merited the description of a European eye-witness as 'a corrugated iron coffin with always a dead Consul inside'.²⁶



1.1 *The Marina in 1925 – 'one of the best areas in colonial Lagos'*

Considered as a whole, this line of European buildings in Ehingbeti and the surrounding area was very thin. Its significance, therefore, lay not in its size but in the shape of things to come. It was the precursor of the much larger and well-planned European Reservation at Ikoyi during the heyday of the colonial regime but now inherited by Nigerians. More immediately, with the construction of 'broad' roads the once neglected Ehingbeti was transformed into what we now call the Marina and (the upper part of) Broad Street—renamed Yakubu Gowon Street. In short, it became one of the best areas in colonial Lagos. An unprecedented value was henceforth placed on 'land fronting the sea'; Europeans and far-sighted Africans began the struggle for the possession of land in this formerly despised area of the town. This struggle for land fronting the sea was to find its highest expression in the latter-day scramble on the part of eminent Nigerians for land on Victoria

Island which was, in time past, the haunt of humble and itinerant fishermen.

Conclusions

The foundations on which Lagos was built were its diverse population and its consequent many-sided culture and forms of religion. New strands were added to all these facets of life, with the extension of British administration, with the construction of the several bridges linking Lagos Island with Iddo Island, Ikoyi and Victoria Island, and with the building of the railway and the new motor roads which increased the mobility of the people. But the various 'quarters' of Lagos succeeded in maintaining their own distinctive culture and religious observances until modern times. In this respect, the most successful was Isale Eko, the seat of traditional authority which achieved the preservation of much of the cultural heritage of the people. For Isale Eko was, in the last resort, able to preserve its culture by the traditional rulers' policy of suspicion and limited association with the new British overlords and their agents of 'development' or 'modernisation'.

Notes

1 The exact date of the foundation of Lagos is yet to be determined. Because of the difficulties encountered in obtaining material for the early history of Lagos historians have concentrated on the nineteenth century. Even for the Bini period all dates cited by the early writers, Losi, Payne, Wood and Talbot, are no more than mere approximations. It is not until the reign of Akinsemoyin, Ologun Kutere and Adele that we can begin to speak of firm dates. For the best available account of the chronological problems of the Bini period, see LAW, R. C. C.: 'The Dynastic Chronology of Lagos' in *Lagos Notes and Records*, xi, 11, December 1968. Much work remains to be done even in constructing an exact chronology for this later period. It is one of the aims of the Lagos Historical Research Scheme of the University of Lagos to tackle in a much more comprehensive way the whole question of establishing accurate chronological framework for the whole period of Lagos history.

2 This section dealing with the earliest period of Lagos history involved the systematic collection of oral traditions from different parts of Lagos over a period of years and the checking, re-checking and re-interpretation of existing oral traditions as recorded in the early efforts of the pioneers. Worthy of mention among these early works are:

WOOD, Rev. J. B., (a) *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa*, Lagos, 1878.

— (b) *Awon Akiyesi Nipa Itan Ilu Eko, Lagos*, 1934. A Yoruba version of (a) above.

LOSI, Prince J. B., *History of Lagos*, Lagos, 1914.

History of Abeokuta, Lagos, 1923.

AJISAFE, A. K., *History of Abeokuta*, Bungay, 1924.

OTONBA PAYNE, John Augustus: *Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History*, Lagos, 1893.

Lagos and West African Diary, London, 1875-1894.

TALBOT, P. A., *Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, London, 1926 (vol. 1, Historical Notes).

ELLIS, A. B., *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, London, 1894.

3 *Kerevesi* is a word of Mahin origin meaning white. My source is the present Chief Eletu Odibo, I. O. Bajulaye, Fijabi II.

4 Not much work has been done about the Bini side of this story. There are two important references to the origin of the Bini connection: TALBOT: *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 80-82. EGHAREVBA, Jacob A.: *A Short History of Benin*, Lagos, 1934. The third edition is by Ibadan University Press, 1960, pp. 30-31.

5 Evidence of Obanikoro before the Ward Price Commission of Enquiry, House of Docemo, 1938.

6 ADAMS, John: *Remarks on the Country Extending from Cape Palmas*, London, 1823. Reprinted by Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., London, 1966, p. 96.

7 See LAW, *op. cit.*

8 Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

9 As a young boy I had the opportunity of seeing the nail marks on the breadfruit trees every week during our wrestling matches in the school compound.

10 Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

11 See also Wood, *op. cit.* (Yoruba version), p. 15.

12 I first stumbled on the importance of Portuguese records for Lagos history during a conversation with Dr Alan Ryder in 1959

when we were both on the staff of the History Department at the University of Ibadan. Later in the same year Pierre Verger quoted extracts from *Arquivo Publico Bahia*, Brazil; and *Arquivo da Biblioteca Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro in his article 'Notes On Some Documents In Which Lagos Is Referred To By The Name Onim And Which Mention Relations Between Onim and Brazil,' in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, i, 4, December, 1959, pp. 344-347. For ease of reference I have used these extracts which are cited in notes 13-15 below.

13 A letter of 1807 from the Governor of Bahia to Prince Ajan.

14 Letters of Colonel Manoel Alvarez Lima to Emperor Pedro I, at Rio de Janeiro.

15 Records of the Maritime Police in Bahia 22 Jan. and 23 Nov. 1830.

16 VERGER, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

17 LOSI, *History of Lagos*, pp. 16-41; PAYNE, *Dates of Principal Events in Yoruba History*, pp. 2-3, p. 9 especially footnotes (a) to (c); Talbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-89. There is also a rich corpus of oral tradition, songs, oriki etc. of the principal characters, in the disputed succession to the throne of Lagos in this period.

18 See also Wood, *op. cit.* (Yoruba version), p. 5.

19 DENIGA, Adeoye, *Notes on Lagos Streets* (third edition), Lagos, 1921, p. 4.

20 BURTON, Richard, *Wanderings in West Africa*, London, 1863, Vol. II, reprinted New York, 1970, p. 222.

21 BIOBAKU, S. O., *The Egba and Their Neighbours 1842-72*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 83-84.

22 See later chapters for the contributions of those two communities to the development of Lagos.

23 See DENIGA, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

24 See map on p. 2.

25 The British Consulate was not exactly on the Marina but was near it—on a street later named Ajele Street after the Consul, the Yoruba word for 'Consul' being 'Ajele'.

26 BURTON, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

2 Lagos Society in the Nineteenth Century*

P. D. COLE

In writing about life in nineteenth-century Lagos I shall endeavour to sketch the traditional political structure and the social arrangements prevalent in that society. I shall also examine the coming of the British and attempt to evaluate what effects this



2.1 *Lagos in the late nineteenth century*

role of the traditional élite as opposed to the educated élite, because I believe that the traditional élite formed the buffer between the British administration and the indigene. In fact, nationalism in intrusion had on Lagos society. Throughout I shall emphasise the

*The following article is largely culled from material in the first two chapters of my Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge, 1969). I gratefully acknowledge the financial and other support received while doing postgraduate work there. Dates given here are approximate.

Nigeria was only possible when the educated élite, disillusioned by their fruitless aping of whites, began to appreciate and seek the strength and support of the traditional élite who could command the masses. Support then became mutual and productive.

To the uninitiated, Lagos is 'no man's land', the federal capital, characterised as much by its legendary go-slow, tall buildings, boisterous inhabitants as by its equally legendary fast talkers, to whom everything is possible. But most visitors are eager to see the real Lagos or Lagosian. It would be futile to attempt to show such an inquirer anyone who can be characterised as a real Lagosian — is he a Saro descendant from Olowogbowo, or a member of an old Brazilian family from Oke-popo or Aguda, or a descendant of one of the chiefly families — Oluwa, Oniru, Ojora, Bajulaiye, Oshodi, etc.? Is a Lagosian one of the Muslims who have lived in Obalende since the end of the Asante Wars (members of the West African Frontier Force of Captain Glover), or is he one who lives along Seriki Street near the Central Mosque? In a sense, any of these people can be called a true Lagosian, yet the cultural spectrum the groups cover reveal the variety and heterogeneity of Lagos.

Behind the facade of a teeming metropolis is a part of Lagos which can correctly be defined as the real Lagos: there social relationships are conducted in an idiom peculiar to the environment; political relationships are also much more tradition-bound than the thin veneer of 'westernisation' would allow the observer, at first sight, to believe. Lagos is not only the seat of Federal and Lagos State Governments, it is also the seat of a virile traditional political hierarchy headed by an Oba, advised by a large council of chiefs whose power is as real as it is pervasive.

Some political and social commentators have written about Lagos with hardly a passing reference to the traditional sector of the town. They may have felt that it was fast disappearing because of the onslaught of modernisation. Others, slightly more perceptive, have wondered why the traditional authorities still survive since it is not at all clear how they have managed to keep so much power or influence and since it is also very clear where power resides in modern Lagos. Many have tried to discover links between the traditional power in the Oba's palace and at Government House. They have ended up with no more than a vague feeling that government does consult the Oba and council on certain matters and also that government shows respect to traditional rulers wherever they may be. There is nothing for-

malised and the chiefs are in no way government 'agents or spokesmen'. The source of their power is the respected status they occupy, the long established habit of indigenous Lagosians to obey the traditional élite, the help such obedience can generate, the vast network of economic and religious powers the traditional élite can possess, and finally the fact that they fulfil a role that so far no other institution has been able to satisfy.

Lagos has always had a large non-native element from its very beginning and the adaptability of the social institutions which predominate throughout its history is, to a large extent, a tribute to the resilience of its inhabitants. Claims to authenticity and purity are bound to exercise a good deal of influence in a society which became so cosmopolitan so early in its history. But the most fascinating aspect of Lagos is its easy adaptability to modernity while preserving a large measure of traditionalism in its social and political milieu.

There are several conflicting myths on the origins of Lagos: 'all authorities, however, agree that the Aworis of Isheri were the first inhabitants. They were soon joined by other Yoruba groups and Bini. For our purposes, it is not important whether the Edo conquered Lagos (as the Benin claim) or whether they were invited to 'settle disputes' among the sons of Olofin (known as the Idejos), the legendary Yoruba founder of Lagos, as the Idejos claimed.

The origins of the Obaship

What emerges from the *mêlée* or oral tradition is that the relationship of Lagos and the Idejos is an ambiguous one. In any case the authority of the first Obas of Lagos must have been minimal. The Rev. J. B. Wood states that even after the Obas had established themselves and acknowledged Benin suzerainty Chief Oloto and other mainland Idejo chiefs did not, like the chiefs of the island, pay tribute to the Oba of Benin. The authority of the Oba probably did not originate from the Benin conquest. Rather it was derived from wealth and the goodwill of the Olofin. There is no evidence that early Obas exercised any great influence or power in Lagos history. Each of the constituent power groups was left mostly to its own devices. The Obanikoro, head of the Ogalade class of Lagos chiefs, who came from Idole (Idoluwo) could continue to exercise jurisdiction there, crowning the 'kings' of that place. The Eletu Odibo,

head of the Akarigbere class of Lagos chiefs, also had patronage of his own which he apparently dispensed without requiring the Oba's approval. As for the Idejos, they continued to exercise power over their own families, and land areas, and had little to do with the Oba except when in dispute among themselves.

The origins of the Obaship of Lagos are ancient, controversial and essentially obscure. It probably originated in a vice-royalty over Lagos established by the Obas of Benin some time in the sixteenth century. Whether or not the Bini conquered the Yoruba settled in Lagos is disputed, but the facts that the Obas traditionally "owned" no land in Lagos which was disposed of exclusively by the Yoruba Idejo chiefs, and that the Idejo chiefs did not perform any administrative duties on behalf of the Oba and took to the mainland in time of war, leaving the Oba to defend Lagos, do not suggest an original Benin conquest. They suggest rather a shadowy tributary relationship, occasional intervention and an Obaship that quickly became indigenously Yoruba and independent in Lagos. Olofin, the traditional ancestral origin of the Idejo chief was a Yoruba from Isheri who appears to have told his sons on his death to obey the Oba of Lagos merely as a peacemaker in their internecine disputes in the first half of the seventeenth century. The influence and tributary connection with Benin were sporadic throughout the eighteenth century. Lagos external relations were largely conducted with no reference to Benin.

Lagos was, then, essentially an oligarchy. That the Obas' council met every nine days after the return of traders to Ejinrin and Badagry markets tends to support this interpretation. With the growth of oceanic trade, which made the Obas much wealthier than the rest of the community, Lagos became a divine Yoruba monarchy, then gradually adopted forms, rituals, institutions and accoutrements of the Yoruba kingdoms; for example, beads, royal regalia and officers of the crown who carried out the rituals and administered the kingdom. Foreign trade, rather than the Oba of Benin's conquest, was responsible for the transformation of Lagos from an oligarchy to a kingdom.

In 1880 Lagos was already a prosperous commercial city, the natural entrepot of a large productive hinterland interlaced with rivers which flowed into Lagos. Its history had been chequered, affected by the powerful influence of Dahomey on the west and Benin on the east. The expansionist policy of these kingdoms forced more and more people living between them to emigrate to

Lagos. In 1880 Lagos had a population of barely 5,000. Both slave trade and 'legitimate' trade occasioned a minor population explosion. By 1859 Lagos had a population of 30,000. The majority of the immigrants came from the surrounding areas, bringing new religions (the Ogboni cult, Islam, for instance), new institutions and customs (from Benin and elsewhere). The social rules had not crystallised before new forces—the British, the Brazilians, the Portuguese, Christianity and education, for instance—further disrupted them.

The slave trade brought the French, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British to the neighbourhood of Lagos. It also brought wealth and a complicated relationship between the merchants of these nations and Lagos. By the end of the eighteenth century, Lagos, though still periodically recognising the Benin tutelage which had been established as early as the sixteenth century, had become a power in its own right among the adjacent villages. The Yoruba states north of Lagos—Ijebu, Egba, Oyo, Ilorin, Ijesha etc.—had to court the friendship of Lagos because of its favourable trade position.

Foreign accounts of the city differed and sometimes conflicted. Early in the nineteenth century Captain John Adams described Lagos as of 'inconsiderable size' and said that the duties it imposed were so exorbitant that Europeans preferred Badagry for trading². The Lagos people had been slave traders, rather than agents for slavers. A. B. Ellis in 1894 called the city 'a place of some note as a slave emporium'.³ Lagos also engaged in extensive commerce with the hinterland states and by the middle of the nineteenth century this trade was largely in palm produce, ivory and native cloth rather than slaves. In 1852 it was described as 'an excellent and well built native town'. In 1863 Sir Richard Burton, the veteran traveller, wrote that 'Lagos was native to the last degree' and that it was 'a young and thriving place. Its position points it out as the natural key to this part of Africa and the future emporium of all Yoruba, between the Niger and the sea. It cannot help commanding commerce even under the wretched management of native prices.'⁴ John Whitford, an English merchant in West Africa, wrote that 'Lagos undoubtedly rejoices in the best situation for trade in the Bight of Benin and the merchants are alive to its importance. . . . Everything,' Whitford continued, 'was very primitive. The huts of the town extended to the water's edge, and it was a filthy, disgusting, savage place and unsafe to wander about in the streets.'⁵

The indigenous inhabitants were sometimes depicted as incorrigibly lazy, at other times as industrious. For example, Mrs Foote, wife of Consul Foote, one of a long line of British officials and merchants to die in the 'insalubrious climate', thought the black men were lazy, and that the women 'were even more lazy than the men, and are careless, dirty and cold-hearted'.⁶ Whitford, on the other hand, thought the women were 'very industrious, they perform most of the hard work pertaining not only to domestic life but to the tilling of the soil and buying and selling in the markets'.⁷ Burton believed Lagosians were 'an idle people' and 'a merry race of pagans' but wondered 'what can be expected of men to whom Pomona has been so indecently kind, whose bread and butter, whose wine and oil, grow for them in trees around? The redeeming feature was the mixture of country with town, the *vestigia ruris*, which all admire . . . it is a city of palms, the cocoa grows almost in the salt water'.⁸

The west coast of Africa was a trying place for Europeans during most of the nineteenth century. It was hot, malarial and the indigenes did not share the European's sense of hygiene. Europeans had a sense of impending death, and drowned their care by incessant occupation, or amusement, usually alcohol.⁹ Business was booming but very competitive and regulated by the peculiar network of hinterland markets to which no European was admitted.

This created the proliferation of middlemen who could only do business with the credits extended to them by the European merchants. The credit system had its own momentum. Larger and larger credits had to be extended to the middlemen so that they could pay off earlier debts.

Europeans on the coast were frightened and frustrated. Even the most energetic soon found the combination of the climate and the pace of life in a totally alien society a great strain. This fact must always be borne in mind when reading the accounts of the nineteenth-century missionaries, merchants and officials who lived in West Africa.

Many made their life as pleasant and comfortable as possible. As early as the 1850s some merchants built huge houses and furnished them with 'floors nearly all of inland marble, and pictures of the best modern Italian masters . . . most of them surrounded by pretty gardens, tastefully laid out'.¹⁰

The British take-over

In 1851 Britain bombarded Lagos, forced Oba Kosoko to flee the country and placed Oba Akitoye on the throne. Ten years later Britain annexed Lagos. From 1851 onwards a vast social upheaval took place. In 1861 the king was pensioned off. In the 1860s the British administrator cleared the

filthy beach of the wretched native tenements and for a considerable distance back from the Lagoon border destroyed them and formed a wide promenade . . . he also pulled down hundred of huts behind the promenade and constructed wide streets for the sea-breeze to blow through. The consequence is that, on the promenade fronting the lagoon, merchants have erected brick stores, with comfortable luxurious dwelling above, fronting the glorious life-sustaining sea-breeze . . . markets have been regulated . . . soldiers and a police force organised, a race-course established, schools, courthouses, Government House and barracks built and lastly a cemetery (which drives a brisk trade).¹¹

This passage is social history. It shows us a large-scale dispossession of land and destruction of property in Lagos, the change in values — churches, race-course, courthouse, barracks, schools, and the introduction of a different system of administration (Government House). But more interesting is what it does not tell us: the fate of the thousands whose 'wretched huts' had been cleared to make way for the life-sustaining sea-breeze. And how the native populations coped with these disruptions.

This dispossession, which forced the indigenes further back towards the north-western end of Lagos island set the pattern of settlement on Lagos. The Saros, liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, settled west of the Europeans on the Marina, while the Brazilian and Cuban *amapados* settled behind both the Saros and the Europeans.

But if Lagos was 'native to the last degree' in the 1850s, by 1900 it was becoming a modern metropolis. Economically it had developed even faster than in the period 1800–50. It boasted electricity, a busy harbour and a railway terminus to convey produce from the hinterland. Muslim and Christian schools dotted the town. It continued to attract the most adventurous from the provinces of Nigeria. Already there were plans for pipe-borne

water supply and for a tramway. Roads, bridges, hospitals, dwelling-houses were going up everywhere.

The Oba is the head of the indigenous society. He is advised by a council of chiefs. The Oba has a personal household staff, called Ibigas and Ilaris, who look after him and the regalia and gods of the crown.

Tabular structure of traditional politics

<i>Oba or Ologun (Oloriogun)</i>		
(Prime Minister)		
Council of Chiefs		
Akarigbere	Idejos	Ogalade
(Royal chiefs)	(land-owning	(Spiritual chiefs)
Head: Eletu Odibo	aristocracy)	Head: Obanikoro
	Head: Olumegbon	
	Abagbon	
	(War chiefs)	
	(Head: Ashogbon)	
Ibigas and Ilaris		
(Household slaves of		
Oba)		
		Erelu
		Oluwo
Erelu: Head of		Leaders of the
Women's Societies		Apena
		Ogboni or
		Osugbo cult.
		(The Chief Justice
		and Chief Emissary
Royal Drummers		of Oba)
	Giwas—Heads	
	of wards in Lagos—mainly	
	Muslim societies of young men.	

There are four classes of chiefs in Lagos—the Akarigberes, the Idejos, the Ogalades and the Abagbons. The Akarigberes are the royal chiefs. They are closest to the Oba and come from Benin. Traditionally the head of this class, the Eletu Odibo, the 'prime minister' of the government, crowns the Oba. The Akarigberes are the first class chiefs; they are the administrative chiefs. The Eletu Odibo also has the royal oracle in his Iga (palace). Among this class of royal chiefs are two special chiefs, the Onilegbale and the

Asajon or Oloja Ereko—these titles are reserved for two branches of the descendants of the royal house of Addo, the original ancestor of all the Obas of Lagos. The Onilegbale and the Oloja Ereko are therefore technically superior to the Eletu Odibo but they have no functions attached to their offices. However, no interview with the Oba is granted without the Eletu Odibo's permission, and the potential power of this office can be seen in Kosoko's inability to become Oba legitimately because of the Eletu Odibo's opposition.

The second class of chiefs is the Idejos—the landowners of Lagos. They are the descendants of the Olofin, the leader of the first settlers of Lagos. Their number has been variously given as ten, nineteen, sixteen or thirty-two. They have no administrative duties. But each has power to allocate unoccupied land within his area to family heads, strangers or immigrants—whether Europeans, Saros or up-country Yoruba in return for a small annual tribute. The Oba himself 'owns' no land, but in large commercial land deals with European firms application for land is usually made through the Oba who naturally receives a share of the proceeds from the Idejo chief. The head of this class is the Olumegbon.

The Ogalades, headed by the Obanikoro, are the third class of chiefs. This position in the traditional hierarchy was finalised by an ordinance in 1959 after some controversy.¹²

The Ogalades are also believed to have come from Benin. They are the custodians of the nation's spirit, making sacrifices for the town and healing the sick. The Obanikoro is the special priest and physician of the Oba. The 'history' of the Obanikoro chieftancy would suggest that he was an 'ba' in his own right before he came to Lagos. The scant respect which Adamu Akeju, the most famous of the Obanikoros, showed to Oba Eshugbayi Eleko in the 1920s reminds one of the high regard the Obanikoro had for his own ancestry. Moreover, the struggle in the 1930s between the Eletu Odibo and Obanikoro for supremacy in the Lagos hierarchy of chiefs can be seen as a classic constitutional struggle between Church and State.

The Abagbons or war chiefs form the fourth class of chiefs. Their head is the Ashogbon. It is their duty to defend Lagos. Some of these chiefs came from Benin, others were promoted Ibigas (household slaves), for example, Kosoko's famous general, Oshodi Tapa, was a slave from Nupe. An Abagbon could become more influential than any other chief, and in Kosoko's reign (1845-51) the

most influential chiefs were definitely Oshodi Tapa, Ipelu Possu and Ajenia—all war chiefs. Each war chief had his own captains and lieutenants (Balogun) who commanded segments of the army. The Ashogbon, the head Abagbon, informs the Eletu Odibo when an Oba dies. He locks up the Iga and sees that the property of the kingdom is safe. It is the duty of the war chiefs to prevent civil war during an interregnum. The Ashogbon must be present when the Eletu Odibo consults the Ifa oracle about a possible successor to a demised king. The Ashogbon also announces the choice of an incumbent Oba to the people.

One salient fact in the study of traditional politics of Lagos is the uncertainty about what was customary. There are several reasons for this. First, the rapid successions to the Obaship during the early nineteenth century completely unsettled 'custom', which had hardly had time to be defined. Second, the Obas, through the wealth from the slave trade, were themselves only just establishing their authority over the other classes of chiefs. Many of the rules governing the various institutions were therefore fluid. Third, the peculiar rule of succession in Lagos made it difficult for any but the Ibegas or household slaves to be versed in customary law. Because there was no heir apparent to traditional chiefly institutions no tradition of handing over customs or grooming for succession was possible. Ifa, the oracle, selected successors. The result was that relative novices came to chieftaincies. Thus the conflicting accounts often heard about what constituted native custom, and what the origins, functions and positions of the various classes of chiefs were, may well be due to simple ignorance; a more likely explanation is that the competitors chose what myths supported their particular interests.

Each head of the various classes of chiefs installs members of his class of chiefs. There was thus in Lagos a hierarchy of office among the chiefs and another organised by date of installation into the chiefship that by no means corresponds to it. For example, in the Oba's council a third-class chief who held office longer than a first-class chief took precedence over him in status and order of speaking. The influence of a chief furthermore depended on his wealth and personality. In these circumstances the Oba plainly was little restricted by the hierarchical system, sometimes to such an extent that among chiefs the term 'hierarchy' is more misleading than helpful. But seniority does not inhere in the office of the chiefs, i.e. an Oluwa may be senior chief to the Ulumegbon, the head of the

Idejos, in the Oba's council. Nor is the Eletu Odibo always prime minister. The Oba may show special favour to any one chief depending on that chief's ability and personality. For example, in the 1880s the prime minister of Dosunmu was Apena Ajasa, the chief justice of the Ogboni cult, not the Eletu Odibo. The Oba legally had no say in who became a chief. The family decided, and the Oba was obliged to accept the choice. In practice, however, the contestants sought the approval of the Oba before installation.

What is evident in considering the traditional political structure of Lagos is that it was continually evolving. The different classes of chiefs jockeyed for privilege and position within the changing demands of the society. By 1800 the Obaship had established its supremacy over the other classes of chiefs but this supremacy was always open to challenge, either by the Ogboni society, the Akarigbere or any other class of chiefs. The Oba could only maintain his position by the force of his own character and by playing one interest-group against another.

Captain John Adams described Ologun Kutere in the late eighteenth century as a tyrannical and absolute monarch. It is true that Ologun Kutere was a powerful king, but no Yoruba king can be absolute. The very institutions of traditional Yoruba government place considerable restraint on any would-be tyrant. For example, the Oba's oracle was in the Iga (palace) of the Eletu Odibo who must consult the Ife oracle on behalf of the Oba regularly. If the results of the divination were unfavourable the king had to make sacrifices and discover how he had offended the guardians of the State. The Oba could not himself perform the ancestral rites to his predecessors unless Ifa declared that he could do so.

Another check on the Oba was the role of the Ogalades, who though his personal physicians, were also the custodians of the oracles which guided the kingdom as a whole. The Oba was enjoined by custom to perform certain rites to these spirits but he could not do so, nor indeed to any other oracle, if the spirits of the kingdom were displeased with his rule.

The Idejos could also restrict the power of the Oba since they controlled the land and to some extent the patronage the Oba obtained through land grants. Moreover, the Ogboni could act as a final safeguard against tyrannical or weak rule.

Much of the above is good Yoruba constitutional doctrine. But the Oba in Lagos had some advantages which were denied his

counterparts in the hinterland. He was much freer to move about than Yoruba kings, who could only be seen in public two or three times a year at important festivals; the Lagos Oba could therefore more effectively engage in trade. Nor did he have a special class of trading chiefs like the Awujale of Ijebu and the Alake of Abeokuta. His trading position was better than the Oba of Benin who had to contend with an elaborate system of fiefs held by his chiefs. Most important, Lagos was a busy port, frequented by merchants, who needed the goodwill of the Oba in order to trade. The Oba did most of the trading with the Europeans himself and dominated the economic life of Lagos before British annexation. The Obaship in Lagos had a larger area in which to manoeuvre than the Alafin of Oyo, the Oba of Benin, the Awujale of Ijebu and the Alake of Abeokuta, whose kingdoms all had, built into the structure of government, institutionalised opposition groups. If Lagos had become as large a kingdom as Benin or Oyo, it is likely that the Oba's freedom would have been more restricted.

Economic and political changes in Lagos to a certain extent affected the relative wealth and power of the different classes of chiefs. Between 1831 and 1851 Lagos was in a continual constitutional crisis. By 1851, the Akarigbere class of chiefs, led by the Eletu Odibo, who was executed in 1845 by Kosoko, had suffered most from it. The Idejo chiefs, if tradition is to be believed, simply vanished into the bush during the wars. The war chiefs, on the other hand, gained in wealth and prestige from their support of Kosoko's attempt to be Oba. Two of them, Chiefs Tapa and Bajulai, had been to Brazil and Portugal on trade missions. James White in 1852 estimated that nearly half of Lagos belonged to two other war chiefs—Ajenia and Possu.

The civil wars caused large-scale expulsion and settlement. The death toll was appalling. Whole quarters fled to Ibadan, Epe, Abeokuta, Whydah and Badagry. By the time Britain reinstated Oba Akitoye in 1851, land was plentiful. Akitoye's supporters, who fled with him when he was dethroned by Kosoko in 1845 to Badagry and elsewhere, were easily settled in the 1850s. But more land had to be found for the hundreds of immigrants, merchants, officials and missionaries who flowed into Lagos as a result of the British presence. Because they supplied the necessary land the Idejos gained in political importance and wealth.

The Akarigberes were in total confusion and apparently never recovered from Kosoko's attack on their leader. We hear nothing

of the Ogalades until well into the twentieth century. The abaghons did not support the policy of peace restored by Britain with Oba Akitoye, because neither guaranteed, as Kosoko had done, the continuation of their functions as war chiefs. To survive and maintain their prestige and power they had either to attempt to produce the *status quo ante* or use their status to engage in new enterprises that would provide enough wealth to sustain or enhance their position. But as Britain's control tightened over Lagos the first option was no longer open to them. It is interesting to note that the first chief who engaged in the modern political election, i.e. in modern élite politics, was Chief Ashogbon, head of the war chiefs, who was elected into the Lagos town council in the late 1930s.

But the Idejos favoured the Akitoye faction; for under Kosoko they were unlikely to hold their power. The more Britain's grip tightened on Lagos the more the Idejos chiefs and Akitoye faction prospered economically. Dosunmu, who succeeded his father in 1853, told Robert Campbell, an American black who was drawing up plans for the immigration of blacks from the United States, that he would give as much land as was required to all the blacks whom Campbell could persuade to return. Before 1861 Dosunmu was already issuing his own land seals, with the obvious co-operation of the Idejo chiefs. But to sell land to foreigners was one thing; annexation was quite another and the Idejos protested against this. However, even after the annexation, the Idejos continued to enjoy economic power previously denied them. It is no accident that the second most important political issue in the history of Lagos should be a land case involving Chief Oluwa, an Idejo chief.

The richer the Idejo chiefs became the more important were the roles they assumed in Lagos traditional politics. In 1800 they had no say in the government of Lagos. By the 1860s, as they became richer, they began to feel their way and by 1921 they symbolised the struggle against the British administration. In 1959 they had become integrated in the traditional government structure and were officially declared to be the second class after the Akarigberes; their head, the Olumegbon, had won a place as one of the electors of the Oba of Lagos.

The Ogalades, the 'spiritual chiefs', seem to have suffered worse. Their leader, the Obanikoro, had an illustrious origin as any of the royal chiefs. As diviner of the town he had important ritual

functions. He also had the right to arrest, detain, and imprison culprits. These functions placed him, if not above, at least on a par with the royal chiefs. By 1900 the Ogalades were losing power and in fact the title of Obanikoro was vacant for a long time. In the second decade of this century a remarkable man, Adamu Akeju, succeeded to the title. It was obvious to him that despite his noble origins, only wealth and power could secure him the functions of his birthright. He decided to achieve these by collaborating with the British. By 1930 there was no doubt that the two most powerful and wealthy men were Chief Oluwa (an Idejo) and Chief Obanikoro; the former through the support of the modern élite and the mass of the people who were anti-British in Lagos, the latter through his outstanding character and skilful manipulation of his traditional authority supported by the British administration and its policy of divide and rule.

Obanikoro's traditional function as town diviner featured less and less in a fast-modernising city like Lagos increasingly populated by immigrants from the rest of Nigeria. In 1959 this change in functions was accepted by making the Ogalades third-class chiefs.

Despite the conflicts in the traditional myths of the origin of Lagos, it is certainly clear that a large part of the aristocracy came from Benin. This aristocracy had to deal with a unique situation in which they acknowledged the ownership of the land by local Yoruba aristocrats who claimed to be the descendants of Oduduwa. Both aristocracies made adjustments between Yoruba and Benin political structures and traditions. The local Yoruba aristocracy reserved the right to opt out of the political struggles in which their Benin counterpart might engage. This right was always threatened by increased intermarriage, and the growing power of the Obaship. Yet the Benin relationship was usually appealed to in times of highest constitutional crises; for example, Oba Adele, who was exiled in 1807, sent his father's skull to be buried in Benin. Akitoye, also deposed in 1845, appealed to Benin in his quarrel with Kosoko. No Lagos king was ever deposed without an appeal to Benin. The adjustments between Benin and Yoruba traditions and the rapid development of Lagos required a policy of flexibility.

After the British annexation the Oba's powers were necessarily curtailed. The traditional institutions lost some of their administrative, legal and diplomatic functions, even within the indigenous society, although preserving their social and cultural functions. By

1890 the Obaship was poor and was neglected by the British administration. The Ogboni society had all but disappeared. The Oba had no more rights and privileges than any other commoner in Lagos. But the forms of traditional government continued. If anything, the Lagosians' respect for traditional institutions deepened. The form of traditional government survived because the chiefs performed traditional, social roles and functions of guardian and spokesman of their people, protecting them against colonial policies they thought invidious. The Oba and chiefs never had a more united voice (up to 1915) than under the British administration. The chiefly system survived also because it was able to adapt itself to outside interference. Above all it survived because it was a buffer between the British administration in Lagos and its people; it presented to the government the demands of the people and translated the commands of the government to the people.

Rivalries, repatriates and élites

Let us examine more closely the reasons for British intervention in Lagos. When Oba Oluwole died (see Appendix 1), the constitutional question was raised as to whether Kosoko, the brother of Idewu Ojulari (who had been forced to commit suicide in 1834) or Akitoye, the brother of Oba Adele (d. 1836) should be the next Oba. This was the beginning of the Kosoko/Akitoye factional rivalry for the Obaship in the nineteenth century. That rivalry has continued long into the twentieth century.

The Eletu Odibo, an implacable enemy of Kosoko, had three times frustrated Kosoko's attempt to be Oba, first in 1834 after the death of Idewu Ojulari, when the Eletu Odibo recalled Adele from exile to prevent Kosoko from becoming Oba, then after the death of Adele in 1836, and finally in 1841 after the death of Oluwole, when he installed Akitoye as Oba. Kosoko suffered exile twice on account of the Eletu Odibo. Kosoko, a handsome young man, had enticed and married a girl betrothed to the Eletu Odibo. The latter was so incensed that when Kosoko went into exile the Eletu Odibo exhumed the body of Kosoko's mother and scattered her bones in the lagoon. Kosoko swore revenge and when he finally laid hands on the Eletu Odibo in 1845 he put the chief in an empty oil barrel, sealed it, set it on fire and threw the barrel into the lagoon.

However, soon after Akitoye came to the throne, he decided to invite his nephew Kosoko back to Lagos. The Eletu Odibo warned Akitoye against this, but when the Oba would not listen the Eletu Odibo himself went into exile in Badagry. In 1845 Kosoko ousted Akitoye to become Oba of Lagos. It was this succession dispute that occasioned British intervention in Lagos to restore Akitoye and depose Kosoko in 1851 and establish there a consul. In 1861 the British forced Dosunmu, Akitoye's son and successor, to cede the island to them.

British occupation of Lagos influenced Lagos society to a significant degree. It brought in its wake a large number of repatriates from Sierra Leone, Brazil and Cuba who were to have a great influence on the structure and nature of the society.

Their return profoundly affected the history of Lagos. The Sierra Leoneans were known as Akus or Saros, the Brazilians and Cubans as Agudas. The Agudas were mainly Catholics, skilled artisans and craftsmen who had purchased their freedom and returned home to their 'country' of origin. The Akus or Saros were slaves (or descendants of slaves) rescued by the British naval squadron that patrolled the high seas on the look-out for slavers. The Saro émigrés were mainly missionaries (Protestants), teachers, clerks, or traders. All the returned émigrés had their homes in one of the hinterland kingdoms—Ijebu, Egba, Ekiti, Oyo-Ibadan, Nupe. Most were probably shipped from Lagos but none seem to have been Lagosians.

The composition of populations in Lagos in the 1880s was as follows: Brazilians 3,221, Sierra Leoneans 1,533, and Europeans 111, out of a population of 37,458. Of all the population, 30½% were engaged in commerce as merchants, traders, agents, clerks and shopmen, 5,173 were tradesmen, mechanics, manufacturers and artisans; 1,414 were farmers and agricultural labourers. In 1871 only 9½% of the population were in commerce, 5% in agriculture. In 1881 the percentage of agricultural workers dropped to 3¼ while that of commercial workers jumped to 30½. Lagos was therefore predominantly a commercial city. Most of the population was animist in 1868, 14,797 as opposed to 8,422 Muslims and 3,970 Christians.¹³

In the 1880s there were four distinct groups in Lagos—the Europeans, the educated Africans (Saros), the Brazilians and the indigenes. The town was physically divided into four quarters corresponding to these groups. The Europeans lived on the

Marina, the Saros mainly west of the Europeans in an area called Olowogbowo, the Brazilians behind the Europeans—their quarter was known as Portuguese Town or Popo Aguda or Popo Maro—and the indigenes on the rest of the Island—behind all three.

The Saros were culturally closer to the Europeans than to either of the two other groups. The top social class of Lagos in the 1880s was dominated by the Europeans—merchants, missionaries and civil servants. The Saros tried to gain admission into this class. The criteria for membership were education and wealth. In this sense, the educated élite, both black and white, could be considered as members of the same social group. They lived like Victorian gentlemen, their entertainment consisting of numerous 'conversations', 'soirées', 'levées', 'at homes', 'tea-fights', and concerts of the works of Bach, Beethoven, Handel and so on.¹⁴ The press had music critics; one irate critic lamented that concerts had fallen to the level of music-hall entertainment. Christmas was a season of Victorian festivities. As one newspaper editor enthused: 'Balls are announced and concerts and athletic sports, dinners, with the accessories of plump turkeys, minced pies, plum puddings, and Christmas trees. Fineries of all sorts and conditions.' All the élite seemed to lack was snow. Their dressing and eating habits were predictably Victorian. Most of them were profuse in their expressions of loyalty to the queen. In 1881 the *Lagos Times* prayed for the success of British arms in Asante. It declared: 'we are so jealous of the Power of British Arms that we would not have it suffer the slightest reverse'.¹⁵ The Imperial Federation League found enthusiastic support in Lagos. Several prominent Saros, J. A. O. Payne, J. J. Thomas, and S. J. George, came to Britain at their own expense for Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897.¹⁶

The life style of the indigenes continued as before. They ate the normal Yoruba dishes of maize, cassava, yams and Yoruba sauces. They dressed in the same large flowing cloak, called *agbada*, and baggy trousers. The Saro-educated élite wore the latest London fashions—stiff collars and heavy woollen suits. The traditional élite continued to dress as they had always done but developed new drinking habits. An observer described Dosunmu as a 'good-tempered, easy-going man, much given to pomp. Visitors are always regaled with Champagne whenever they go to see him and I have heard he kept a most luxurious table.'¹⁷ Whitford wrote that when he met Dosunmu, the Oba was 'attired in a clean loose white robe; red silk velvet slippers encase his large feet and gold, silver

and brass rings profusely adorn his thumb, fingers and wrists'.¹⁸

The press exhibited a deep preoccupation with what it regarded as the essentials of society. The editor of the *Eagle and Lagos Critic*, Mr. E. O. Macaulay, writing in 1883, described the society of a place as that class of its community which comprised its ruling body, which absorbed by its influence all other 'societies' (he found four in Lagos—the Muslim, the Brazilian, the indigenous and the English, which, of course, included the Saros) into its unit and imposed its rules of conduct on the other 'societies'. To despise the society of the ruling class, Macaulay said, was to commit social suicide. He held that Sir John Glover, governor of the colony, 1866–72, understood this and therefore had given Lagos 'society' some directions. Glover collected at Government House the most prominent, intelligent and promising of the inhabitants of Lagos whom he created into a society, i.e. 'a union in one general interest, social sympathy, companionship'. This society had 'name and influence above any other, men and women aspired to become members of it and its doors were open to all who proved themselves (worthy)'. After Glover's departure, this society was left by successive governors to go 'moribund'. In 1883, according to Macaulay's account, it

was almost at death's door. With the cord of society thus broken, the various groups considered themselves to be of common social level; a new social egalitarianism developed, each group evolving its own code of rules. The divisions increased fear and suspicion, and forced each group to seek strength in unity; it was this that brought tribal sentiments and the formulation of tribal associations. Suspicions increased; jealousy, ill-will and rancour followed, judgment became perverted and man ceased to be estimated by his intrinsic worth.

Every entertainment that was directed from Government House was seen as 'an amelioration of the sad condition of Lagos society in the 1880s. In 1884 the press called for the governor to resume his position as 'Social Head' of Lagos.¹⁹

The governors themselves testified to the high level of civilised society in Lagos. Governor Young in 1885 said Lagos was his first contact with civilisation since he left England. The administrators of Lagos found it impossible to maintain the high level of social entertainment Lagos demanded, and requests for increases in

table allowances and salaries were frequent. Griffith described Lagos as 'the Queen of West African settlements'. He went on:

no single settlement on the West Coast can compare with Lagos in public expenditure, in imports, and exports, in population or in activity, enterprise, and wealth of her mercantile community. Her merchants are unbounded in their hospitality. They entertain liberally and place the choicest and most expensive services on their tables. Even the natives will offer champagne and moselle to visitors, they keep open house and everywhere a cordial welcome awaits the stranger.²⁰

Griffith asked for horses and a carriage because both the white and black merchants had them. The Colonial Office, in one of those priceless minutes, thought mules and carriage would suit the deputy governor best.

Although the atmosphere of the 1880s was one of relatively free and easy social mobility, the Saros showed a compulsive need to be accepted and respected by the whites. The press, sometimes by abuse, at other times by encouragement, hoped to jolt the educated Africans into a sense of 'respectable' consciousness, believing that self-respect would attract the respect of the whites.²¹ It therefore called for those qualities which produced 'true manhood'. When, in 1881, the editors of the *Lagos Times* called for government intervention to end the fighting in the hinterland, they declared: 'we do not ask for this interference because we wish to depend helplessly upon the Government; we hate a miserable dependence and would always readily advocate independent native efforts in everything';²² but ethnic differences would make it impossible. The Saros brought a strong moral purpose to their concept of government. They reminded the government that whenever they took exception to certain government measures this was not in 'a fastidious or captious spirit', but because they believed that Britain was in Lagos for philanthropic reasons, and had a trust to discharge, a 'responsibility' to rule and it must therefore promote 'the comfort of the people'. The press saw its role as providing a 'respectable' channel of communication between people and government. The word 'respectable' sums up the character of the politics of the educated élite in Lagos in the 1880s.²²

The indigenes were hostile to the Saros, the Brazilians and Europeans, but most of all to the Saros. As Dr Brown put it, they

grouped all non-indigenes as 'immigrants, foreigners, visitors or unwanted interlopers'.²³ Consul Campbell stated that the hostility of the natives towards the Saros was a result of their jealousy because of the 'superior intelligence and higher social position obtained by them (Saros) over the native, who do not hesitate openly to express their aversion to men, who, they state, were sold from this place only a few years since, and who have now returned so much their superiors, occupying a considerable portion of the best part of town and enjoying so large a portion of its trade'.²⁴ But the political and cultural identification the Saros and the Brazilians displayed towards their 'kith and kin' in the hinterland was by no means paralleled in their attitude to the indigenes of Lagos. The attitude of the Saros to the indigene in the 1880s was at best patronising, if not condescending. Lagos, to use their own phrase, was an off-shoot of Sierra Leone. They did not advocate an 'indirect rule' system for Lagos. Lagos was to them a land of opportunity, with admittedly bitter memories, but it was not their birthplace. They did not feel they belonged. There is no evidence that any of the Saros or Brazilians tried to identify with the indigenes or that such an overture would have been welcome.²⁵

The Brazilians²⁵ came off a little better in the eyes of the indigenes, although when they first arrived in the 1840s their property was confiscated by Oba Kosoko. However, the British, on their arrival in Lagos, gave the Brazilians protection and Governor Moloney actively encouraged their repatriation.²⁶ By 1888 there were 3,221 Brazilians in Lagos. Many were skilled artisans, and several buildings in Lagos today testify to the architectural influence of Brazil—e.g. the Holy Cross Catholic Cathedral, Shitta Bay Mosque, Central Mosque. The pattern of their social life was an amalgam of Brazilian and Yoruba customs, although the latter predominated.²⁷ Consul Campbell in the 1850s states that they were far more culturally assimilable to the indigenes than the Sierra Leoneans. But there is little evidence that they completely identified with the Lagosians. Instead, several of them went inland, especially to Ilesha, where they changed their names and became assimilated within the traditional structure.²⁷

White society, which was politically and commercially dominant, excited the jealousy of members of all the other three groups—Saro, Brazilian and indigene. Generally speaking, the whites were disappointed by the Saro, who after all were their own creation. Burton, Ellis, Musgrave and Kingsley have painted vivid enough

pictures of what the whites thought of 'the trousered African'.²⁸ Brown summed up the position of the Europeans and the Saros succinctly when he wrote:

The irony of the encounter between the European and the African along the coast is inescapable. The bearer of Western civilisation to the benighted African found that it more often debased than elevated. Whether missionary, explorer, trader or government official, he usually admired the native character and culture more than the hybrid pattern slowly emerging along the coast.²⁹

The Saro merchants were envious of the power of the European merchants, not only because legal redress for grievances against whites was unsatisfactory but also because of the powerful lobby in London which the whites exercised through the Liverpool and Manchester Chambers of Commerce. The assumption behind colonial rule, Dr Gordon explains, was 'Justice was too important a function to be administered according to the will of judges or the conscience of juries'. He found that colonial rule depended largely upon the absolute authority of the executive, therefore safeguards, such as are provided against arbitrary rule through courts, juries and lawyer, were subject to the exigencies of what he called 'the colonial situation'. The legal system in Lagos, he concluded, was designed primarily to safeguard white commercial interests and to support the authority of the executive.³⁰ Legal and commercial discriminations were therefore a constant cause of dismay to the Saros. By the 1890s the idea that the government was there primarily to guard European commercial interest was firmly established. The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce affirmed that the Lagos Government depended on the merchants and not the other way round.³¹

The Saros in the 1880s still believed that the British Government was committed to the report of the 1865 parliamentary commission on West Africa, which had recommended handing over most British possessions there back to the Africans.³² But the favourable trade condition before 1880 made this impossible. Lagos was good for business and therefore attracted a large influx of European merchants, with a 'frontier-like' mentality. The influx increased competition and decreased profits. The European merchants blamed the African merchants for spoiling trade, since as middlemen between the Europeans on the coast and the producers in the

hinterland, they were allegedly creaming off large profits from their less sophisticated brethren. The African merchants were further accused of promoting the current interior wars in their own interest, for although the wars closed the trade routes, the African merchants could still do business with their own peoples while the Europeans were not allowed to trade in the hinterland markets and towns.

The white merchants therefore tried to circumvent the danger of decreasing profits by establishing agents in the hinterland, thus eliminating the middleman, and ensuring that the trade routes were always open. To do this *pax Britannica* had to be established in the hinterland states. Since these states would not give up their sovereignty voluntarily, they had to be coerced into subjection. The effect of this policy was to push the educated élite (Saros principally) closer to the indigenous farmer and ruler and to forge a greater opposition to the white man.

Some radical Saros reacted against the discrimination and disparagement which they suffered at the hands of the whites. These were mainly clergymen, teachers, civil servants and a few merchants. Their following is difficult to evaluate but, for our purposes, it is enough to isolate their opinion, because it differs from that predominant in their society. They preached against the wholesale adoption of western cultural mores and were therefore the first generation of cultural nationalists or neo-traditional nationalists. The nationalists of the twentieth century built on the foundation laid by men like Bishop James Johnson, R. B. Blaize (Egba merchant and proprietor of the *Lagos Times*), the Rev. S. H. Pearce, I. H. Willoughby (wealthy Oyo-Ibadan merchant), the Rev. C. B. Macaulay and the Rev. Mojola Agbebi, leader of the first Nigerian breakaway church movement.³³ They resented their slow promotion in the church and civil service. The radicals complained about the extravagance of the civil service, where in 1880 over ₦54,000, out of a revenue of about ₦90,000, was paid in salaries and emoluments. This extravagance was said to result from the twelve-month tour system with six months' paid leave after each tour for all whites. The system also led to inefficiency, because no sooner had a civil servant learnt the fundamentals of his position than he was due for leave. The job was then filled in by a *locum tenens* who disrupted the rhythm of his predecessor. On the return of the substantive officer, new adjustments had again to be made until he was due to leave, when the whole process repeated itself.³⁴

But perhaps it is in the controversy over vernacular education that the attitude of the radicals is most clearly defined.

Education, English-style

The 1882 Education Ordinance sought to regulate the schools curriculum and conditions under which schools might obtain grants from the government. The ordinance made the teaching of English compulsory but made no provision for the teaching of Yoruba. The cultural nationalists reacted sharply saying that it seemed designed for a school in England rather than in Yoruba-speaking Lagos. One newspaper asked:

Is the ulterior motive behind the Education bill to promote the conquest of Africa by England morally through the English language and secure that morally which African fevers perhaps prevent it acquiring physically? We are British subjects but not Englishmen. We are Africans and have no other wish than to be Africans and in Lagos, Yoruba Africans.

The bill was indicative of 'the English belief that nothing which was not English was good, noble or excellent. Lagos would not sit tamely to witness the murder, death and burial of one of the important distinguishing national and racial marks that God has given us.' The system of education proposed by the 1882 Ordinance would produce the deepest contempt and prejudice in Yorubas for their own language. Surely, the radicals argued, 'the way to elevate a people is not first to teach them to entertain the lowest idea of themselves and make them servile imitators of others'. (How ridiculous, the *Lagos Times* pointed out, it would be to proscribe the teaching of English in England in preference to Russian, French or German.) Not only was there a great need for the teaching of Yoruba, the *Lagos Times* concluded, the schools ought to teach African geography, history and literature.³⁵ The agitation against the Education Ordinance was led by James Johnson.³⁶

These ideas met an immediate and violent response, led by Mr E. O. Macaulay, and J. Began Benjamin, the editors of the other two newspapers. Macaulay and Benjamin deprecated the racialism of the vernacular party which Benjamin described as 'this farrago

of nonsense', 'you Yoruba maniacs'. English was the language of civilisation and no one could enjoy 'refined society, by which we mean simply European society' without the English language. The *Lagos Observer* saw the opposition to the Education Ordinance as simply an attempt at emasculation. It attacked the arrogance of the 'Yoruba Party' for arrogating to itself the role of spokesman for Lagos. Mr E. O. Macaulay, largely echoing the *Observer*, stated that it was axiomatic for conquered peoples always to assume the custom and manners of the conquerors, 'everything . . .' he concluded, 'is pointing to an English future for Lagos'—dress, architecture, language.³⁷ The most violent of all the attacks on Johnson and his cohort came in a passionate article by an assimilated black, Dr Easmon, who talked of 'our innate ferocity, cruelty and vulgarity' which needed the agency of the white man in order to 'develop . . . attributes of right and justice, of social and moral worth'.³⁸

The vernacular controversy is crucial in an attempt to understand the mainspring of political dissent in the latter part of the nineteenth and indeed in the twentieth century. The argument of the vernacular party, whose membership cut across ethnic, religious or vocational lines, was essentially that those aspects of native life which accorded to the dignity of the Yoruba not merely of the African, ought to be preserved. It was a protest demonstrating that Africans were not, and could not be made, carbon-copy Englishmen. They argued that if Christianity when it came to Britain adapted itself to the conditions there, then in Nigeria also it ought to be willing to adapt to local conditions. The virulence of the attack engendered by this small protest is indicative of the incredible desire for acceptance into the white society exhibited by the Saros. Paradoxically the protest itself was also indicative of the craving for acceptance, since the protesters hoped that by emphasising their 'native' qualities they would obtain the same respect given by the whites to the unlettered Africans in the interior.

Summaries and conclusions

Enough has been said to depict the close relationship—political, lineal, religious and economic—between Lagos and the rest of Yorubaland. The elaborate protection system even in the face of war only confirms the importance of these connections. Yoruba-

land itself was engulfed in one war or another during most of the nineteenth century. But from the 1860s onwards a new power, that of Ibadan, dominated Yorubaland. By the 1870s virtually all the Yoruba states were allied in a war against Ibadan. So far as Lagos was concerned the war affected the fortunes of the 'passport' holders; it encouraged a feeling that the blockade by the Ijebu and Egba kingdoms harmed Lagos trade; to some it was inimical that the very livelihood of Lagos should be at the mercy of allegedly uncontrolled hinterland chiefs.

The war, however, divided opinion in Lagos: the Saros were divided along ethnic lines. The Egbas among them—J. W. Cole, J. J. Thomas, R. B. Blaize, J. S. Leigh, J. S. Bucknor, J. A. Savage, the Hon. C. J. George, Henry Robbin, and Robert A. Coker sought to use their influence to protect Egba interests. The Ekiti Parapo were the best organised ethnic group in Lagos. They were led by J. P. Haastrup and P. J. Meffres, who helped organise the training of artillery men to staff Ogedengbe's army. They organised the supply of arms and the movement of trade caravans through Itebu and Atijere to Ijeshaland and beyond.

Among prominent Ibadan and Oyo Saros were the Willoughbys, Mr Hethersett and Mr R. A. Scott. These men acted as confidants to the Are-Ona-Kakanfo, the Ibadan military supremo, and as effective publicists to the Lagos Government of the particular interests they represented. The Ijebus had James Johnson and J. A. O. Payne.

The causes of the Yoruba wars are too complex to be detailed here. I only mention the wars to show that even within the ranks of the Saros there were divisions and also to examine the reaction in Lagos to the conquest of Ijebu in 1892. By and large Governor Carter's 'Pacification' of Ijebu was welcomed by Lagos. But a small section of the educated élite in Lagos—Bishop James Johnson and Dr J. K. Randle, R. B. Blaize and J. S. Leigh—through their newspaper *The Echo* were uncompromising in their condemnation of Carter's aggression.

Political debate was virile and pungent. The newspaper editors—J. P. Jackson, E. O. Macaulay, J. B. Benjamin—were the forerunners of Herbert Macaulay and the Right Honourable Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe. Other fearless publicists include the Rev. James Johnson whose contribution to Nigerian development has been ably chronicled by Professor Ayandele in his *Holy Johnson*. It is still today a joy to note the verve and power in Bishop Johnson's

demolition of the Governor Carter's reasons for invading Ijebu in 1892.

The opposition to Carter's expedition represented a strand of opinion which was later to father nationalist thinking. Essentially, Carter's opponents were nationalists who argued that native institutions and forms of government, with necessary modifications, were best suited to the interior countries. They denied Britain's right to acquire any territory simply because she believed it was commercially advantageous to her interests. Although the defence of native institutions owed something to the shame the educated Africans felt at being disparaged by the whites as ridiculous caricatures, it was basically a reflection of the pride which the educated élite felt at being natives. There could be no nationalism without this pride. More important, the traditional élite responded after the pacification of 1892 more readily to the overtures of their 'trouserred brethren'. The opposition also saw the arrival of Dr J. K. Randle on the political scene. The events of 1892 provided his political training. Later he founded the People's Party which spear-headed the Water Rate Agitation of 1908 and came out against the Lugard Land Scheme of 1911. Unlike the other leaders of the agitation against the Education Ordinance and the separation of Lagos from the Gold Coast colony, who were either clergy or merchants, Randle was a professional. The 1892 agitation introduced professionals into the realm of Lagos politics. By 1900 the professionals—lawyers, surveyors, and doctors—had taken away the leadership of the opposition from merchants and clergymen.

If Jackson's support for Carter did not change, a large body of Lagos African opinion, after the pacification, became antagonistic to British policy. Some of this antagonism rubbed off on Jackson himself. There were several reasons for it. First, the hopes for commercial prosperity that the Ijebu expedition held out were not justified. Second, the attitude of the British officers and their Hausa troops to the chiefs and people produced widespread resentment which was translated to the educated élite in Lagos.

Let us briefly sum up the character of both élites between 1890 and 1900. Traditional politics permitted a fair degree of social mobility; under the Baba Isale device chiefs exploited their constitutional, religious, social and lineal connections to obtain monopolistic advantage for their private clients in the chiefly hierarchies, especially in the various market towns. The trade in the markets near Lagos was almost exclusively in the hands of the

indigenous Lagosians who exhibited no particular enthusiasm for pacification of the interior wars since the wars did not seem to affect their commercial positions. The traditional chiefs and their clients had a monopoly of the food supplies in Lagos and were not averse to using the threat to cut off Lagos food supplies, as in 1897, to gain a political advantage over the government. Few Saros were accepted into the traditional structure although commercial contact was inevitably maintained with Saro and white merchants who extended credits to the indigenous trader. This élite was traditional in the sense that no chiefs were educated in English and its wealth and status depended on the maintenance of traditional constitutional and kinship relations and clientele. Its position in the comparatively modern commercial economy of Lagos depended on these traditional characteristics.

The modern élite was that section of Lagos society which was distinguished by English education and roles in imported European institutions of administration, education and business—schoolmasters, government servants, clergy, servants of European firms and so on. Many of them were non-commercial and their prospects depended on promotion within the hierarchy on merit; the top of the hierarchy was, however, increasingly exclusive to Europeans who also dominated the society to which the Saros most wanted to belong. They tended, under the influence of white-dominated churches, schools, and firms, to despise the traditional élite as barbarous and backward. However, they had strong and close relations with the traditional élites of their up-country places of origin; for example, the Ekiti Parapo sent arms and personnel to their up-country relatives; and James Johnson showed practical loyalty to Ijebu.

Those of the modern élite who were merchants and traders, particularly traders, used their traditional élite connections up-country to get trade advantages or 'passports', in much the same way as the traditional élite of Lagos exploited their constitutional position in the markets from which the educated Saros were barred. Nevertheless, some up-country people brought produce to Lagos, by-passing the traditional markets and probably sold it to their fellow countrymen resident in Lagos. An important section of the modern élite was connected by ethnic loyalty—Hethersett, Payne, Johnson, Hasstrup—or by commercial interest—e.g. Robbin Blaize, J. P. L. Davies, J. J. Thomas, C. J. George, all of whom had shops at Abeokuta—not to the traditional élite of Lagos but to the

traditional élites of the hinterland. This explains their concern with up-country politics. In Lagos their representatives lobbied the government on behalf of the various countries inland or supplied arms to the combatants of the interior wars. Most of them were western-orientated in outlook and values.

The growth of Islam in Lagos had been phenomenal. It was first introduced round about 1770 by the Oba's slaves but was soon banned. It went underground but under the patronage of Oba Idewu Ojulari (some say Oba Adele, others Oba Kosoko), for which he was asked to commit suicide by his people, it was revived again. In 1862 there were only about 800 Muslims in Lagos. In 1881 there were 14,000 out of a population of 42,000. There were then 21 mosques, 8 other places of worship, 39 Islamic schools, 21 priests, 21 assistant priests and one Chief Imam. The census of 1891 showed that over 50% of the population were Muslims, Christians constituted 20%, animists and others 25%. The Islamic community in Lagos had, however, been plagued with divisions. In 1876 a split occurred over whether or not the Quran alone should be the basis of preaching. Some argued that *Tafsir* (*Tafusiru*) or commentaries should use other sources to supplement the Quran. The purists broke away and became known as the Alukurani Sect; by far the larger group called themselves the Jamat Muslims. The division was a potent cause of conflict in Lagos politics and society right through to the 1940s.¹⁹

In a town with this number of Muslims it was obviously in the interest of the Oba to control, if possible, the appointment to important posts among the Muslims. Indeed, by the turn of the century the Muslim élite was co-extensive with the traditional élite. In fact, nearly all holders of traditional titles had been Muslims before taking office when tradition enjoined them to become animists. But the most fascinating fact about Islam in Lagos was that it was through the religion that a sizable number of Saros or more correctly Akus gained acceptance and identification with the traditional élite; these include the Shitta Beys, Tihamiyi Bashorun Savage and a host of others. More important, however, has been the persistence of the traditional society in the face of modern innovations which, *prima facie*, are inexorably bent to the destruction of the indigenous society. Credit is due to the traditional institutions because of their ability to adapt to rapid change.

Notes

- 1 See ch. 1 above.
- 2 ADAMS, Capt. John: *Remarks on the country extending from Cape Palmas to the river Congo*, London, 1823, pp. 95-100.
- 3 ELLIS, A. B., *The Yoruba Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, London, 1894, pp. 14-15.
- 4 BURTON, Sir Richard, *Wanderings in West Africa*, London, 1863, p. 235.
- 5 WHITFORD, John, *Trading Life in Western and Central Africa*, 2nd ed., London, 1967, p. 86.
- 6 FOOTE, Mrs Henry Grant, *Recollections of Central America and the West Coast of Africa*, London, 1869, p. 195.
- 7 WHITFORD, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
- 8 BURTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224.
- 9 See FOOTE, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-200; BURTON, *op. cit.*, vol. 11, p. 213, and CAMPBELL, Robert, *A Pilgrimage to my Motherland*, Philadelphia, 1860, p. 18.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 191.
- 11 WHITFORD, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- 12 Oba and Chiefs Ordinance, 22, 8 October, 1959, House of Representative Debates, 1959.
- 13 See (a) *Eagle and Lagos Critic*, Sept. and Oct., 1888. (b) KOPYTOFF, I. H., *A Preface to Modern Nigeria*, Madison, 1965, p. 171 and 249. (c) MABOGUNJE, A. L., *Urbanization in Nigeria*, London, 1968, pp. 243-4. (d) Blue Books for 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931.
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- 20 Public Record Office, London. CO 147/40 no. 100 Ussher to Kimberley, 30 April, 1880; no. 46, same to same, 5 March, 1880.
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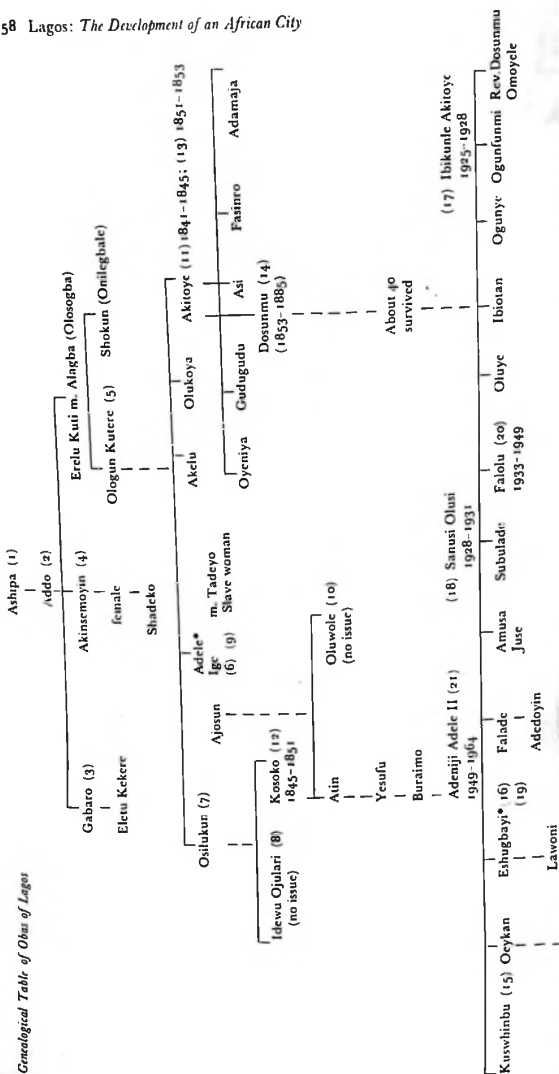
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Appendix I

Genealogical Table of Obasi of Lagos



The Federal Capital: Changing Constitutional Status and Intergovernmental Relations

B. A. WILLIAMS

Introduction

The creation of twelve States is perhaps the most significant development in the Nigerian political system in recent years. This development has not only altered the structure of the federal



3.1 *City Hall, Lagos*

system decisively, it has also given rise to new intergovernmental problems. One such problem is the emergence of the Lagos State as a constituent unit of the Nigerian Federation and the change in the constitutional status of Lagos which now serves in a dual

capacity as the capital both of Nigeria and of the Lagos State.

Although a direct consequence of structural and constitutional change in the Nigerian federal system, the new dual status of Lagos and the administrative relations it entails are little understood. While this is in part due to the fact that the situation is new, the full administrative implications of this arrangement cannot be assessed with any degree of realism without reference to the relevant social and political context. The dual status of Lagos will therefore be assessed on an empirical basis, bearing in mind that constitutional and juridical arrangements influence and help determine actual administrative relations.

The aim of this paper is to survey the major changes in the constitutional status of Lagos; to determine the general administrative pattern to which these various changes have given rise; and to assess the inter-governmental relations during the period spanned by these changes with special reference to the relations between the Lagos State and the Federal Government.

Historical development of government in Lagos: 1861-1952

Originally a traditional city state, Lagos became a British colony in 1861 with its own administration which consisted of a governor, a legislative council and an executive council. In 1866, it was included in the 'West African settlements' under a governor-in-chief resident in Sierra Leone to whom a local administrator in Lagos and a legislative council were subservient. In 1874, the government of Lagos and Colony was placed under the Governor of the Gold Coast. Twelve years later, in 1886, Lagos was given a new charter and a separate administration under a governor who was advised by the Lagos Legislative Council. This arrangement continued until 1914 when modern Nigeria emerged as a single state with Lagos as its capital. From this period on, local government in Lagos operated under various enabling statutes and carried out duties and functions as were defined and determined from time to time.

The inception of local government in Lagos, however, coincided with the turn of the century. Between 1899 and 1904, the need for local government was recognised by the establishment of a Sanitary Board of Health which sat under the governor and advised the government of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria on many

township improvement schemes. In the subsequent period, 1909 to 1917, the Lagos Municipal Board of Health emerged as the main institution of local government. This body was vested with considerable powers and functions; and though without any permanent staff of its own, it undertook many of the township improvement schemes which were previously carried out by the central administration.

Development in local government in Lagos took a new direction from 1917, when, with the passing of the Township Ordinance, Lagos became a first class township and was granted its first representative council which, in law, could have from six to twelve members. In practice, however, the council had six members: three were elected triennially to represent the township wards, while the remaining three were appointed by the governor. This arrangement was only slightly changed in 1923 when provisions were made for limited representative membership.

Between 1940 and 1950, the constitution and power of the Lagos Town Council were drastically changed. In 1941 the council was authorised to levy tenement rates (real property taxes) for township purposes. Furthermore, in 1950 it was granted a greater measure of self-government, an entirely elected membership and the post of a mayor.

At this juncture, it should be noted that the constitutional status and the administration of Lagos changed considerably between 1861 and 1952. First, in the period 1861 to 1900, Lagos was governed and administered by a central administration which was not distinguished from a local administration. The jurisdiction of the then existing Lagos Legislative Council was confined to Lagos and its policy responsibility was primarily in terms of the administration of the township. Secondly, during the period 1900 to 1914 local government began, with the creation of the Sanitary Board of Health (1899-1904), the Native Central Council (1900-1914) and the Municipal Board of Health (1909-1917) as steps along the way.

Thirdly, representative local government, which conforms to the traditional two-tier arrangement in a unitary state and which subsists on the legal enactments of a superior or higher-level government, existed in Lagos in the period 1917 to 1952. And fourthly, during the 1866-1952 period, in spite of the changing nomenclature of the central administration, there was hardly any serious inter-governmental problem in respect of Lagos.

Federalism and inter-governmental relations in Lagos:

1953-1966: Lagos under the Western Region Government

This arrangement is in contrast to the situation in the subsequent period (1953-1966) when changes in political structure in Nigeria led to the adoption of a federal constitution. During this period, the constitutional status of the city as well as its powers of local government fluctuated considerably. Thus, in 1953, Lagos was absorbed into the newly created Western Region, which consequently promulgated the Lagos Local Government Law of 1953 (W.R. No. 4 of 1953) and made local government in Lagos subject to regional control. The same act provided that the Lagos Town Council should be invigilated by the Ministry of Local Government of Western Nigeria, abolished the office of mayor in the city, formally provided for the participation of traditional chiefs in the city council, and established the Oba of Lagos as president of the council.

Thus, between 1953 and 1954, Lagos had a dual constitutional status. Although a component part of Western Nigeria with its local government constitutionally vested in that region, it was also capital of Nigeria. Unavoidably, therefore, two higher-level governments, plus a local government, were directly involved in the administration of Lagos. While its general administration was undertaken by the Lagos Town Council as an agency of the Government of Western Nigeria, clusters of administrative functions were undertaken by the Federal Government through several ministries and statutory corporations. The Federal Government was further involved in administration in Lagos through its role in the maintenance of public order which was undertaken by the Nigeria Police.

There was thus divided administrative responsibility as well as conflict of jurisdiction in Lagos, both of which led to serious inter-governmental problems. The most crucial consequence of this situation was the general inertia in respect of outstanding urban problems and the lack of adequate planning of complementary functions on the basis of a wide range of factors.

1953-1966: Lagos under the Federal Government

In 1954 Lagos was excised from the Western Region and five years later reconstituted into federal territory under the Lagos Local

Government Act of 1959 (No. 18 of 1959). By this arrangement which continued until 1966, Lagos was brought under the control of the Federal Government and a Ministry of Lagos Affairs (and later Ministry of Internal Affairs) was created to invigilate and superintend the Lagos Town Council in place of the Western Nigeria Ministry of Local Government.

As a result of 'federalisation', however, the Federal Government inherited regional functions for the city from the Western Region Government. This meant a reversion to pre-federal relations between the central administration and the Municipality of Lagos. Furthermore, the exclusion of the Western Region from policy responsibility in the city eliminated the former conflict of jurisdiction between two higher-level governments.

Although this created a situation in which normal inter-governmental relations prevailed between a local and superior government, it did not completely solve the problem of conflict of jurisdiction between the Federal Government and the Lagos City Council. This, however, should be discussed in the context of the role of the Federal Government in the administration of Lagos which involved direct policy-making and operating responsibilities.

Federal policy responsibility in the city was carried out by several ministries, their constituent departments and subordinate statutory corporations, while the bulk of operating responsibilities were in practice and law delegated to the Lagos City Council. The Ministry of Lagos Affairs, however, occupied a central place in the federal role by virtue of two important functions it performed: it exercised the powers of a superior government over the Lagos City Council and it co-ordinated and synchronised the policies and programmes of all the other federal ministries and institutions affecting Lagos.

Fragmented authority and administration in Lagos

However, the dominant role of the Ministry of Lagos Affairs in policy-making and of the Lagos City Council in operating functions did not eliminate the serious conflict of jurisdiction which had all along plagued the administration of Lagos. This took the form of divided and overlapping responsibility in several spheres, for instance in transport, water, and health.

While the Lagos City Council had responsibility for bus and

stage-carriage transport, ferries were the charge of the Board of Inland Waterways. Intra-city and suburban train services, on the other hand, were provided by the Nigerian Railway Corporation which accounted to the Ministry of Transport. Responsibility for water and sewage service was similarly divided. The Lagos Water Supply, a unit of the Federal Ministry of Works, undertook production, storage and purification of public water supply. While this agency distributed water to industrial users in the city, the Lagos City Council financed distribution to domestic users. This same situation applied to health, which was split between the Federal Ministry of Health and Lagos City Council along curative and preventive lines.

This situation of divided responsibility for critical urban services militated against expansion and improvement of these services, since each of the relevant agencies took an exclusive view of its role rather than a comprehensive view of the demand for the service; nor was co-operation between the two levels easily effected.

While the Lagos City Council, through its functionaries and councillors, was in a more direct line of communication with the populace and could feel the urban pulse with greater certainty, experience had shown that unfettered operation by this authority could lead to grave malpractices. The consideration provided social justification in support of the legal provision that the Lagos City Council should be invigilated by the Ministry of Lagos Affairs. Yet the Ministry of Lagos Affairs itself suffered from several functional limitations. It was, for instance, regarded as an instrument of alien domination in Lagos in view of the great suspicion with which N.P.C. leadership at the federal level was viewed at the time. This consideration inhibited the Ministry of Lagos Affairs in the performance of its functions and distorted the ends of administration.

But even when viewed from an administrative angle, the Ministry of Lagos Affairs was ill-equipped to carry out its co-ordinating and invigilating responsibilities. Apart from falling an occasional victim of the malpractices it was meant to prevent, it lacked officers who possessed the requisite administrative skill for its co-ordinating function. Consequently, it had to rely on other federal ministries in its efforts to supervise the LCC, and in particular to approve LCC estimates.

The Ministry's power to approve estimates would appear aptly suited for administrative control and co-ordination, and therefore

deserves some consideration. The practice of the Ministry of Lagos Affairs was to forward sections of the LCC's estimates (e.g. education) to appropriate Federal Ministries (education) for comment and advice. This proved unsatisfactory and worked against desired co-ordination and control in two respects. First, the appropriate federal ministry (e.g. education) regarded this responsibility as extraneous or secondary to its main task. Consequently action was usually delayed, with the result that LCC budget approval might not occur until the approach of the subsequent year. Secondly, the universe of reference employed by each of the federal ministries was unavoidably smaller than that employed in drafting LCC's estimates. The result was that the advice of the several ministries was not co-ordinated, an end that the Ministry of Lagos Affairs sought to achieve by collating disparate advice of various federal ministries on LCC functions.

Inter-governmental relations and metropolitan problems

The major administrative problems of Lagos as federal territory—divided responsibility for various functions, and the consequent impairment of urban services with respect to their planning, extension and improvement—existed also in the metropolitan area. As a result of rapid population growth in the decade that followed federalisation of the city and the adoption of federalism in Nigeria, the population of Lagos metropolitan area tripled. The result was the emergence of an area of human conurbation which disregarded existing local government jurisdiction between the Municipality of Lagos and the other principalities and which formed an integrated economic unit for everyday purposes. This situation created an unprecedented demand for urban services within the city and the metropolitan fold, and underscored the inadequacy of urban infrastructure, financial resources and administrative capability required to tackle the problem.

In these circumstances, the responsibility of the various governmental authorities in the metropolitan area, although legally and constitutionally distinct, were interlinked by human demand as well as by a short-fall in the supply of vital urban services.

In this context, inter-governmental problems in Lagos and its metropolitan fold were inextricably linked and therefore should be viewed as constituting one problem. In terms of the metropolitan

area, this involved relations between two higher level governments, the Federal Government which was constitutionally responsible for government in Lagos as a federal territory and the Western Region Government which was constitutionally responsible for government in the metropolitan area, comprising the Mushin District Council, the Ajeromi District Council, the Ikeja District Council and the Agege District Council.

The role of the Western Region in the metropolitan area, however, paralleled that of the Federal Government in Lagos and therefore deserves further consideration. First, it established and supervised the four district councils in the area. Second, its Ministry of Local Government occupied a central position in the administration of the metropolitan area. Third, other Western Ministries, notably Economic Planning and Community Development, Lands and Housing, Trade and Industry, Transport and Works, Labour, Education, and Health and Social Welfare, were directly involved in development and administration in the area and supervised appropriate activities were delegated to the district councils.

Governmental structure and urban administration

The metropolitan dimension of inter-governmental problems can best be viewed in terms of the lack of a unified governmental structure, the multiplicity of governmental authorities and the absence of mechanism for urban-wide planning. An outstanding consequence of this was the situation of unequal resources and unequal urban services between sections of the urban community. While there was a preponderance of financial resources and administrative capability in Lagos, there was great deficiency in urban infrastructure, financial resources and administrative expertise in the metropolitan area where urban services were most needed. There was thus a divergent pattern of urban services in an urban community that had virtually become one. In this respect, domestic water supply was cheaper in Lagos than in the metropolitan area; conservancy service was free in Lagos but was paid for in the metropolitan area; and health and domiciliary centres abound in Lagos but hardly exist in the metropolitan area.

The geographic and functional diffusion of authority in Lagos sustained inertia in dealing with the long-range requirements of

the urban complex—an inertia that was an outgrowth on the one hand, of the political climate and, on the other hand, of the structural arrangement under which no unit was responsible for area-wide issues and local governments had little influence on policy. The challenges posed by rapid urban growth thus fell between many governmental stools.

At the operating level of urban administration, lack of co-operation frequently raised the cost and reduced the output to the public of government projects and services. A most important problem involved was land. The Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) required cheap and plentiful land for low-income housing. Such land as was then available was located outside the Federal Territory, where the agency was not legally empowered to act. The result was that the costs of public housing and land reclamation in Lagos were higher than they should have been. At the same time, the programmes of the Western Region Housing Corporation in Ikeja were in no way co-ordinated with those of the LEDB. The routes and operating schedules of buses, ferries, and trains in the area did not complement one another and it was frequently necessary to use more than one mode for a journey to work. An example of difficulties of narrower scope was the attempt by the city officials to prevent vehicles licensed by the Western Region to operate public transportation services in the city in contravention of local traffic and transportation regulations.

Structural fragmentation in the Lagos metropolitan area was also reinforced by political conflict (and vice versa) and by the tendencies of each agency and government to act in isolation and to take a defensive attitude towards an outsider's interference. Thus when the Federal Government called a meeting in 1964 to discuss proposals for reorganisation made by the United Nations technical assistance team, the Western Region delegation did not attend. Both federal and regional agencies tended to regard their project proposals as secret documents; for example, schemes which were under consideration for a central sewage system in Lagos were never released to the public, to local governments, or to other interested parties.

Although this divergent pattern of urban services could have been mitigated by a modification of the existing structure of government in metropolitan Lagos, this proved impossible, for political reasons. Underlying this situation was an inter-governmental relationship involving intensive conflict between the

Western Region and the Federal Government. The Western Region was not only opposed to 'federalisation' of metropolitan Lagos but argued that the federal territory should be returned to it while interests within the Federal Government and in parts of the metropolis wanted the federal territory to be extended to encompass Ikeja, where the Western Region had concentrated much of its investment in both public facilities and industrial-commercial development. Furthermore, inter-governmental co-operation involving informal mechanism did not feature as an alternative solution.

The Lagos State in Lagos

It was against this background of fragmented authority and thwarted initiative in local government, of the growing inadequacy of urban services and the general stalemate on urban-wide planning, that the Lagos State was created in 1967. The new state incorporated the City of Lagos and its metropolitan hinterland and thus eliminated the Federal Government and the Western Region Government from policy and operating responsibilities in the Lagos area. In effect, it removed the conflict of jurisdiction between these two higher-level governments as well as the poor inter-governmental relations among five local authorities. Furthermore, it created an opportunity for developing a unified policy in local government, with the prospect of an increasing rationalisation of urban-wide services.

While this was the most rational arrangement yet achieved for governing the Lagos area since Nigeria adopted federalism, considering that it involved the least conflict of jurisdiction, it conferred a dual status on Lagos as capital of Nigeria and of the Lagos State. As it was strongly felt in some circles that this dual status would lead to serious conflict between the Federal Government and the Lagos State, the constitutional basis of the arrangement, as well as the probable administrative relations to which it may lead, deserve consideration.

The dual status of Lagos forms part of the general argument as to the criterion that should govern the location of federal capitals, that is, whether a federal capital should be sited on a special federal territory or whether it should exist as part of a constituent-unit of the federation. The empirical and historic situation is that there is

no right answer or formula. Federal capitals are based on special territories as with Brasilia, Canberra and Washington or on the territory of constituent-units as with Ottawa, Kuala Lumpur, and Vienna. The decision on this question in each case has been largely fortuitous, governed and determined by the particular experience of the relevant federation. Furthermore, such decision usually forms an integral part of the set of complex compromises which result in an equilibrium situation reflected by the federal structure or the federal agreement.

The constitutional basis of dual status

Viewed on this basis, the dual status of Lagos is part of the Nigerian settlement as embodied and fashioned by Decree No. 27 of 1967, which defined the constituent-units of the federation, their areas as well as their powers *vis-à-vis* the federation. Among state powers as enumerated in the decree and universally construed is local government. The decree confers policy responsibility on Lagos State for governing Lagos and its metropolitan area, as it does on North Central State in respect of Kaduna and on the Rivers State in respect of Port Harcourt. This is the essence of the constitutional arrangement by which responsibility for local government in Lagos is vested in the Lagos State.

It is further argued that the existence of Lagos as a local authority under the Lagos State and its status as capital of Nigeria are anomalous, and that this implies a situation of perennial conflict between the Lagos State and the Federal Government, whose operation is seen as ultimately threatened. This position fails to accept the fact that all the states are constituent-units of Nigeria and that, where appropriate, federal laws would equally apply to them. Nor does it appreciate the fact that to derogate from this principle would be to undermine the structure of Nigeria on the basis of twelve states. Even if it was felt that some alteration should be made in the existing arrangement in the twelve-state structure, this would certainly be on the basis of a principle that would apply equally to all the states.

Two questions, however, seem important: how valid is the apprehension that predicts an inter-governmental relationship of conflict between the Lagos State and the Federal Government, with the consequent threatening of federal interests? And does this warrant a change in the existing structure of the federation? This

prognosis is manifestly not justified by any reasonable understanding of the operations of federal systems in general and of the existing pattern of federal/state competence in Nigeria. This is borne out by the fact that sovereignty as supreme legal and political power belongs to the federation and not to any state. Further, defence and police, without which no state can function, are federal responsibilities. Viewed on this basis, an impasse is not likely to arise between any state and the Federal Government. But even if such an impasse should arise, in spite of the situation that led to the recent civil war, it could only rest on a political basis. And the preponderance of real power on the federal side, in terms of defence and police, would expedite a solution that would favour the Federal Government.

The joint committee and transitional arrangement

In addition to the constitutional arrangements which gave rise to dual status, the emergent administrative pattern should be assessed in the context of the transitional arrangement between the old and the new status.

The Federal Government which created the twelve states fully realised the difficulties and friction that could arise from the dual status of Lagos. Thus it took the initiative through the Supreme Military Council to appoint the *Joint Committee on Administrative and Financial Arrangements for the Transfer of Functions from the Federal Government to the Lagos State Government*. This committee comprised senior officials of the Federal Government and the Lagos State Government and was enjoined primarily 'to undertake a further study of the problems that might arise from Lagos serving as dual capital'. Among other things, it was also directed to examine whether personal income tax and stamp duties in Lagos should be transferred to the Lagos State. The recommendations of the joint committee were submitted to the Federal Government which has since approved them. The joint committee proposed several strategies and recommendations for a transitional period. First, pending the submission of its report, the joint committee recommended an interim arrangement for the administration of Lagos. This was to the effect that the existing federal ministries with policy and operating responsibilities in Lagos should carry on meanwhile; that such ministries should keep the military governor of the Lagos State informed of their work; and that ultimate policy

responsibility in respect of these functions should lie with the military governor. Furthermore, the budget for the initial period, 1967-68, was formulated by the Federal Government, though it was understood that the Lagos State Government would assume this responsibility as soon as it was able to do so.

Second, the joint committee evolved certain principles and procedures to guide the transfer of functions. These can be considered under three heads: (1) guiding principles, (2) procedure, and (3) areas and issues of potential conflict on dual status.

With regard to guiding principles, the joint committee noted that before the creation of the Lagos State the Federal Government, as regional authority for Lagos, made legislation for Lagos on matters within the competence of regional governments and performed regional functions there through appropriate federal ministries. Thus while the regional government had their own set of laws which were applicable to their respective areas, Lagos also had its own, for instance, the Lagos Local Government Act, the Oba and Chiefs of Lagos Act, Income Tax (Rents) Act, Lagos Town Planning Act, Lagos Education Act. At the same time, the Federal Ministry of Lagos Affairs, Mines and Power, later known as the Ministry of Internal Affairs, was the co-ordinating federal ministry in respect of matters affecting the federal territory, and was responsible for the affairs of the Lagos City Council and the Lagos Executive Development Board.

The committee further noted that this arrangement should change in view of the creation of the Lagos State. As the City of Lagos is part of the Lagos State and as local government falls within state competence, the Federal Government should cease to exercise the regional functions it had previously assumed in Lagos. Furthermore, any contrary arrangement would be repugnant to the spirit of the constitution; it would also be contrary to the Constitution (Miscellaneous Provisions) (No. 2) Decree 1967 which vested the twelve states with regional functions and powers.

The implication of this position was that the federal ministries and departments would have to consult with the Lagos State in the future when their duties lead them into spheres of responsibility of the Lagos State Government. This view can best be illustrated with landed properties on which the constitutional right of the Lagos State and the functional requirements of the Federal Government converge. While it is recognised that landed properties are within state competence and define state-federal relations in general, it is

also recognised that the Federal Government may need to acquire more land in Lagos for the efficient performance of its duties. Thus land acquires a special significance in Lagos which, as federal capital, has a greater concentration of federal institutions than any other town in Nigeria.

Nonetheless, the committee felt that the most desirable arrangement would be for the Federal Government or its functionaries to go through the same processes for obtaining their (landed) requirements in Lagos as they would do in other states of the federation. This arrangement, they felt, would reduce the probabilities of disagreements between the officials of the Federal and Lagos State Governments.

The transfer of functions was obviously guided by the principle of co-operative federalism, which at the least requires a recognition and an affirmation of the rights and duties of each government as constitutionally prescribed. Further, it requires mutual respect and inter-governmental co-operation, to be achieved through the active consent and co-operation of each government when either government contemplates actions which encroach on the other's spheres.

The transfer of functions from the Federal Government to the Lagos State was implemented on the basis of three specific principles that the joint committee derived from the constitution for this purpose.

The first principle was that all regional functions with appurtenant physical and human assets should be transferred. This end was partially fulfilled under the Federal Government Notice No. 992 of 11 June, 1967.

The second principle was that where a function or an institution was shared and could not be declared regional or federal on the basis of a relevant criterion, the Federal and the Lagos State Governments should resolve responsibility by negotiation.

The third principle was that the transfer of personnel, in accordance with the transfer of function, should be governed by secondment and resecondment. This means that an officer engaged on a function to be transferred would in the first instance be seconded to the Lagos State Government for eighteen months. He must, however, choose within nine months whether to remain with the Lagos State Government or return to the federal service. If he should opt to return to the federal service, he should be reseconded within three months of stating his preference.

Transition and dual status problems

The procedure by which the actual transfer was effected involved two basic considerations. The first was designed to identify and separate regional functions from the existing schedule of responsibilities of each federal ministry. To achieve this, an inventory of the functions of each federal ministry was prepared and set against a list of similar functions that the Lagos State would be performing. Thereafter, each federal ministry was requested to give advice on possible areas of conflict between the functionaries of the two governments. And finally, the functions were examined one by one with a view to eliminating such areas of conflicting interests.

The second consideration sought to determine the relevance of the experience of federal countries with dual-status capitals, the problems resulting from dual status and their appropriate solution through political, administrative or legislative action. After considering the advice of the Federal Ministries of Justice and External Affairs and the views of the Lagos State Government, the joint committee was convinced that the problem of a dual-status capital was, in each case, unique. This confirmed its initial view that a peculiarly Nigerian solution was inevitable.

The transfer of functions was effected on the whole without any serious inter-governmental conflict and with the least disruption of administrative services. This can be attributed largely to the fact that it was undertaken on the basis of guidelines and procedures derived from broad constitutional principles. Some areas of difficulty could not be solved satisfactorily on this basis, however, thus supporting the view that inter-governmental relations and administrative problems may well transcend the provision of the constitution; and that they should be solved pragmatically, as much within the framework of the constitution as in the context of the political and social ethos.

Three controversial issues—education, public order and protocol—deserve some mention if only because they serve to illustrate the characteristic problem of dual status and the appropriate approach to their solution. With regard to educational functions (secondary and primary), the transfer of King's College and Queen's College provoked some controversy. The Federal Ministry of Education had made a case against the transfer of the two institutions on the grounds that they would be needed to fulfil federal functions in line with the newly established inter-regional

(or interstate) secondary institutions. Against this position were the Lagos State Government and the joint committee which urged the transfer of the same institutions on three grounds: that secondary education is defined in schedule 2 of Decree 27 of 1967 as a state and not federal subject; that the legal or constitutional basis of the Federal Ministry of Education's involvement in secondary education was doubtful, and that institutions like King's College in other states (Government College, Keffi, or Government College, Ughelli) have been transferred to the states concerned.

Pending a final decision on this question, the Federal Ministry of Education retains responsibility for King's College and Queen's College. This means that the Federal Government will continue to be engaged in secondary education in Lagos which is rightly regarded as a state subject, and as the Lagos State is responsible for secondary education within its jurisdiction, a situation could arise in which two different policies, one by the Federal Government and the other by the Lagos State Government, may exist in the same city. In such an event the Federal Ministry of Education and the Lagos State Ministry of Education should meet to find ways and means of harmonising the policies of their respective governments.

A variant of the same theme is the matter of educational broadcasts for which both governments have responsibility. As the Lagos State Government may not establish its own radio station in the future as the former regions did, both governments will have to depend on the services of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation for the time being and the officials of both governments responsible for education broadcasts must meet to co-operate and co-ordinate their respective programmes.

Protocol, as an aspect of external affairs, is an exclusive federal subject. From time to time the Federal Government will play host to foreign visitors in Lagos, and there will be ceremonials which will bring both governments together. To avoid embarrassment, the Federal Government should inform the Lagos State Government in advance about arrangements for such ceremonials, and both governments should meet and lay down a definite order of precedence for all ceremonials in which both are involved.

Although public order is on the concurrent list, day-to-day maintenance of law and order is a state responsibility. Because this may conflict with the special interests of the Federal Government in Lagos which is the federal capital, the Federal Government may

seek modification of the existing law for public order in Lagos or promulgate a subsidiary law whereby it will be empowered to issue instructions on public order in Lagos from time to time. On the other hand, this may be regarded as unnecessary in view of the existing arrangement by which the Lagos State, or any other state, depends on the services of the State Commissioner of Police to enforce public order, and by which the commissioner must first obtain clearance from the Inspector-General of Police before carrying out any significant instruction from the Lagos State Government.



3.2 *State House, Lagos*

Whatever the ultimate arrangement for public order, it is important that there should be close co-operation between the two governments in matters of security as well as in all other matters. But if the Federal Government should ultimately have power to issue instructions on public order, this should take precedence over any provision of an existing state law, provided the instruction is issued in the interest of security.

This discussion on education, protocol and public order is meant to illustrate the range of problems that conceivably could arise under a situation of dual status. While they do not exhaust dual status problems which have arisen in Lagos, they suggest an

approach to the solutions of those which are still outstanding: Victoria Island, lands, slum clearance, etc.

In conclusion, it seems apparent that dual status problems are characterised in operational terms by a conflict between the constitutional right of one government and what is functionally expedient for the other. As the Lagos experience amply shows, this type of problem should be solved neither on the basis of full deference to constitutional principle nor by giving full play to expediency, but rather by a judicious and pragmatic combination of both.

In tackling the problems of dual status, the spirit of conciliation and mediation must also be made apparent and operative. As the experience of the joint committee shows, when dual status problems were posed hypothetically, solutions usually proved impossible. Indeed, the problems posed by dual status are amenable to solution as long as officials of the relevant governments have recourse to constitutional principles and have given consideration to the social intent of function. In all these, the spirit of co-operative federalism must feature. It is the key to the solution of current problems of dual status and the only means of solving future problems of this character, the gravity and complexity of which can hardly be imagined.

The solution of dual-status problems in Lagos through co-operative federalism provides an instructive lesson for the Nigerian federal system in areas and problems which are beyond and are unconnected with Lagos. The essence of this lesson is that constitutional and juridical arrangements never suffice as an adequate means for solving the problems of a polity. The solution to these problems must be guided by a life-style which may be ideological in terms of a set of doctrines, or pragmatic in terms of a functional orientation that is geared to workable solutions. This view is aptly reflected in the 'Report on the Financial and Administrative Arrangements in Capitals of Federal Countries'. According to the author of that Report, Mr J. Harvey Perry:

The conclusion to be drawn is clear. No final and universal principles have been established for organising the capitals of federal countries. Experience shows only that certain devices work in one country which would not work at all in another, and that even these same devices will not work under one set of conditions whereas they may have worked

excellently in the same country under a different set of conditions. In short, there are no ready-made solutions applicable to all circumstances. Each country must take account of its own particular problems and find solutions to meet these problems.

This conclusion has this most important result: that if a solution is to be found to a particular problem, it will only be by serious reflection, careful study and a good deal of co-operation between all the parties concerned. The range of issues involved here are among the most complex in the affairs of Government. To attempt to solve them without these essential conditions would assure failure. Furthermore, to attempt to make any system operate, once set up, without continuing study and co-operation would result in certain disappointment.

Summary

The political status of Lagos changed frequently between 1861 and 1886 when extra-territorial governments in the Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast assumed policy responsibility for its administration. During this and the succeeding period, 1886-1900, the administration of Lagos was not distinguished on the basis of local and central. However, between 1900 and 1917, local government developed on the basis of the enactment of a superior government in a unitary state. This arrangement continued through 1952 and produced little or no serious inter-governmental relations, let alone conflict of jurisdiction.

The adoption of federalism, which involves a plurality of governments and political statuses, led to changes in the constitutional position of Lagos, notably in 1953, 1954, and 1967. This involved an increasing measure of inter-governmental relations in the Lagos area, first between the Federal Government and the Western Region Government (two higher-level governments) plus the Lagos City Council (a local authority) in the period 1953-54; second, in the 1954-66 period, between the Federal Government (a higher-level government) and the Lagos City Council (a local authority); third, in the 1967-69 period, between the Lagos State Government and the Federal Government (two higher-level governments) plus the Lagos City Council (a local authority).

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Inter-governmental problems in Lagos were linked with the problems of the metropolitan area in the period 1953 to 1969 and involved two higher-level governments and five local authorities. The essential problems were conflict of jurisdiction, overlapping responsibilities, absence of planning on an urban-wide basis and lack of informal mechanism of co-operation in the face of acute shortage of urban services and infrastructure, limited financial resources and administrative capability and fragmented administrative and political structure.

Amid all these, the dual capital status of Lagos is most recent. Although an arrangement necessitated by political situation and posited in constitutional provisions, it gave rise to apprehension that it might lead to serious political and administrative conflict between the Federal Government and the Lagos State. It was further felt that this could threaten the operation of the Federal Government as an efficient and viable authority.

These apprehensions, though not without some foundation, have not been proved right in empirical terms. The peaceful transfer of functions to the Lagos State without administrative disruption and intractable conflict is corroborative. The procedure of transfer, although derived in the main from constitutional principles, affirmed the distinct rights and duties of the Federal Government and the Lagos State Government; it was particularly successful because it took cognisance of co-operative federalism, which was emphasised as an operative principle for a political system in much the same way as a constitution must be viewed as its legal or logical principle.

Emphasis on co-operative federalism in inter-governmental relations arising from the dual status of Lagos provides an operative instrument for the solutions of similar problems which can hardly be foreseen, let alone devise a solution. But more important, it augurs well for the future of the Nigerian political system, whose successful operation must depend as much on the federal contract as on the mutual respect and co-operation of its constituent-units.

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4 Urbanisation and Problems of Urban Development

P. O. SADA AND A. A. ADEFOLALU

Urbanisation, by which is meant here the process of becoming urban,¹ involves population agglomeration, the transformation from an agricultural to a predominantly non-agricultural economy and a structural change in the form of settlements.

In this chapter, the focus is on the pattern of population growth and agglomeration, the attendant changing settlement structure and the associated problems of urban growth.

Rate and patterns of population growth²

Up till 1901, Lagos was no more than the Island of Lagos, West of MacGregor Canal, covering an area of 1.55 square miles. The estimated population of the city was 41,847. By 1911, the legal jurisdiction of the city had been expanded to encompass Ebute-Metta, much of Yaba and Ikoyi. The area was further increased to 20 square miles in 1921, 24 square miles in 1927, while the present limit, covering some 27 square miles, was demarcated and delimited in 1950. These changes in the areal base of the city reflected the growing urban population. Between 1900 and 1950, the population increased by 550% and in the period between 1900 and 1963 the percentage increase was 1600. The intercensal as well as the annual increase provides even greater insight into the periodic fluctuation in the population growth pattern. Between 1866 and 1901, the city grew very sluggishly at the annual rate of 1.1% and as already noted above, the development of the city at this period was influenced mainly by international developments, such as colonial occupation and the resettlement of Brazilian repatriates. In the 1911-21 decade, there was greater internal political stability

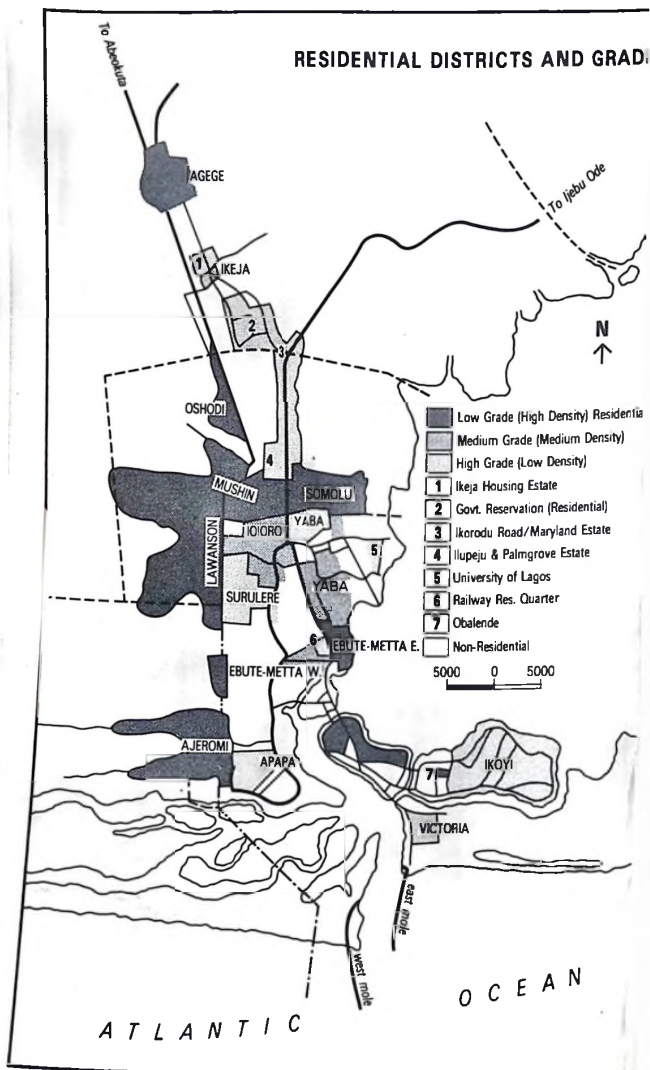
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RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS AND GRADES



and this is reflected in a much more rapid growth in population (5.8% per annum). The population decline from 1911 to 1931 was due to a serious influenza epidemic and post-war slump. The contemporary population explosion dates back to 1950 when there were significant economic, commercial and political changes favourable to rapid urbanisation. In the 1950-63 period, the city gained some 400,000 people, which represents an annual growth rate of 8.6%. At the suburban fringes, the city acquired another 390,000 population at an annual growth rate of 19%. Interestingly, this raised the population of the Lagos metropolis above the million mark (1,125,190), making Lagos the first millionaire metropolis in West Africa. Also, the average growth rate of the city during the period under consideration was 13.6%, and thus Lagos ranks as the fastest growing city in Africa.

Differential growth rate—the city versus the suburbs

The locus of the population centroid has since 1950 been shifting towards the mainland. Up till 1950, for instance, 65.4% of the population was concentrated on the Island; but by 1963, the position was reversed. Mainland Lagos, which includes Yaba, Ebute-Metta, Surulere, Mushin, Ajeromi, Ikeja and Agege, now controls over 68% of the population of the metropolis. The regional incremental shift in population is particularly striking in the suburbs where the proportion of the metropolitan population accommodated rose from 12% in 1952 to 39% in 1963. The suburban districts have thus been carrying an increasing share of the metropolitan population.

Sources of population growth

The large rate of population increase in Lagos is of two components: the natural rate of increase which can be defined simply as the crude birth minus the crude death rates; and net migration which consists of in-migration minus out-migration. With no record of migration into or out of Lagos, the scanty information on natural increase is used to estimate the net in-migration rate.

Vital statistics and natural increase

Information on vital statistics is limited to the city and cannot be validly applied to the suburban districts. As a *caveat*, it is also to be

noted that a considerable number of births in the suburban fringes are registered in the city in order to be qualified for enrolment in the city primary schools which are better equipped. On the other hand, a number of deaths are not recorded as bodies are often carried out of Lagos for burial. There is thus a high probability of inflation in the natural increase as shown in vital statistics.

Nonetheless, the data are highly revealing of the trend of natural increase in the city. While in 1940 the crude birth rate was 32.9 per 1000 population and 61.1 in 1961, by 1971 it had risen to 67.78. The continued increase in recent years is due, in the main, to the various improvements in the health facilities of the city, which include increasing numbers of hospitals, health centres and a more vigorous public health campaign.

There has also been a steady decline in the crude death rate, from 16.4 in 1940 to 13.4 in 1961 and 15.7 in 1971. In fact the mortality rate also declined from 132.2 in 1940 to 79.6 in 1961 and 75.2 in 1971. The natural increase has therefore risen from 16.5 per 1000 persons in 1940 to 47.7 in 1961 and 52.4 in 1971. Correcting for the suspected marginal inflation indicated earlier, it is not unreasonable to argue that as of 1963, the rate of natural increase was about 4%³ and in the suburban areas where there is a preponderance of the lower income class, 5% natural increase can be expected.

Making use of the above estimate and through a simple process of subtracting the explained average from the total, one gets an estimated net in-migration rate. On this basis, the rate of net in-migration to the city is about 4% while at the outskirts, it is as high as 14%. The major source of urbanisation in the city of Lagos is therefore in-migration from the rest of the country in search of employment in Federal service or, in commerce, of which most businesses have their headquarters in the city and in industries. There are of course movements into the city prompted by a sheer desire for urban life and its consumption pattern.

This rapid growth of population has had very significant effects on the development of residential neighbourhoods and utilisation of urban facilities.

development of residential neighbourhoods

major aspect of urbanisation is population agglomeration and structural adjustments of residential neighbourhoods to the in-

creasing pressure of population. In Lagos, the development of residential neighbourhoods can be attributed to two distinct groups of processes: (1) processes of infilling, filtering, and redevelopment, all of which operate in the older neighbourhoods (core areas), and (2) processes of outward expansion and invasion which operate in the newer areas.

Processes of urban growth in the core

Growth by in-filling is characteristic of the built-up neighbourhoods with open spaces which are either left for recreation, unused or undeveloped. Up till 1900, the settlement that was Lagos town was interdigitated with swamps and pools of water. Partly in order to improve the health condition of the city and partly to provide more habitable land to accommodate the increasing population, a massive programme of reclamation was launched. The first scheme, under the auspices of Governor MacGregor, concentrated on the reclamation of the Kokomaiko swamp. Under the Lagos Executive Development Board, established in 1929, the Idumagbo and Isalegangan lagoons were drained, as were those at Apapa, Northeast Ikoyi, Mekuwen, Okesuna, Elesin, Igbo Road, Obalende, Ijora, Ebute-Metta and the railway reservation. All in all, over 100 acres was made available for residential expansion as a result of the reclamation. A very large part of the older neighbourhoods on the Island, Ebute-Metta and Yaba are thus residential accretions.

Another source of land for residential development in the core area of the city was the colonial greenbelt which was created on the concept of 'sanitary syndrome'. The concept of 'sanitary syndrome' aimed at keeping people of like sanitary standards together and those of differing standards apart. In accordance with this concept, the indigenous residential quarters of central Lagos were separated from the European Reservation, Ikoyi, by a mile of green belt. On the eve of independence this area was laid out for high-income homes and has since become the new extension to Ikoyi.

Further developments in the older neighbourhoods is associated with the processes of filtering and redevelopment. By filtering is meant the tendency by the wealthy members of the neighbourhoods to move out of the deteriorating and obsolescent houses into the newer and most modern estates at the urban fringe. This

process, which meant a diminishing financial capacity and maintenance efficiency in the older homes, accounts largely for the increasing deterioration of central Lagos as shown in Table 1.

To arrest the rapid rate of deterioration and obsolescence, there has been a programme of redevelopment at the private and government level, which will be discussed after a brief analysis of the character of the older neighbourhoods.

Two kinds of older neighbourhoods

The older neighbourhoods can be classified into two in accordance to the standards of amenities available as well as the layout of the streets. There are the high-grade neighbourhoods which include East Marina Government Residential Area (GRA), Railway Residential Quarters, Apapa and Yaba North. The low-grade neighbourhoods, described below, are Central Lagos,⁴ Ebute-Metta and Yaba South.

The low-grade neighbourhoods

Central Lagos is the nucleus of the city, having been the first part to be developed. The traditional seat of the Oba, the Iga, and numerous other Igas of subordinate chiefs are to be found in the north-eastern part of the Island. Epetedo and Okepopo are interesting areas for their traditional urban structures. Both are laid out in blocks built in the form of a single, large, rectangular compound, each containing numerous dwelling-places and enclosing large open spaces. Notable among the surviving old courts or compounds are Imasa with 23 houses, Oshodi, 20, Oloko, 10 and Fagbowun Court with 10.

Urbanisation has, however, meant increasing individualisation of property and the break-up of the large courts. The population growth rate through natural increase has been very high, whereas the rate of out-migration which is highly selective of the high-income class has been very low, partly because of the immobility of landed property and partly because of traditional attachment to family land. The consequence is increasing density of housing ranging from 15 to 18 per acre and a high occupancy ratio of 4 per room. Since the maximum occupancy ratio allowed by the health authorities is 2, the terrible state of congestion in these neighbourhoods can be appreciated.

Table 1

Housing Characteristics in Central Lagos

Wards	Storeyed	Bungalows	Flats	Rooming Type	Walls			Age of Residence		
					Blocks	Bricks	Iron Sheet	Before 1950	1950-60	1960+
A	16.6	83.3	16.6	75	16.6	66.6	16.6	75	8.3	16.6
B	20.8	79	—	87.5	4.2	33.3	52.5	83.3	12.5	4.1
C	38	53.8	11.5	84.4	46.4	25	28.5	80.6	10.9	6.9
H	59.3	41.6	12.5	82.5	59.3	36.6	4.1	47.8	21.7	30.4

Source: Field Work, 1969.

There is a paucity of internal facilities as can be seen in Table 2 which is a sample study of Central Lagos. Most of the residents depend on bucket latrine and shared kitchen and baths. For the majority, firewood is the main source of fuel. A large number of the houses are old, obsolescent and in a state of disrepair and have become veritable slums. The unhealthy condition of Central Lagos has been a source of concern since the 1930s when the first slum clearance was ordered. The major slum clearance scheme took place in 1958 and will be briefly discussed later.

Ebute-Metta East and Yaba South

The Yaba South and Ebute-Metta East districts represent some of the earliest planning programmes in Lagos. They form a continuous layout from the Glover layout of 1867 to the Garden City layout of the 1930s. These neighbourhoods were planned on a gridiron pattern and the houses closely set on small plots of about 35 by 100 feet in Ebute-Metta and 50 by 100 feet in Yaba. This gives a housing density of 16 per acre in Ebute-Metta and about 14 at Yaba. The houses were mostly bungalows occupied by single families. But over the years, the families have expanded to overcrowd the buildings and some of the buildings have been pulled down and replaced with storey buildings. A sample survey shows that the occupancy ratio per room is as high as four in Ebute-Metta and three in Yaba. Although equipped with the basic amenities of pipe-borne water and electricity, over 90% of the houses depend on bucket latrine which is partly explained by the fact that over 50% of the houses were built before 1939.

Ebute-Metta West and Ojuelegba

These two neighbourhoods are distinct from Yaba South and Ebute-Metta East because they are products of private developers. To be sure, Ebute-Metta West was declared a Town Planning Area as early as 1930 but action was limited to the laying out of the streets and eventual building work was undertaken by private developers. In Ojuelegba, there was not even any systematic town planning operation. It was developed through speculative housing in the early 1950s. The water closet facility and the bucket latrine predominate in Ebute-Metta. The occupancy ratio remains high at three per room.

Table 2

Dwelling Density and Internal Characteristics in Central Lagos

Wards	Occupancy Ratio	Bathroom and Kitchen		Piped Water		Sewage System		Fuel Used	
		Private	Shared	Private	Public	Water cistern	Bucket	Fire-wood	Stove cooked
A	4	18.1	80.9	90.9	9	16.6	75	83.3	16.6
B	4	5	85	54.1	37.1	8.3	86.5	75	12.5
C	4	23	73	80.7	19.2	34.4	65.3	53.4	34.6
H	4	26	78.2	87	13	34.7	65.2	81.8	18.1

Source: *Field Work, 1969.*

The high-income neighbourhoods

The high-income neighbourhoods in the older areas were established during the colonial era by the government to provide accommodation for expatriate officers in government and commercial services. This was partly because the only available houses, the traditional courtyard type, were unsuitable for the expatriate administrator. This policy of white reserve was also a basic psychological weapon in the exercise of colonial political authority as it helps to invoke and perpetuate a mythical image around the expatriate administrator. The older government high-grade housing areas known in the colonial areas variously as 'white reservations', 'Senior Service Quarters' or 'Government Reservation Areas' include Ikoyi, Apapa, Ikeja and East Marina, Lagos. East Marina Lagos is the oldest, dating back to the 1850s and opened up 'as a pleasant place for a walk and relief'.⁵ Excepting Ikeja, all the neighbourhoods are special 'amenity' environments as they face lagoons from where cool breezes blow in to temper the tropical heat. East Marina served until the creation of the Lagos State as the residential quarter for the Nigerian Head of State;⁶ Ikoyi and Ikeja provide housing for the senior governmental staffs as Apapa does for the commercial and industrial sectors. The estates were laid out in large plots—usually one to two houses per acre—in a gridiron pattern. To meet the increasing need for more houses, plots for new housing are being carved out of the large unused compounds, especially in Ikoyi. These quarters are fully equipped with internal and external social facilities such as tarred streets with shady trees, street lights, internal water supply and modern toilet systems.

The planning authorities and the expansion of Lagos

The Lagos Executive Development Board was, since its formation in 1929, the main agency of the Federal Government in the planning and development of the city. The reclamation of swamps in the Island, Ikoyi, Apapa and Ebute-Metta and the development of the senior staff housing estates in Ikoyi, Apapa and East Marina are some of its achievements in the early years of urban development in Lagos. Beginning from the early fifties, the scope of activities of the

LEDB was expanded due to two important developments: (1) a changing underlying political philosophy in urban development following the approach of national independence, a change from overriding emphasis on housing for the government officials to a concern for adequate housing for the public in general; (2) increasing pressure of population, especially of the demand for accommodation by the high-income workers in government and in non-government services.

The LEDB responded to the new developments by a new programme of land reclamation and housing development for both the high and low income class and for the government as well as non-government workers. Notable among the new estates are Victoria Island, Apapa and Ikoyi extensions, Surulere and Ilupeju.

Victoria Island, Apapa and Ikoyi Extensions

Victoria Island, some 1,500 acres in area, lies south of Lagos Island and is part of the coastal sand bar, low-lying and swampy, having the special advantage of a sea-front and beach. The preliminary survey for its development was completed only in 1958 and the reclamation work has since been undertaken. The reclamation project which involved draining of its many pools and filling with sand was completed in three phases. During the first and second phases, 150 acres and 250 acres of land respectively were reclaimed, while the final phase involved an area of 1,300 acres. The average cost of reclamation per acre has been ₦7,000,⁷ which point to the high cost of land development in Lagos. The area was laid out for private development, although a substantial part of it has been used for government housing for parliamentarians and foreign embassies.

Under the Town Planning Ordinance No. 46 of 1948, a new extension to Apapa Estate covering some 1,000 acres was embarked upon. The work was commenced in 1950 and completed in 1958.⁸ Here, also, the land was planned and sold to private developers. A programme of expansion was similarly launched in Ikoyi in 1918. It involved the reclamation of some 258 acres of land in the north-east, south-east and south-west part of the Island.

Surulere

The Surulere Residential Estate is the most complex of its kind in Lagos, consisting of high income, intermediate and low income housing sections.

The Surulere-Itire sector is a freehold residential estate covering 138 acres and providing for 712 residential building plots. The houses were built and sold on mortgage basis to the public. The plots, unlike the colonial land-use layout in Ikoyi, are planned so as to effect economy in land use although each home is still allowed a modicum of space as playground for the children. The density of housing varies from 5 to 8 per acre. The buildings are of three main types; the single family two-storey, the single family bungalows and the multi-family flats.

The next part of the estate, which may be called the Surulere Rehousing Estate, was part of the slum clearance scheme of the Federal Government. It was to house the large number of families estimated at 20,000 persons displaced as a result of slum clearance in Central Lagos. The displaced persons were to stay in the Surulere Rehousing Estate temporarily, pending the construction of new buildings in Central Lagos. But it has so far not been possible for the rehoused population to go back because:

- 1 they have not the money to develop the homes in Central Lagos in accordance with government specifications; and
- 2 the new environment is considered pleasant enough.

The rehousing estate consists of 913 low-cost houses laid out in terraces and in three-storey building complexes. Each family is provided with one to three bedrooms, including a bed-sitter, and equipped with self-contained amenities of kitchen, water closet and bath. The subsidised rental has been ₦1.50 per room as contrasted to ₦14 per room in private apartments. The slum clearance rehousing project has been considered a failure in many respects:

- 1 the rehousing project constitutes too radical a break in the social and economic life of the people as families were separated and petty traders deprived of employment;⁹
- 2 it was too much to expect the impoverished indigenes to be able to afford the construction of the expected fabulous homes in the redeveloped land.

Not surprisingly, many of the displaced persons sold their rights in Central Lagos and even leased out their new accommodation while moving into the new shanty areas of Mushin or Shomolu.

Obele Odan is the third federal housing scheme in Surulere. It consists of 600 houses for the low-income group. Again, the standard of social amenities was so high and so difficult to control tenancy that the houses have gradually passed into the hands of the lower middle income class through sub-leases.¹⁰ The dis-

appointing experiences in government housing for the low-income class in Surulere have seriously called for a re-examination of the housing policy for the low-income groups. For example, Koenigsberger's *Report* advocates that:

public funds should be used to assist private house builders through the development of new neighbourhoods, the provision of cheap plots, the encouragement of private developers, the issue of model designs, assistance in obtaining building finance, the encouragement of the production of building materials and the enactment of new and better building bye-laws.¹¹

Urban sprawl and the fringe areas of Lagos

The growth of Ajeromi, Mushin, Somolu, the development of Palmgrove, Ikorodu Road, Okupe, Ilupeju and Maryland Estates and the absorption of Ikeja, Agege and the other outlying villages are some of the spatial expressions of urban explosion in Lagos.

Until 1960, the rural-urban fringe of Lagos was administered by rural district councils which were neither empowered nor equipped to undertake town planning.¹² Indeed, the absence of planning regulations was one of the attractions of the area to private developers of the low-income class who form the bulk of the landlords.

In 1960, the Western Nigeria Development Corporation established the Ikeja Industrial Estate and in 1965, the Ikeja Area Planning Authority was set up. Its major task apart from building regulations has been the planning of Ilupeju Estate. In 1968, the Ikeja Area Planning Authority was merged with the Lagos Executive Development Board and renamed the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation. The major responsibility of the new corporation is the control of the urban sprawl in the rural urban fringes of Lagos.

One of the government features of the growth at the rural-urban fringe is the barracks. Lateral expansion which in Lagos is virtually un-displaced from these to the north only. This situation results from the city. To the south is the Atlantic Ocean; the south is bordered in the south by a

narrow coastal strip of land largely covered with mangrove swamp forest.

Although here and there in these mangrove swamps are to be found small fishing villages and hamlets mostly on sand ridges interspersing the swamps, large-scale settlement is almost impossible as this will involve tremendous expenditure on drainage and reclamation works and on the bridging of the creeks.

The area of firm ground where urban expansion can proceed uninhibited is thus on the mainland to the north and north-east, that is, in the direction of Agege and Ikorodu respectively. The two major roads and the only railway that for a long time linked Lagos with the rest of the country pass through these areas.



4.1 *Ikeja Industrial Estate under construction*

Since routeways, because of the advantages of access which they offer, usually play a great part in promoting urban expansion with the development of ribbon or linear settlements along them, the major expansions have been along the railway and the Agege and Ikorodu motor roads. The newly constructed Lagos-Badagry expressway is beginning to play a similar role now, for a number of new settlements, though in the incipient stage, are emerging although they are as yet mostly of the 'squatter' type.

The expansion is of several types. First, the invasion of the outlying parts, as exemplified by the development of Lawanson, Mushin and Ajegu was so high and so difficult here is the filling in of the space between the gradually passed into suburban settlements, as evidenced by the glass through sub-leases. koro and

Maryland Estates. Thirdly, there is the creation of an entirely new peripheral residential area as a deliberate policy of decongesting the city or of resettling people displaced from their original homes in the central Lagos area as a result of urban redevelopment. The proposed new town of Amuwo is a good illustration. Fourthly, there is the rise of wholly new residential and industrial suburbs such as Ojota and Eregun with which the city is gradually merging as a steady but sure process.

Some of these suburban settlements are entirely new, dating only from the 1950s and 1960s, such as Obanikoro, Okupe S Estate, and Maryland along Ikorodu Road, and Shonibare Estate along the Airport road. The Government Residential Area at Ikeja along the airport road dates from post-World War II years. The rest have grown up around the nuclei of pre-existing settlements which they have completely absorbed and transformed.

The settlements comprise hamlets as well as small and large villages which are dotted here and there in the direction of Agege and Ikorodu. They were founded as farm villages by Awori¹³ subsistence farmers between the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of this century when these vast areas were largely covered by foodcrop/kolanut farmlands or 'plantations'. These settlements include Mushin, Isolo, Orile-Oshodi,¹⁴ Sogunle, Maboju, Orile-Ikeja with nearby Onigbagbo village, Ogba, and Orile-Agege with a further addition to most of these nuclei at the railway stations created near them when the railway was built. Along Ikorodu road are Idi Araba (now absorbed by Ilupeju), Anthony Village, Ojota, Oregun and Ketu.

Fusion between the nuclei of the settlements, as well as between the settlements themselves through lateral expansion, has gradually taken place and new names have even appeared on the map such as Bolade and Alasia between Oshodi and Sogunle. The expansion first began to take place after World War II when a vast area of land stretching between Orile-Oshodi and Ikeja, the site of several small villages or farmsteads, was acquired by the government for the construction of the airport at Ikeja to replace the war-time Apapa aerodrome. Similarly, a number of farm settlements became defunct as a result of government acquisition of land between Onigbongbo Village (Maryland) and Ikeja for the establishment of the Government Residential Area, the Police College and the Army Barracks.

The people displaced from these two areas went to live in one or

the other of the road and railside villages. Today, however, all these places have further expanded as a result of people migrating from the provinces in quest of work or other advancement or escaping from the city of Lagos.

Apart from Awori farmer-founders of these settlements, many of the élites of Lagos, mostly of Egba extraction, also established similar but even more extensive farmlands worked by paid labour, and on which cocoa, kolanut and coffee constituted the main cash crops, particularly in the Akege-Ikeja districts at the turn of the century. Each of these élite farmers built substantial country houses in the middle or on the periphery of his estate. While many of them resided in these farmsteads, others continued to live in Lagos and merely used theirs as weekend or occasional retreats, although their labourers and some of their relations lived in them. The farmsteads have since grown into substantial villages, though some have declined and others become defunct for a variety of reasons. Another stimulus was provided by the government of Lagos, which encouraged the country people to grow cash crops for export which would also give them an income to enable them to improve their standard of living as well as perform such civic duties as paying rates and taxes.

To meet the demand of the urban-fringe residents many successful businessmen and women invest money in modern houses in peripheral and suburban areas. They have two, three or multiple storeys and contain self-contained flats with separate but adjoining living quarters for servants and other dependants.

Two bold ventures of suburban housing in the Lagos Metropolitan area are currently being planned by the Lagos State and Federal Governments. The former relates to the proposed new town of Amuwo-Odofin on the Lagos-Badagry Road; the latter concerns the Federal Government's housing estate close by. This increasing sub-urbanisation of the Lagos urban fringe plus the ever-continuing expansion of the city itself into the peripheries already mentioned combine to produce a gradual infilling of the space between the city and its suburban settlements, thus promoting the process of urban agglomeration.

The problem of housing in Lagos

Table 2 is very revealing of the appalling housing condition in Lagos. With the exception of the high grade districts, all the

neighbourhoods in Metropolitan Lagos are overcrowded. Overcrowding in Central Lagos, Ebute-Metta East, Mushin and Ajegunle has reached an alarming and dangerous level. With a population of about 960,000 in these neighbourhoods in 1972, the Metropolitan Administration would require 48,000 houses assuming an occupancy ratio of 20 per house,¹⁵ to alleviate the problems of overcrowding alone for the existing level of population.

The data on the age of houses also provide a useful measure of obsolescence and housing condition. In developing countries, houses quickly become obsolete because of the dynamic nature of the society. In early colonial times, for example, the building standards were relaxed because of the need to accommodate local traditions and the low level of income.

Up till 1958, the suburban districts of Lagos were without a town planning authority and a building ordinance. It is conceivable that houses built some twenty years ago in the city would be obsolete both in structure as well as in the layout of the streets. Since over 50% of the houses in Lagos are over twenty years old, the incidence of obsolescence would be expected to be high. To be sure, the outlook of the houses and the layout of streets in Central Lagos, Ajegunle, Mushin and Somolu are extremely poor while the neighbourhood conditions have degenerated into slums. Thus, the problem posed by these districts is not only that of housing for the excess population but also that of massive replacement or redevelopment.

The major source of housing problem is, of course, large-scale in-migration. As noted earlier, the population of Lagos is growing at the rate of some 10%¹⁶ per annum which means the annual addition of some 200,000 adult persons. To cater for the in-migrants alone, the metropolitan administration will have to make provision for at least 10,000 houses per annum.

It is gratifying to note that the Federal, State and Metropolitan Administrations are already aware of the enormity of the problem. The Federal Government is embarking on the construction of some 54,000 housing units in the Federation¹⁷ out of which 6,000 will be built in Lagos. The Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC) has also launched an elaborate programme of housing. This programme includes the building of 2,000 housing units a year and the development of a new town for 100,000 people.

In the private sector, it is estimated that some 8,000 houses are built per annum.¹⁸ From the programmes so far launched, the

estimated housing units to be built in Lagos per annum is 10,000 by the Federal Government, 7,000 by the LSDPC and 8,000 in the private sector, amounting to 25,000. This is, however, against a housing demand of some 58,000 units consisting of, as shown above, some 48,000 to alleviate overcrowding and 10,000 to accommodate new migrants. This estimate is also exclusive of housing demands of some 20,000 arising from obsolescence and slum development. The short supply of housing in Lagos will remain an unsolved problem in the years to come. Its major concomitants are high rents and the development of shanty settlements at the urban periphery. From the preceding discussion, these phenomena are already recognised as serious problems in Lagos.

The character of urban transport in Lagos

The need for efficient mechanical transport for public use in growing towns and cities is only too apparent; more so in tropical cities where walking for any distance during the day leads to rapid overheating of the body with the accompanying discomfort. Nor is the need prompted by requirements of the city pedestrian only, but also by the movement of vast quantities of goods from place, and also of large numbers of workers and other commuters. Thus in all towns and cities there is a great amount and variety of vehicular traffic between their various parts. In some cities the various means of traffic operating are integrated; in others such as Lagos, there is no integration and this accentuates the problems usually associated with urban traffic. In pre-1900 Lagos, horses (obtained from Northern Nigeria) and various horse-drawn carriages (imported from or via Britain) seating two, three or four passengers as well as manually operated single-seater ones were the means of land transport used on Lagos Island—the core of the city. Communication between Lagos Island and the inhabited parts of Iddo Island and the mainland—Ebute-Metta and Yaba—was by means of canoes.

Scarcity of land and the gradual rate at which it became available for town expansion explains in large measure the very narrow streets in the greater part of Lagos Island which in turn inhibits free flow of traffic therein. The western part of the Island has fared better because it very early developed as a business, commercial

and administrative segment of the town, being adjacent to the Marina foreshore, the focus of incoming and outgoing shipping services. This western part is thus better planned with wider and better-aligned streets, which though experiencing traffic congestion today, have the cause of such congestion in the concentration of business, commercial, educational and administrative activities there.

During the years 1895 and 1896, while the British administration in Lagos was considering the urgent need to build a railway from Lagos into the hinterland, plans were also made for the construction of two bridges to link Lagos Island with Iddo Island and to link the latter with the mainland.

By the turn of the century the two bridges, which were constructed mostly of timber, had been completed; the one linking Lagos with Iddo was known as Carter Bridge and the other, Denton Bridge.¹⁹ Both have since ceased to exist; Carter Bridge was replaced by a new one years later and Denton Bridge was broken down, its site being converted into a causeway. In 1970, a second bridge, the Eko bridge, was completed at a cost of ₦17.5 million. It is one of the best of its kind in Africa, consisting of two carriageways on either side of a median separator. Each carriageway has two full lanes of traffic, each 12 feet wide in addition to a 10-foot wide standby lane.²⁰ However, until the roads at both ends of the bridge have been redeveloped, it will continue to make only a limited contribution to the easing of traffic congestion in the city.

Railway construction began with Iddo Terminus in 1896. By 1899 the same administration began to give consideration to the provision of a steam tramway in Lagos Island. Construction work began in 1901 and the tramway was formally opened on 23 May 1902. The Lagos Government Railway (as the Lagos-Jebba section of today's western line of the Nigerian Railway was then called) was made responsible for its construction, operation and maintenance. The tramway was extended over the Carter Bridge to link with the railway terminus at Iddo, thus facilitating the conveyance of passengers and commuters to and from the terminus and of produce brought from the interior to the wharves and merchandise and stores in the opposite direction.

The passenger line began at a place called Kokomaiko on the Marine, opposite the then Botanical Gardens (then occupying a site very near present-day State House). It ran north along the Marina, then east up Balogun Street, thence into Ereko Street, then

via Ashogbon Street and over the Carter Bridge to Iddo. The total length, excluding branch lines serving special utilities, was 2 miles 58 chains and the track's gauge was 2 ft 6 ins. The motive power of the trams consisted of locomotives, each of which normally drew two or three passenger cars and when the need arose a goods wagon as well, although goods trams consisting of several freight wagons were run separately when the traffic warranted it. Services were run between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. daily first at 45-minute, and later at 30-minute, intervals. Fares ranged from 1d to 3d according to length of journey and fare tickets were issued.

The sanitary line began in 1906 from a point on the lagoon beach on Victoria Island 62 chains south of Five Cowrie Creek. A jetty aptly called Dejection Jetty was constructed at this terminus from which night soil brought down was tipped over into the lagoon.

The tram services were run at a loss most of the time. In 1910, the actual operating expenses were ₦3,768 while income was ₦3,396, giving a loss of ₦372 for the year. Because of the considerable outlay necessary for new rolling stock if the service was to be maintained, it was decided to close down the Iddo-Koko-maiko section of the tramway on 31 December 1913. In this year, the working expenses amounted to ₦7,292 and operating receipts ₦6,796, leaving a net loss of ₦496.²¹ The sanitary line continued to operate in sections until alternative methods of sewage disposal were employed, but the whole line was finally closed on 30 June 1933.

Thus the first public transport system in Lagos came to an end, two years after the new Carter Bridge (the present-day one) was opened on 22 October.

Soon after the closure of the passenger tram service in 1913, various individuals who now realised that the Lagos public had become accustomed to mechanical transport and owning one or two vehicles, took the initiative to start operating motor transport although almost all of them were short-lived. The first bus service was run by Mrs Obasa, daughter of one R. B. Blaize, and was known as Anfani Bus Service. The service, using two buses, was operated between Iddo railway terminus and Marina charging a single journey fare of one kobo.

In 1927, the Benson Transport Service, starting with four mammy-wagons, was launched. Other services plying more or less the same route were Tanimose Transport Service, Anu Oluwa

Po Transport Service, and Oshinowo Transport Service. The passenger fare charged between Idumota and Yaba ranged from half to one kobo.

The largest and most efficiently run bus service in Lagos which was virtually a municipal service until 1958, and using some 50 single-deck 60-seater vehicles, was begun in 1928 by a Greek entrepreneur named J. N. Zarpas. Initially run between Tinubu Square and Oyingbo, it was later extended by degrees to Yaba and Idi-Oro in the north, Race Course and Obalende in the south and Apapa in the west as these areas became well populated.



4.2 A 'mammy-wagon' on the road to Lagos

The service, which later became known as J. and A. Zarpas Limited, was based at Olowu Street in the Epetedo area of Lagos, where there was a large depot which included offices and workshop and repair facilities.

After World War II two other bus services entered the scene. They are Union Nigerian Transporters and Elias Transport Service. On 1 April 1958 the Lagos City Council bought Zarpas's enterprise including the depots for about ₦1,000,000 following that council's decision to municipalise bus service in the city and began to operate the Lagos City Transport Service. But the municipalisation is yet to become complete since the four private transporters are still in operation. Besides, a large number of other private operators using a microbus are operating between the peripheries of the Lagos mainland such as Somolu, Bariga, Onigbongbo, Mushin, Idiro, Palm Grove and Lawanson, and Yaba bus terminus, Oyingbo market, Apapa Wharf and Ajegunle.

For transport between Lagos and nearby suburban towns such as Agege and Ikorodu, there are other private operators who have formed recognised unions. The best known of them are the Agege Bus Owners' Union, the Nigerian Motor Transport Owners' Union and the Charity Transport Service which operate on the joint permission of the Lagos City Council and the Ikeja Licensing Authority.

Today the Lagos City Transport Service (LCTS) operates regularly some 60 routes employing over 270 single-deck buses seating 40 to 60 passengers within the city and to its most outlying parts while some services are even run to the towns of Ikeja, Agege, Ikorodu and Epe.

In addition to the Olowu Street depot and offices inherited from Zarpas, the LCTS has built depots at Keffi Street in Obalende, at Oshodi, a suburb of Lagos, at Ilupeju, an industrial suburb of Lagos, and bus stations at Palm Grove and Race Course. It has also 25 termini and about 150 bus stops with shelters. The four private operators—Benson, Oshinowo, Union and Elias—operate on many of the routes of the LCTS and, having no facilities of their own, use those provided by the LCTS. Between them they operate about 180 vehicles ranging from 18-seaters to 60-seaters. None of these five bus operators is able to operate more than a semblance of scheduled services.

The traffic problem

The location of work, business and residential areas in Lagos has an important bearing on the nature and problems of traffic within the city. The distance separating the main residential neighbourhoods from work- and business-places has given rise to seemingly endless streams of traffic which move slowly or swiftly all day and most of the night.

Lagos Island and Apapa port area in the south and Ikeja Airport and Ikeja Industrial Estate and Ilupeju Industrial Estate in the north are the major foci of employment. Lagos Island combines high-density residential area with high-density work, business and administrative area. The former lies in the eastern two-thirds and the latter in the western one-third with the focus on the Marina, Yakubu Gowon, Balogun, Martins, Ereko and Nnamdi Azikiwe Streets.

Obalende, Ikoyi and Victoria Island are mainly residential

areas of medium to low density. Most of the foreign embassies and International Agencies are to be found here.

Apapa, the main port of the city, is another focus of work places. It contains a striking concentration of shipping, warehousing, forwarding, engineering, marine, industrial, oil storage and motor sales enterprises, as well as a distinctly low-density residential area. Iddo, between Lagos Island and the mainland to the north, contains the major terminus of the Nigerian railway system, a large lorry park and an adjoining wholesaling market, technical arms of a number of trading firms, as well as a small residential enclave. Ijora and Iganmu areas, formerly swamp- or lake-strewn, have been reclaimed to become two distinctly industrial zones of the city. In the suburbs are three large industrial estates— at Isolo, Ilupeju and Ikeja, the latter with an offshoot at the village of Oregun, as well as a fairly large number of non-estate industries. In all parts of the city and the suburbs are a large number of markets, most of which are held daily and all of which have large attendances.

The huge traffic generated between these various work areas on one hand, and between them and the residential districts on the other is one of the main sources of congestion. This traffic is composed of a variety of motor vehicle types: private motor cars, omnibuses and microbuses, taxis, commercial and company vans and various types of stage carriages (mammy wagons).

The destinations of these vehicles are equally varied as there are diverse dispersal and absorption zones at different periods of the day for the large number of commuters and other transport users. Tippers, trailers, oil tankers and certain categories of stage carriages are, however, barred by municipal law from the island parts of the city. The main destination of tippers, trailers, timber trucks and oil tankers is the Apapa port area.

Another cause of congestion is the traffic between the city and almost the whole of the Nigerian countryside. The city's traffic hinterland even extends to parts of neighbouring countries such as Dahomey, Niger, and Chad for which Lagos acts as an entrepot. This traffic is handled mainly by trailers, oil tankers, tippers, buses and a large variety of stage carriages and motor-cars and vans. But where bulky and heavy export and import commodities are involved, the Nigerian Railway handles the majority of these. The major source of traffic congestion in the city therefore derives from the huge internal and external traffic of the city. An analysis of the 1962 traffic survey²² in the city shows that most of the roads

in the city had exceeded their capacity by more than 50%;²³ and this condition continues to deteriorate with an annual increase of traffic of 20%.²⁴

Physical and human factors

In Lagos, traffic congestion and hazards also owe their causes to physical and human factors. The physical factors include narrow roads made still narrower by indiscriminate parking and all sorts of obstruction; paucity of public parking spaces; the absence of side walks on virtually all roads, absence of official stops for sub-



4.3 *Apapa Docks*

urban vehicles operating into the city; lack of traffic separation between the heavy slow-moving and lighter fast-moving vehicles and of the pedal- and motor-cyclists; absence of alternative routes for leaving or arriving at the main traffic destinations; absence of alternative media of transport like water, road and rail which could be well integrated; the insufficient number of bridges across the lagoon; absence of traffic light, pedestrian crossings, underground passages at major road intersections and overhead bridges across busy streets in all but a few places; and absence of street lights on many major roads in the city, which means that drivers at night put on their headlights which dazzle others with unpleasant consequences.

The human factors are those relating to the motorists' and the general public's lack of knowledge of proper road use and road

discipline, impatience on the part of motorists, the various obstructions created along the roads through inconsiderate parking, dumping of road-building and house-building materials on a considerable portion of the road space instead of along the road margins, as well as by invasion of certain street sides by 'squatter' petty traders; the slow and slovenly manner in which road repair and reconstruction works are effected; negligent and reckless driving; obstruction caused by vehicles that have broken down as a result of old age, overloading and ill-maintenance; obstruction caused by accidents, inefficient traffic control exercise by the traffic police; ineptitude of the police in speedy handling of cases of road accidents and traffic offences including violation of traffic regulations and bye-laws; the dubious manner in which certain drivers obtain driving licences and vehicle roadworthiness certificates; and, very significantly, the concentration of work, business and administrative places in the island parts of the city which results in tremendous pull of people and traffic into these parts all day.

Congestion and traffic hold-ups and back-ups and the difficulty of having somewhere to park motor vehicles in the busy parts of the city are thus the main problems of traffic in Lagos. All these mean a lot of inconvenience to the travelling public and loss in man-hour productivity to all public and private institutions.

Already significant efforts are being made to improve and expand the physical facilities, as evidenced by the progressive construction and extension of a complex of interlinking expressways, bridges and flyovers especially in the Ijora-Apapa-Iganmu parts of the mainland, and of pedestrian overhead bridges along Western Avenue and Ikorodu Road to supplement the existing ones at Iddo. Both the Federal Government and the Lagos State Government who share the administration of the Lagos metropolitan area, will, however, have to draw up as a matter of utmost urgency, a traffic master-plan as part of an overall urban development programme for the city. Such a plan should make provisions for correcting the inadequacy of existing facilities, for the establishment of scheduled water transport systems, and for the creation of underground transport and/or monorail systems all of which should be integrated and harmonised by a properly established Transport Authority.

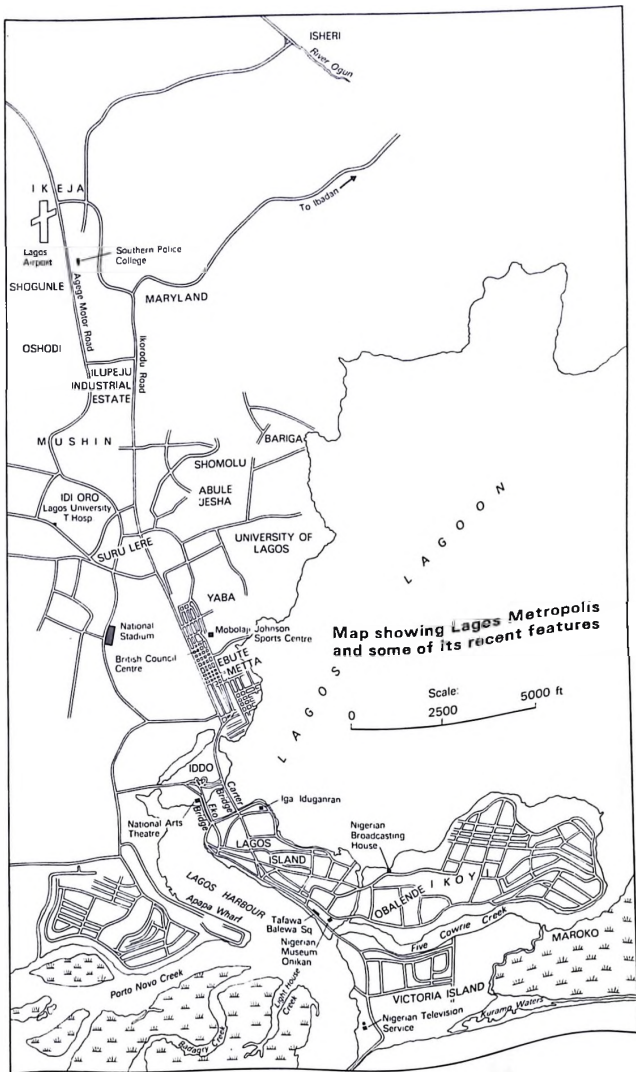
The Dolphin Scheme is one of the latest attempts to provide a solution for traffic problem in Lagos. This scheme is commissioned

by the Lagos State Government and its main aspects include the reclamation of the area along the northern lagoon front of the Island consisting of the Abete Area, the lagoon foreshore from Eko Bridge to Ebute Elefun, across the MacGregor canal to the swamps of Ije village and extending to the lagoon front in North-western Ikoyi. A motorway is to be constructed on the reclaimed land, that is, through the northern foreshore from Eko Bridge to Ikoyi. The road will be constructed on an embankment which will enclose 112 hectares of reclaimed land. The highway would be about 4.5 kilometres in length with two carriage-ways each being 11 metres wide with three lanes. The road will be linked by a third bridge over the lagoon with Ebute-Metta, somewhere north-east of Iddo, where there will be a new service road running through the lagoon shore to Ikeja. The Dolphin Scheme is therefore most likely to bring about a radical improvement in traffic movement as it would provide a new access route for traffic from Ikoyi to Ikeja. The cost of the scheme is estimated to be some 48 million Naira.

Conclusion

The growth rate of the city of Lagos has become the highest in Africa and poses a lot of intractable problems of urban development. Perhaps the most serious of these is that of housing which consists not only in adequate supply of accommodation but also in providing habitable neighbourhoods free from hazardous environmental pollution in garbage, uncleared drains and effluents.

Also a major side-effect of the increasing population and affluence are traffic problems such as sluggish traffic movements and hold-ups, inadequate parking lots and the associated inconveniences and costs. With an estimated population of two million in 1974, Lagos cannot be said to have exceeded its capacity for population absorption. The problem of Lagos is that of planlessness, and with the Master Plan that is under preparation,²⁵ it is hoped that urbanisation in Lagos could become an asset and an agency for increased production.



Map showing Lagos Metropolis and some of its recent features

Notes

- 1 SIMMS, Ruth P., *Urbanization in West Africa*, Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1965, p. XI. According to Simms urbanisation 'refers to the process of crystallising society at a certain point in time' (p. XI).
- 2 The materials for this section are from SADA, P. O., 'Differential population distribution and Growth in Metropolitan Lagos', *Journal of Business and Social Studies*, i, 2, March 1969, pp. 117-133.
- 3 This also agrees with the estimate supplied by the Federal Office of Statistics.
- 4 Central Lagos is here defined to include the Island of Lagos minus the north-eastern side which is the Commercial district and East Marina Government Residential Quarters.
- 5 MILLER, M. S., 'The Beginning of Modern Lagos', *Nigeria Magazine*, 69, p. 107.
- 6 A new State House is to be built in Victoria Island for the Nigerian Head of State.
- 7 Lagos Executive Development Board, Annual Report and Accounts, 1961-1962 (Lagos: 1965), p. 31.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 For details, see MARRIS, Peter, *Family and Social Change in Africa City*, London, 1961.
- 10 *Daily Times* (Nig.) 15 May 1972, reported that one Mr Lakanmi was allocated three houses and he later rented out the houses at higher rates.
- 11 KOENIGSBERGER, Otto, *et. al.*, *Metropolitan Lagos*, New York, 1964, p. 140.
- 12 SADA, P. O., 'The Rural-Urban Fringe of Lagos: Population and Land-Use', *The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, xii, 2, pp. 225-243.
- 13 The Aworis are a sub-group of the Yoruba people who live in this immediate hinterland of Lagos.
- 14 The word 'Orile' prefixed to these settlements means 'original site'. The prefix implies that there is a newer site; in these cases the newer sites are at the railway stations.
- 15 KOENIGSBERGER, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
- 16 Public Health Department of the Lagos City Council, *op. cit.*, p. 1. This estimate by the Lagos City Council is slightly higher than the annual rate derived from previous census as given earlier.
- 17 OKUNNU, Femi, Federal Commissioner of Works, 'Government

Housing and Urban Development', Address to the 17th Annual Conference, N.G.A., 17 December 1973.

18 SERIKI, A. O., Commissioner for Works and Planning, Lagos State, Text of an Address at the Special Meeting of the National Council of Housing, 11 May 1972.

19 These bridges were named after the Governors ruling in Lagos at the time of their construction—Gilbert Carter and George Denton.

20 OLADAPO, I. O., 'Eko Bridge', *Nigeria Magazine*, July 1969, pp. 421-431.

21 MILLER, M. S., *Lagos Steam Tramways 1902-1933*, pp. 24-25.

22 Federal Ministry of Works, *Traffic Survey*, 1962.

23 SADA, P. O., 'Political Policies and the Development of Transportation in Metropolitan Lagos', *Journal of the Geographical Association*, xiii, 2, 1970, p. 191.

24 Federal Office of Statistics, *Motor Vehicle Statistics*, 1966.

5 Some Geographical Aspects of Industries in Greater Lagos

R. A. AKINOLA AND N. O. ALAO

The region which we here regard as Greater Lagos includes the Island of Lagos situated within a lagoon whose entrance to the sea is bedevilled with rough surf and shifting sand-bar, the mainland zones of Yaba and Ebute-Metta and the suburban areas of Mushin, Shomolu and Ikeja all of which define an intriguing urban economic orbit. The orbit is intriguing partly because of the



5.1 *The Lagoon, Lagos, as it used to look*

rapidity and recency of its development, partly because of the mixture of diverse unlike strands of modern economic activities within conditions of slum and squalor, and partly because of the many planning problems which the whole structure exhibits. A most important element in this episode of growth and expansion is the growth and spatial expansion of industries.

Apart from establishments such as Lagos Oil Mill which began operations in 1865, the brick kilns which were built at Ebute-Metta in 1859 and 1863 and the Public Slaughter House opened at Tolo (Ofin) in 1882, industries on an organised (i.e. factory) basis are a post-World War II development. Their growth received a considerable fillip from the conscious economic planning following the attainment of political independence. One critical result of such growth is that today the industrial landscape of Greater Lagos reveals a bewildering array of industries. There are a few broad principles in terms of which the complex is explicable. It is the purpose of this contribution to portray these broad principles and explain the pattern through:

- (i) a discussion of the geographical basis of industries in Lagos;
- (ii) a consideration of the last years of the colonial era and the emergence of modern industries;
- (iii) the post-independence era and the structure of the intra metropolitan distribution of industries;
- (iv) the ways in which policy factors may be crucial in determining future trends.

One of the most outstanding facts about the industrial geography of Nigeria is the dominant position which Lagos occupies in terms of the number of industries, the contribution of its industries to the gross domestic products, as an industrial labour market and as a market for the final consumption of local industrial output. Table 1 below shows the relative share of Lagos in the industries as well as in the value of industrial production in the country. The table indicates that about 30% of the value of industrial production in all industries employing more than 10 persons comes from Lagos. In particular Lagos alone accounts for over 86% by value of the beer and soft drinks production, over 70% by value of the output of the printing and publishing industries, about 50% by value of the metal products, and over 80% by value of electrical machinery and appliances. Table 2 gives an idea of the relative concentration of the industries in terms of their actual numbers. Of these industries the following are highly concentrated in Lagos: bakeries, clothing shops, furniture factories, printing, and plastic products. In none of these instances does Lagos account for less than 25% of the total number of industries. Activities like oil milling and saw-milling on the other hand are poorly represented in Lagos in the sense that only a few of them are located there.

This pattern of concentration *vis-à-vis* the federation as a whole is not without interesting order. Many of those which are concentrated in Lagos depend upon three factors, or rather belong in any of three categories. First, there are finished consumer goods which depend upon the existence of a large market and which profit by location in the market area either because of saving in distribution costs which such a location engenders or because of the ease with which the changing taste of the consumer may be learnt and adjusted to at that location. Bakery and printing are good examples of the former, while wearing apparel is a good example of the latter. Market advantage here, of course, depends upon relatively high income level associated with the metropolis as well as upon the variety of tastes and preferences afforded by the cosmopolitan nature of the population base. Secondly there are those which depend upon imported raw materials which constitute a high proportion of the total cost. Flour-milling is the classic example here. Thirdly, most of the industries depend mainly upon the existence in Lagos of the requisite infrastructural facilities as well as upon the pool of labour of diverse skills which the city offers.

The industries which reveal low concentration in Lagos are largely those which represent primary stages of processing and are material-oriented, for instance oil-milling and saw-milling.

Undoubtedly, then, the metropolis is a giant in the industrial arena of the whole nation. The provision by the Federal and (lately) the State Governments of infrastructural facilities has given the initial impetus to the congregation of industries here while the externalities thus generated give rise to further intensification of industrial concentration.

Within Greater Lagos, the industries tend to fall into patterns which can be fully grasped only in terms of socio-economic and policy factors. In fact, to understand the future dynamics of the distribution of industries here, it will be important to understand the present policies, and prove their long- and short-run stability possibilities.

The major policy thrust which seems to have been responsible for the new upsurge of industrial activities came in the late 1950s. The policy consists of three props in the main:

- (i) Fiscal relief measures;
- (ii) Provision of industrial estates;
- (iii) Direct governmental participation;

The fiscal measures are embodied in five acts:

- (i) Industrial Development (Income Tax Relief) Act 1958;
- (ii) Industrial Development (Import Duties Relief) Act 1957;
- (iii) The Customs Duties (Dumped and Subsidised Goods) Act 1958;
- (iv) The Customs (Drawback) Regulations 1958;
- (v) The Income Tax (Amendment) Act 1958.

The Income Tax Relief Act guarantees to 'pioneer industries' tax relief for a period of two years in the first instance, provided that a minimum qualifying capital expenditure of ₦10,000 has been incurred on fixed assets before the commencement of production. If at the end of any year the investment runs up to ₦30,000, an additional year's tax relief is granted. If the capital expenditure has reached ₦100,000 by the end of that period, a fourth year will be added. A fifth and final year will be added if the qualifying capital expenditure reaches ₦200,000 by the end of the fourth year. In practice a large variety of activities and services qualify for the status of 'pioneer industry'. The granting of such status was, however, subject to two conditions:

- (i) 'that the company shall not engage during the tax relief period, in any enterprise except the pioneer industry in respect of which the pioneer certificate is granted';
- (ii) 'that the company shall start to operate the factory—or where a mining company is concerned, begin mining operations—within one year of the date estimated by the company in its application'.

The Import Duties Relief Act affects only two categories of industries:

- (i) those that are unable to provide their outputs at prices sufficiently low to compete with the imported equivalents;
- (ii) those whose output requires imported raw materials which carry proportionately higher import duties than those carried by the imported equivalent finished product.

Such industries are to enjoy the relief for a maximum of ten years.

The Customs (Drawback) Regulations Act provides that industrialists may claim repayment of import duty (in full) in the following circumstances:

- (i) where goods are exported in the same form in which they were imported;
- (ii) where materials are imported for use in the manufacture of goods which are then exported;
- (iii) on paper imported for use in the manufacture of educational articles where such goods are supplied to recognised educational establishments.

Whereas the influence of these fiscal measures in encouraging the emergence of industrial establishments is clear and easily grasped, the influence in the emergence of a distinct spatial pattern is not immediately obvious. The measures are substantially favourable to import substitution industries which usually depend upon urban centres for their survival. Thus indirectly the measures contribute to urban concentration of industries.

However, the most important policy instrument in the creation of the internal structure of industrial location seems to be the establishment of industrial estates in various parts of Greater Lagos, which offers two major advantages:

- (i) It removes for the industrialist the problem of the uncertainty of land ownership and the expense of endless litigation involving rival claims from various individuals.
- (ii) It provides in one package several facilities and services at fairly moderate costs, especially because of scale economies arising from the collocation of several industries which share the cost of such facilities.

About 930 acres of industrial estates have been developed at Apapa, Ijora and Iganmu while the development at Ikeja, Mushin and Ilupeju cover about 2,000 acres.

In order to understand the structure of modern industrial set up of Greater Lagos we must examine and analyse the industrial structure of the industrial estates.

The Ijora-Iganmu industrial estate, situated in an area called Gbotifa village, lies between the Alaka estate and Apapa estate. To transform this swampy area with patches of dry land into a modern estate has involved three major tasks:

- (i) the reclamation in stages of 200 acres of marshland and partitioning this reclaimed land into plots for subsequent lease to industrialists. An acre of land in this estate was worth in 1972 ₦1,200 a year.

(ii) the development of efficient road transport to link the industries on the estate with the port as well as with other industries especially in Ibolu and Ilupeju. A dual carriageway now nearing completion will link the Eko Bridge and the Iddo flyover. In addition to the network of flyovers, there are service roads designed mainly for slower-moving traffic.

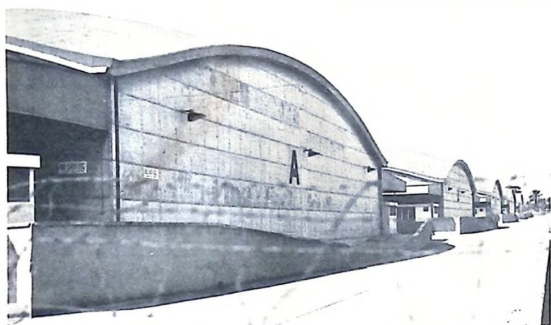
(iii) the development of the Metropolitan housing scheme sponsored by the Federal Government in a bid to ease housing shortage. An area close to the Olowogbowo landlords' site was acquired by the LSDPC for ₦270,000. By 1972 about 17 storey blocks had been completed. Each block has 20 flats of two bedrooms and one sitting room with a variety of amenities.

Most of the industries on the estate are light industries. Others, like the West African Automobile Engineering Limited and Rutan Limited (an extension of the IBRU transport department), are commercial and service industries. The Jammal Engineering works is noteworthy here. The Jammal enterprises are made up of two parts—steel work and engineering construction. Jammal manufactures tankers (for storage of petroleum and transporting groundnut oil) hangars, roof trusses and steel furniture. The basic material—steel—is imported largely from Europe. Obviously many industries located here derive advantage from good access to the port.

The Isolo Industrial Estate is one of the newly established industrial estates and has been developed partly to avoid congestion in the other industrial areas of the Lagos Metropolis. It is also planned to give employment for the residents of Itire, Mushin, Surulere, Oshodi and Isolo itself. Accordingly a housing scheme has been launched in the vicinity of the estate to provide low-cost houses for the workers near to their work. The estate is linked by two dual roads with Oshodi and Ikeja. These roads also give easy access to Apapa Wharf, so that heavy imported materials needed by industries on the estate are easily delivered. The two dozen industries at present on the estate include the factories of Mandilas (which deal in Volkswagen cars), Norman industries (the manufacturers of Carrier air conditioners), R. T. Briscoe (distributors of a variety of Toyota cars and trucks), Afprint Textile and Berek Battery Limited, while Industrial Gas Limited is building a factory for gas manufacturing.

The story of the Ikeja Industrial Estate began about 1959 when

the then western regional government established a 750-acre industrial estate at Orile Ikeja and Ogba villages. Of these 300 acres were for industrial and 400 for residential purposes. As the residential structures proved to be beyond the financial reach of the low income group, most of the factory workers had to travel up to eight miles from Mushin and Surulere. Consequently, in 1971, the Lagos State Government introduced, through the then Ikeja Area Planning Authority, the Ogba Industrial and Residential Scheme, the first phase of which covers 500 acres. The housing



5.2 *Part of the Ikeja industrial complex*

complex is planned to embrace all income groups. The Ikeja industrial complex is made up of four units as follows:

- (i) Oshodi Industrial and Residential Estate;
- (ii) Gbagada Industrial and Residential Estate;
- (iii) Matori Industrial Estate;
- (iv) Agidingbi-Oregun-Ojota Area.

Oshodi's residential area, about a quarter of the total complex, is served by a dual carriageway which links Mushin and Isolo, and provides an invaluable escape from the usually congested Agege motor road, facilitating quick access to the port.

Gbagada Estate is a reclaimed marshland, two-thirds of the plots on which are for residential purposes and the remainder for industrial purposes.

The Matori Industrial Area constitutes a phase in the develop-

ment of the Mushin light industrial area. Earlier phases in this development have been the establishment of the 'Challenge' industrial on either side of Agege Motor Road. An important feature of the Matori Industrial Area is the establishment (on parts of it) of factory buildings which will house small-scale industries along the lines already used in the Yaba Industrial Estate. It has been estimated that the development of this estate will cost about half a million naira and will provide about one hundred units of different sizes with administrative buildings and maintenance workshops.

The Yaba Industrial Estate, established in 1957, was meant to provide the required atmosphere for 'nursery' industries to mature into full-blown industries which can then be 'transplanted elsewhere'. It contains five single-storey nest factories each divisible into six independent workshop units of size 30 feet by 40 feet. A firm occupies one standard unit during the first year, and may expand to two or three units during the second year, attaining the maximum permissible space allocation of four units in the third year. It may stay for the fourth year after which it is expected to move out. Common services provided include accounting advice, training in the maintenance of machinery and engineering work performed by a central workshop.

The Agidingbi Estate consists of about 100 acres leased out by private individuals to industrialists.

The industries in these various estates face two major problems—power cuts and inadequate water supplies. Frequency of power cuts has involved large losses in production as well as causing damages to some machines. Many industrialists have had to construct standby generators to which they switch once the main power source is cut off.

Water supply is a more serious problem. Although the daily urban water supply of 24 million gallons has recently been increased to 28 millions, this supply falls far short of the required daily supply and many industrialists have had to construct bore holes at great expense or go as far from Ikeja as Onigbongbo and Anthony villages to fetch stream water. Because of its sulphur content this could have a serious corrosive effect on machines. Water is needed for cooling and cleaning purposes, as a direct input in the process of manufacturing and also for conveying raw materials in, for example, the fruit and vegetable canning industries. The state government has embarked on a new project to

supply 45 million gallons of water per day to the metropolis, and it is to be hoped that by the time this level is achieved the ever-growing demand would not again have outstripped supply.

Having very briefly sketched the spatial character of industries in Greater Lagos, let us now consider what the future trends may be like. Our prognosis will be based on two broad sets of factors—the policy environment which will nourish and sustain these trends and the internal economic forces which will partly indicate the wisdom or otherwise of the policies and partly condition the character of overall industrial response to policy.

The Federal Industrial Directory (1971) sets out eight major industrial policy goals which the government aims to achieve:

- (i) the promotion of even development and fair distribution of industries in all parts of the country;
- (ii) the ensurance of a rapid expansion and diversification of the industrial sector of the economy;
- (iii) increasing the income realised from manufacturing activity;
- (iv) the creation of more employment opportunities;
- (v) the promotion of industries which cater for overseas markets in order to earn foreign exchange;
- (vi) continuation of the programme of import substitution and intensification of capital goods production;
- (vii) the adoption of schemes designed to promote indigenous manpower development in the industrial sector;
- (viii) a deliberate attempt to raise the proportion of indigenous ownership of industrial investment.

These policy objectives will be pursued in terms of specific industrial priorities. In this respect the following order of priorities has been adopted:

- (i) Agro-allied industries;
- (ii) Petro-chemical and chemical industries;
- (iii) Greater integration, linkage and diversification of the textile industry;
- (iv) An integrated iron and steel complex;
- (v) Passenger motor vehicle assembly and related industries;
- (vi) Expansion of existing industries for export;
- (vii) Further import substitution in selected goods.

It is of course all too clear that these bold policy statements are not

sufficiently coherent to enable us to see what they involve in practical terms. It is also clear that they harbour possible contradictions. For example, the accomplishment of (i) may preclude the realisation of (v), at least for some time to come; the vigorous pursuance of (vi) may erode the bases of (v). The most glaring omission in this policy statement is the time horizon attachable to each objective and the sequencing of the total set. Thus any long-term prediction is very hazardous. One can, however, attempt a short-run prediction, especially in the light of objectives (i), (vi) and (viii) which seem to be vigorously guiding official efforts.

First, probably only very few new industries will emerge in the Lagos Metropolis. The boost that may be received by import substitution industries will most likely dictate expansion of production especially in food manufacturing, textiles, drinks. Local expansion will be severely constrained by external diseconomies of scale which manifest themselves in terms of various forms of congestion—housing, traffic, for instance. Such diseconomies will provide an economic rationale for a concerted attempt to meet growing demand by shifting the location of production to other centres.

Secondly, it will be safe to expect that if new industries emerge in the metropolis, they are very likely to be those which feature high labour productivity, low labour-capital ratio, and low land-non-land input ratio. The economic reason behind this assertion is obvious enough. It is, however, still important to remark that in so far as space constraint is severe, as it is in Lagos, and in so far as demand for many manufactured items is concentrated in Lagos, the city will probably find it beneficial to rely on production elsewhere in the country to meet increases in its local demand.

Thirdly, one may also expect continued growth in the service industries where again increased mechanisation and computerisation may be expected.

In all, then, the official concern with housing and environmental improvement, and with the spread of industrial production as widely as is economically reasonable, together with the scarcity of space and the ever-growing population and demand in the metropolis, will probably confer competitive advantages on three categories of industries:

- 1 those which require relatively low land inputs, but are on the other hand characterised by high labour productivity;

- 2 those industries for which local demand is growing;
- 3 service industries.

The industrial climate determined by items (i), (vi) and (viii) in the official policy statement will likely foster and sustain (1), (2) and (3) above.

Finally, one should mention an important similarity between trends observable in metropolitan Lagos and those documented in respect of several parts of the developed world, especially the USA. It is the continuous progressive suburbanisation of industrial employment as well as of population. Whereas in the USA economic and technological forces operating in a laissez-faire environment have been largely responsible, in Lagos the suburbanisation of industrial employment is largely the product of conscious public design and effort. Whereas in the USA (see Mills 1972) manufacturing suburbanisation has followed upon population suburbanisation, population suburbanisation and manufacturing suburbanisation are occurring virtually simultaneously in Lagos. It would therefore be interesting to study the future of the following urban gradient:

- (i) the urban population density gradient;
- (ii) the urban employment gradient;
- (iii) the urban retail and service gradient.

In respect of the first two gradients, we should expect progressive flattening over the years, largely because of population growth and planning style. With regard to the third, we may expect considerable steepening in short-run with the central growth of (state and federal) government offices, banking and 'information-producing' centres. The nature and value of these 'quaternary activities' (to employ Jean Gottman's neologism) makes a central location advantageous to them and it is in terms of these quaternary activities that the next phase in the growth of metropolitan Lagos will have to be defined.

Table 1

Contribution of the Manufacturing Sector to the Gross Domestic Product in 1962

Industry	Number of establishment		Total number of employees		Value of production	
	Federation	Lagos	Federation	Lagos	Federation	Lagos
Meat products	3		553		969	
Dairy products	3		193		349	
Fruit canning	3		176		102	
Bakery products	44	5	1,626	312	1,906	309
Miscellaneous food products	12	6	2,550	845	14,697	3,125
Beer and soft drinks	16	5	2,078	1,288	4,524	3,925
Textiles	25	6	6,720	376	4,313	688
Manufacture and repair of footwear	9	3	743	306	825	547
Wearing apparel and made-up textile goods	8		375		758	
Sawmilling	45	14	8,786	936	6,801	220
Furniture	47	12	3,129	1,045	1,977	845
Printing and publishing	68	22	5,753	3,348	3,255	2,573
Tanning	6		271		240	
Rubber products	25	3	5,304	161	3,926	293
Basic industrial chemicals	5	3	216	163	1,073	847
Oil-milling	42		3,423		11,277	
Paints	4		152		459	
Soap	6		1,824		3,773	
Perfumes and cosmetics	12	5	975	380	1,681	557
Miscellaneous chemical products	7	5	635	1,028	228	2,294
Bricks and tiles	5		564		184	
Pottery and glass products	4		193	850	21	
Cement and concrete products	8	3	1,669			
Metal products	27	7	2,975		3,640	310
Machinery	3		120		4,917	2,421
Electrical machinery and appliances	5	4	96		157	
Boat building and repairs	3	4	530	135	37	164
Vehicle assembly	3				279	
Motor vehicle repairs	65	11	1,177	1,441	1,952	2,161
Bicycle assembly	4		4,934	2,233	7,813	3,876
Plastic products	7	3	112		738	
			425	240	328	193
TOTAL	524	121	58,277	15,396	83,201	25,358

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, *Industrial Survey 1962*, pp. 8 and 13.

Table 2

Metropolitan Lagos—1969 Distribution of Industrial Establishments

Lagos Island	26
Apapa	89
Yaba	26
Ebute-Metta	31
Mushin	39
Ikeja	66
TOTAL	277

% of National Total Located in Lagos

<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
25% of bakery establishments	5% of oil-milling
26% of textile establishments	15% of saw-milling
67% of wearing apparel establishments	
46% of furniture establishments	
50% of printing establishments	
62.5% of plastic products establishments	
33.3% of metal furniture establishments	

Table 3

Sales of Oil and other receipts from Industrial Output by District—Lagos

District	No. of establishment reporting	Value of sales	Value of contract work done by others	Receipt for repair and other work	Receipt for resale of goods	Total receipts
Apapa	58	14,562,521	155,224	796,963	6,685,138	22,199,846
Island	26	5,004,862	123,030	908,360	1,626,898	7,703,150
Yaba	26	909,188	69,768	17,924	22,509	1,019,389
Ebute-Metta	35	4,734,748	421,344	142,975	1,716,867	7,015,934
SL/Idi-Oro	5	689,437	—	—	9,500	689,937
Ikeja	24	10,003,966	—	—	5,626	10,009,592

TOTAL

Source: *Federal Office of Statistics 1963*.

Table 4

Analysis of Factor Cost by District —Lagos

District	No. of Establishment reporting	Raw material	Fuel	Electricity	Contract work done by others	Cost of repairs by others	Cost of goods bought for resale	Other costs	TOTAL
Apapa	58	10,596,979	75,738	188,398	42,675	61,544	5,660,314	1,930,054	18,549,702
Island	26	3,651,592	11,604	103,536	23,359	29,345	1,428,753	829,139	6,077,326
Yaba	26	537,145	1,057	16,655	—	11,563	12,897	69,064	648,381
Ebute-Metta	35	1,541,562	13,430	52,960	325,028	30,548	1,478,853	1,015,505	4,457,886
SL/Idi-Oro	5	357,420	5,054	10,198	—	6,674	15,145	85,067	429,558
Ikeja	24	9,158,566	62,290	206,325	937	10,460	504	1,018,974	5,458,086
TOTAL									

Source: *Federal Office of Statistics: Industrial Survey 1963.*

Table 5

Numbers Engaged by District—Lagos

District		Professional and managerial	Clerical	Skilled and semi-skilled	Unskilled	Non-Nigerians	Total employed	Working proprietors	Unpaid apprentices	Family workers	Home workers	Total engaged
Apapa	58	162	1,417	3,575	1,999	276	7,429	20	—	1	—	7,450
Island	26	207	493	1,313	740	89	2,842	20	22	5	—	2,889
Yaba	26	47	125	627	198	12	1,009	28	5	6	—	1,048
Ebute-Metta	35	90	737	1,782	835	111	3,555	21	45	7	—	3,628
SL/Idi-Oro	5	16	98	265	148	17	544	2	25	6	—	577
Ikeja	24	83	325	2,183	1,672	250	4,513	13	—	—	6	4,532
TOTAL												

Source: Federal Office of Statistics: Industrial Survey 1963.

6 The Development of Western Education

SEGUN ADESINA

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the development of Western education in the City of Lagos from the time when it had four schools, five teachers and 400 pupils in an area of four square



6.1 *King's College, Lagos*

miles and a population of 30,000 to the contemporary period when it has nearly 300 educational institutions (both primary and secondary), well over 7,000 teachers, and a student population that has increased five hundred times compared with a century

ago. Today, Lagos covers an area of twenty-seven square miles with a population that is apparently underestimated at 1.1 million. Thus any attempt to review the history of education to date must examine the metropolitan nature of Lagos and, more important, examine the impact of metropolitanism on the entire educational system.

With a total school population of more than 200,000 enrolled (excluding post-secondary students) the City of Lagos probably has the largest single educational system in an African city. The educational facilities in Lagos State are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Education Facilities in Lagos State, March 1972

Type of school	No. of schools	No. of classes	No. of teachers	No. of students
Primary	472	7,140	7,937	270,533
Secondary Grammar	55	667	1,048	22,719
Secondary Commercial	20	280	419	10,115
Secondary Modern	19	92	112	2,881
Trade Centre (a)	1	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
College of Technology	1	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Teacher Training	5	20	63	596

(a) = Federal Government Institutions

n.s. = Figures not supplied

Note: These figures do not include private institutions in the state

The city system alone consists of more than 225 recognised primary schools (excluding fee-paying schools), at least 70 recognised secondary-level institutions and a total of well over 7,000 teachers.¹ Related to the Nigerian scene the figures comprise 5.7% of the nation's primary school population, 15.6% of the secondary-level school population and a teacher-power that runs into 9.7%.

At first glance these figures do not appear astonishing. They have to be understood and interpreted in the light of other vital statistics of the city and the country. For instance, the city of Lagos covers only 27 square miles or 0.0075% of Nigeria's land surface. In the same way the Lagos population, estimated to be 1,111,500 in 1973, is about 1.3% of the estimated national population. Relatively, therefore, the city has far more than its quantitative share of educational opportunities and this has re-

sulted in sharp disparities in the provision and development of Western education between it and the rest of the country.

This over-concentration of educational institutions in the city has a long history dating back to the establishment of the colony itself. Two areas in Nigeria were noted historically for their long contact with and patronage of Western education. The first was the Niger Delta where European traders had been in contact with Ijaw and Efik traders and chiefs and the latter, proud of their sophistication, were known to have sent their children to England to be educated.² The other area was the colony of Lagos which had not only been in contact with European civilisation since the fifteenth century but subsequently became the target of the Christian missionaries in Nigeria. These earliest contacts were, however, periodic and very little information is available about their impact and scope.

Some nineteen years before the establishment of the colony of Lagos in 1861. Western education had been introduced by the Christian missionaries with the establishment of elementary schools at Badagry. Although original educational activities were concentrated at Badagry and Abeokuta, by the 1850s the emphasis had shifted to Lagos. Thus in 1852 both the Methodist Mission and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) abandoned Badagry in favour of Lagos. The following year they were joined by the American Baptist Mission and in 1868 by the Roman Catholic Mission.

It is unnecessary to go into the details of the political forces that impelled the missionaries to favour Lagos. What is important here is the overall result of that concentration on the development of Western education in the area in question. First there was the competition among the missionaries to provide education in the colony. With the missionaries together in one city it became significant to site important educational institutions in the colony, resulting in less attention being given to the protectorate. It is not surprising then to see that whereas by 1882 the Methodists, the Roman Catholic Mission, the Baptists and the Church Missionary Society all had a secondary grammar school in Lagos, none of them gave a serious thought to establishing such institutions elsewhere in the protectorate. Secondly, with educational opportunities in the colony so much greater than elsewhere, the population there became more literate, more dynamic and more diverse. In fact, since the 1940s Lagos had been the breeding ground for the nationalists and the centre for their activities. Besides, as the seat

of the colonial administration, and the major centre for business activities, Lagos became from the start an attraction to most Nigerians who were anxious to take advantage of its facilities.

Consequently, we are dealing with a highly urbanised community whose educational system and problems do not represent those found elsewhere in the country. To comprehend fully the dynamics of education in this part of Nigeria we shall first examine some historical trends in education in the city, consider certain applicable relationships between urbanisation and education, and then discuss problems in the development of primary and secondary-level education.

Although the foundations of Western education were laid by the missionaries the evolution of a system of education in Lagos is commonly credited to the colonial administration. In the period immediately following the cession of Lagos in 1861 there was a steady growth of missionary educational institutions. A year after the cession there were four schools, five teachers, 406 students consisting of 252 boys and 154 girls. Ten years later there were 17 schools, 24 teachers and 1,850 students: 1,043 boys and 807 girls. In 1881 the number of schools in Lagos had increased to 29 with 66 teachers and 2,257 students in the proportion of 1,310 boys and 947 girls.¹ It is pertinent to note that all these schools were owned and directly administered by the missionaries.

The interest of the colonial administration in education was first indicated in the token grants of £30 made in 1872 and distributed equally among the Anglicans, Wesleyans and Catholics in Lagos. By 1874 the grant had increased to £100 to each of the three missions and to £200 each in 1876. Small as they may seem today, the grants eased considerably the financial burden of the missionaries. For instance, the CMS was the largest of the missions and the society's total expenses in 1876 amounted to £240, or £40 more than the grants received from the Lagos government.⁴ It was generally understood that the money should be spent on the schools, but no condition whatever was attached to the payment.

In a more determined effort in 1882 the Lagos Colony (then jointly administered with the Gold Coast Colony) made proposals that would give statutory recognition to the missionary schools. The result was the Education Ordinance of 1882 which provided for a General Board of Education for British West Africa (including Lagos) and the positions of Inspector and Sub-Inspector of Schools.

The ordinance was unworkable in view of the scope it set for

itself and it does not appear that the Lagos schools were administered directly by its regulations. For instance, although the ordinance stipulated that grants should be made on the principle of 'payment by results', results of examinations taken between 1883 and 1886 did not affect the payments which, until after the 1887 Ordinance, continued to be the lump sum of £200 each to the three important missionary societies. In 1886, Lagos became a separate Crown Colony and in that year the local legislature enacted the Education Ordinance of 1887 which came into force at the commencement of 1888.

The new ordinance increased government participation in the education of the colony particularly in the areas of control and grants-in-aid. The Board of Education consisted of the Governor, eight members of the Legislative Council, the Inspector of Schools, and three or four school managers nominated by the Governor. The most important duty of the board was to make rules for regulating the allowances of grants-in-aid and training institutions out of the money voted for this purpose by the legislature. Provision was also made for the appointment of 'managers' who were actually local representatives of the missionary societies in whom the property of the school was vested.

Table 2 shows the progress and cost of education in Lagos during the period immediately following the enactment of the 1887 Ordinance. Although the number of schools did not significantly increase (from 28 in 1889 to 41 in 1901) considerable increase was achieved in terms of pupil population and by 1901 a high percentage of attendance was achieved.⁵ Of particular interest were the figures in grants-in-aid, which continued to be less than voluntary subscriptions. School fees also started to feature significantly in the school budgets.

Western education for Lagos Muslims

An often neglected aspect of the history of education in Nigeria is the education of the Muslim communities particularly in Southern Nigeria. It is clear from the records that Muslim education preceded Western education in Lagos, whatever value one attaches to the former. Henry Carr in his 1901 Education Report noted that 'Mohammedan education' was introduced into Lagos in about 1816. As a result of the civil war in 1836 the Muslims were expelled

Table 2

Progress and Cost of Education in Lagos 1889-1901

Year	No. of schools	No. on register	Average attendance	School fees	Voluntary subscriptions	Government grants	Total cost
				£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1889	28	2,500	1,799	786 0 9	953 13 4	711 4 0	2,450 18 1
1890	30	3,085	2,155	1,016 11 2	3,258 3 6½	1,075 19 2	5,350 13 10½
1891	30	3,126	2,291	1,052 11 1	1,391 15 7½	967 9 6	3,411 16 2½
1892	30	2,991	2,259	1,072 13 8	1,625 18 4½	1,138 3 0	3,836 15 0½
1893	33	3,315	2,408	1,208 4 7½	1,682 14 2½	1,307 7 2	4,198 5 11½
1894	33	3,308	2,458	1,228 12 7½	2,310 19 11½	1,192 10 11	4,732 3 6½
1895	29	3,276	2,437	985 16 10	1,583 18 6	1,064 14 10	3,634 10 2
1897	38	3,543	2,589	986 14 11½	2,096 12 1½	1,229 13 0	4,313 0 1
1898	41	3,943	2,910	881 11 6½	2,492 7 4½	1,511 8 9	4,885 7 8
1899	41	3,929	2,974	893 6 8	843 6 0	1,439 19 8	3,176 12 4
1900	41	4,176	3,215	974 14 10½	1,426 15 10½	1,340 16 1	3,742 6 10
1901	41	4,310	3,341	1,063 7 3½	1,480 7 9½	1,609 18 5	4,153 13 5½

from the city but invited back in 1840. By 1901 the Muslims in fact constituted the largest section of the community numbering 20,000 or 50% of the Lagos population then. Their schools were exclusively designed for their own children and teaching was generally conducted in the teacher's house, or sometimes in front of the house. Primarily, Muslim education did not go beyond a good grasp of the Quran and Islamic law and culture. In 1901 there were sixty of these 'Quranic schools' with an average attendance of 2,000. The education was free and the teachers were compensated with presents from the parents or from the pupils themselves, particularly after the youngsters had received their ovations or *wolimas* for ability to recite the whole Quran from memory.

Islamic culture views Western education with suspicion and more so education in the Christian mission house. The missionaries, on the other hand, particularly the Roman Catholics, used their schools as conversion centres and barred from these institutions Muslim children whose parents would not consent to their conversion to Christianity. This discrimination more than anything else prompted the establishment of the first government primary school in Lagos in 1899 which in effect became the school for Muslim children. By 1901 there were three such schools with a total pupil population of about 500.

Several problems then arose in connection with Muslim education in Lagos. First it required persuasion and encouragement to get pupils enrolled. Second, once enrolled, it was still a problem to keep the Muslims in schools. Besides, Muslim parents would not tolerate having their children educated in government schools by Christian teachers. The government embarked therefore on a scheme of training Muslim teachers, and attracting these teachers to government schools. The result of this Muslim-Christian ill-feeling in Lagos was the subsequent sharp disparities in the education of the two sections in Lagos. Thus in 1901 the Christians, numbering 10,000, had 2,400 of their children in school, which represented 24% of their population. In contrast the Muslims, outnumbering the Christians by another 10,000 and constituting 50% of the population, had only 600 children in school, or 3% of their own population. As a third party, the 'pagans', that is, non-Christians and non-Muslims, numbered 10,000 with 500 school children.

After the two world wars the Lagos population began to show a high proportion of immigrant components, and a strongly urban

community was emerging. African ethnic groups constituted approximately 98% of the Lagos population in 1950 and 97% in 1963 and the figures suggest that the city draws most heavily for its immigrants on the area of its immediate hinterland. For instance, the 1950 figures indicated that of the city's population of a little over 230,000, 73% were Yoruba, 12% were Ibo; 37% were Lagos-born, 39% had been born in the neighbouring Western Nigeria, 11% in the East and 8% in the North. By 1964 the Yoruba composition was 59%, Ibo 20.6%, Edo and Urhobo 8.9%, Ibibio and Efik 6.8%, Hausa 1.2% while the balance came from the category of non-Nigerian Africans.⁶ This resulted in the formation of a social heterogeneous community not found elsewhere in Nigeria.

Urbanisation, literacy, and school attendance

One immediate consequence on education of such urbanisation is that it overburdens the educational system and intensifies the demand for education beyond its normal limits. The competitive atmosphere characteristic of the city raises the aspirations of individuals and groups. More than this, education, for various reasons peculiar to the city, is viewed in strict economic terms; an investment that will be repaid immediately with profit after the graduate obtains a job. On its better side, therefore, urbanisation has helped to raise the literacy level of the city population. Thus the literacy percentage for Lagos is higher than that for any other area in Nigeria. From the 1971 estimates, while Nigeria claims a literacy percentage of 40, the Lagos percentage was conservatively estimated at 70, the highest in any city in Nigeria. Again, Lagos State has the highest percentage of primary school enrolment in the whole of Black Africa. The 1969 figures show that 237,000 children were of primary school age, and, of these, 207,000 (87.2%) were actually in school. This is a considerably high percentage in a country where the lowest primary enrolment percentage is 4.4 and the national figure still stands at 30.8%.⁷

It is pertinent at this point to note that migrants into Lagos are essentially literate groups, and are mostly men. Higher educational attainment was a necessary condition for male preparation for urban jobs while most female migrants came as wives or potential wives who did not consider their educational qualifications as

carefully as persons seeking employment. In 1964, for example, it was estimated that 51.4% of Lagos male migrants between 15 and 24 years had primary education compared with 39.6% of the Lagos-born male population. At secondary level, the Lagos-born male population appeared more educated with 54.9% possessing secondary education compared with the migrants' 35.9% (see Table 3). There is a wide disparity in the educational levels reached by male and female migrants. For instance, while over 50% of the female migrants had primary education their percentages are conspicuously low in the area of secondary education. In contrast, the gap at most levels between the education of males and females was narrower for the Lagos-born population. As Table 2 indicates, a high proportion of the migrants are those with primary and secondary education who are seeking wage employment in urban economy or opportunities for continued education that the city offers.

Urbanisation and the teaching personnel

It is in the area of the effects of urbanisation on educational achievement and standard that difficulties generally arise. The question frequently asked is whether or not urbanisation has a favourable impact on the city schools' educational standard and achievement. Two popular yardsticks of measuring educational standard and achievement in the new nations are the academic qualifications of the teaching personnel and the performance of pupils in standardised public examinations. Studies show that Lagos primary and secondary school teachers are generally better qualified than those found elsewhere in the country.⁸ For instance, while the percentage of qualified secondary school teachers stood at 42.5 for the nation the percentage for Lagos was 66. However, pupil performance in public examinations has not been correspondingly better in Lagos. In fact, in 1966 Lagos had the worst high school results in the country both qualitatively and quantitatively. In that year, of the 1,595 candidates presented for the public high school examinations, 167 were in Division One, 269 in Division Two, and 373 in Division Three. Put in percentage form, only 51.7 of the Lagos candidates passed in public examinations in a year when the national percentage of passes was 65.2.

The reasons for the movement of qualified teachers to Lagos are obvious. At certain teaching levels, the salaries are higher, more

fringe benefits are available to Lagos teachers than elsewhere, and above all, there are ample opportunities for professional growth and development. What is less obvious is why these teachers become less 'effective' in the city's educational system. Attempts to investigate this phenomenon (among Lagos teachers) have revealed certain interesting characteristics of Lagos teachers that may explain the problem. The first step was to concede that Lagos teachers operate in a less suitable physical environment both in and out of school than do their counterparts in the 'provinces'. They teach incredibly large classes, encounter serious transportation hazards, and operate with inadequate and sometimes non-functioning teaching aids. The most serious charge against Lagos teachers, however, is that they are heavily involved in part-time enterprises at the expense of their whole-time appointments. A study of 120 Lagos teachers on the subject revealed that 68.3% made about one-third of their basic salaries from some kind of outside commitment. In nine clear cases the basic salaries were far less than earnings from private practice.⁹

Another peculiar problem of the teaching personnel in Lagos is the high turnover rate. The period of service ranges from one week to eight years and the study referred to earlier indicates that the length of service decreases consistently with the standard of the teachers' certificates, that is, the higher the qualification the less the length of service. When all the figures were computed for all the teachers the average period of service in school was 2.27 years. Table 4 shows the extent of this mobility in 15 Lagos schools.

A clear distinction was made between attrition and turnover. Turnover covers all forms of withdrawals from the school and movements within the profession, resignation, death, transfer to another school, further education and so forth. Attrition refers to all forms of withdrawals from the profession.

There can be little doubt that there is a close relationship between stability in the teaching profession and the efficiency of the educational system. If experience on the part of the teacher contributed in general to increased efficiency in the classroom (and there can be little doubt that it does) a large turnover is certain to produce a poorer educational product than would result if the teaching staff had remained relatively stable. Second, a constantly shifting personnel also makes it extremely difficult to place teaching on a truly professional basis. With the average teaching experience not exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, it is hardly to be expected that there

Table 3

Lagos: Education of the Male/Female Population 15 years of age and over, 1964Source: *Caldwell and Okonjo P. 329*

Male	Primary Education	Secondary Education
<i>Lagos-born</i>		
15-24	39.6 (60.7)	54.9 (27.9)
25-34	34.7 (50.0)	30.6 (18.2)
35-44	34.3 (48.6)	40.0 (17.1)
45 and over	29.2 (44.9)	58.3 (24.1)
<i>Migrants</i>		
15-23	51.4 (55.1)	35.9 (20.2)
25-34	33.6 (29.2)	40.8 (13.9)
35-44	35.7 (25.3)	32.5 (17.2)
45 and over	38.7 (38.8)	22.6 (—)

will appear in teaching the same professional consciousness that is found among those occupations whose members rarely withdraw from service until old age compels their retirement. Third, each time that a teacher finds himself in a new school he requires time to adjust to the school and its organisation. During the adjustment

Table 4

Turnover and attrition rate in 15 Lagos schools
Attrition figures are in brackets

Year	Total staff population	Total turnover	% Turnover
1966	322	96 (36)	30.5 (11.2)
1967	410	126 (40)	30.7 (9.80)
1968	412	142 (43)	34.4 (10.4)

period the teacher is evidently working at his lowest level of efficiency. Fully adjusted, he probably discovers the school is not the right place for him.

Urbanisation and the students

Side by side with the problem of teacher turnover in Lagos is the more disturbing rate of pupil drop-outs. Three major reasons can compel the Lagos schoolboy to abandon the school: inability of the parents to meet the fees; frustration resulting from persistently low academic achievement; pressure to look for wage employment however low. The first factor is particularly applicable to the secondary school (since primary education is free) where it accounts for nearly 50% of the total drop-outs. The question of exorbitant school fees is a great problem for secondary school aspirants in Lagos. At a time when university tuition fees stand at below ₦200 per annum a large number of Lagos high schools charge higher fees. In such a situation, low-income class parents, unaccustomed to paying school fees, find it almost impossible to bear the financial burden. The real breaking point is at the end of the third year (sometimes the fourth) when the school, the parent, and the pupil unhappily begin to talk and think of alternatives.

Official figures available on school drop-outs for a particular year, 1971, show that of the 7,165 high school students enrolled in January, 558 had dropped out by December. A study of fifteen schools reveals the drop-out characteristics shown in Table 5. In Table 6 the gradual withering of students over the five-year period is illustrated. Summarily, approximately one-third of those who started the first year end up in the fifth year which is also the expected year of graduation.

Trends in primary education

Because education is free at the primary level, there is opportunity for every six-year-old to obtain primary education at the expense of the state. Besides, such constraints conventionally associated with the decision to go to school (parental ignorance, service in the farms, etc.) are not readily applicable to Lagos where there is tremendous enthusiasm every year to register six-year-olds for primary education. Interviews with headmasters will suggest that

the situation is far from being one of demand for six-year-olds. Rather, the reverse will be the true position, that is, too many children registering for limited openings.

An observation of the admission trends (Table 7) shows that the irresistible demand for more Primary One openings is becoming increasingly difficult to meet. 1971 was the turning point as 1972 saw a rather precipitous drop in Primary One openings. At state level the drop was as high as 10,000. An interesting development is in the City of Lagos itself where the drop was up to 15,000 in one year. When the divisional figures are compared, it is seen that the real problem is in the city which accounted for a huge proportion of the state loss.

Table 5

Drop-outs in 15 Lagos secondary grammar schools

Year	Student population	Drop-outs	Percentage drop-out
1970/71	4,729	495	10.46
1971/72	4,975	697	14.01
1972/73	5,489	825	15.03

Table 6

Student attrition in selected Lagos secondary grammar schools

Year	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year	Total attrition i.e. difference between 1st and 5th years
1970/71	2,070	1,823	1,434	1,169	615	1,455
1971/72	2,243	2,049	1,735	1,412	991	1,252
1972/73	3,362	2,832	2,474	2,028	1,367	1,995

Wastage

To understand the seriousness of the extent of wastage in Lagos primary schools it may be useful to draw attention to the recommendations made by the 1962 Addis Ababa Conference of African Ministers of Education for the period 1960-80 in respect of the development of primary education. The conference laid out an inventory of educational needs and priorities and set forth both short-term and long-term targets in the development of all levels of education in post-independence Africa. With particular reference to primary education the recommendations were as follows:

- 1 An annual increase of an additional 5% of the age-group entering primary school.
- 2 Wastage at 10% each year during the cycle (cumulative wastage target of 41% for a six year system).
- 3 Distribution of teachers on basis of qualifications to be as follows:
 - a Highly qualified (secondary level education plus three years' professional training) 10% (Nigerian equivalent = graduates and N.C.E. teachers).
 - b Adequately qualified (primary schooling plus four years' professional training) 45% (Nigerian equivalent = Grade II teachers).
 - c Underqualified (primary schooling plus two years' professional training) 45% (Nigerian equivalent = Grade III teachers).

The numerical representation of wastage in a six-year cycle is presented in Table 9.

*Table 7***Primary year one openings in Lagos State 1968-72**

Year	Lagos	Badagry	Epe	Ikeja	Ikorodu	Total
1968	23,105	3,967	3,229	6,102	1,576	37,979
1970	25,672	4,444	3,552	8,393	1,703	43,764
1971	42,887	4,875	3,951	10,810	1,753	64,276
1972	27,942	5,628	3,856	14,873	2,080	54,276

*Table 8***Pupil enrolment in Lagos State primary schools: 1965-72**

Year	Lagos	Badagry	Epe	Ikeja	Ikorodu	Lagos State
1965	129,894	17,351	13,531	39,440*	—	200,216
1966	142,118	16,558	11,073	39,679*	—	209,428
1967	130,834	14,797	11,890	38,137*	—	195,658
1968	141,471	15,465	11,903	31,958	6,329	207,126
1969	157,080	17,459	13,055	37,324	6,654	231,572
1970	152,483	19,764	14,343	43,877	7,093	237,560
1971	149,348	19,937	14,038	50,211	7,407	240,941
1972	162,918	23,486	14,914	61,195	8,020	270,533

* Including figures for Ikorodu.

In 1969 the Lagos State abandoned its eight-year primary cycle and adopted a six-year model. This involved redistribution of pupils and mergers of classes. Consequently, those in the third year in 1969 consisted of pupils promoted from the previous Junior Primary Two as well as those in Standards One and Two. This of course applied to Lagos City schools only and we are taking numerical wastage in Lagos as the difference between the third year enrolment and final year survivors. For other divisions numerical wastage is the difference between first year enrolment and survivors in the final year.

Measured in terms of the Addis Ababa recommendations, the wastage rates in Lagos primary schools are staggering. The state has recorded a cumulative wastage of 35,387 in six years representing 65.07% when compared with first year enrolments or 24.07% over and above the cumulative wastage target set for educational systems in Africa after independence. In Lagos City alone the numerical cumulative wastage was 25,388 representing 61.37% or an excess wastage of 20.37%.

The Addis Ababa Conference recommended that for each year of the primary cycle the wastage rate should not be above 10%. An examination of the wastage rates in Lagos State reveals disturbing trends; for instance a rate as high as 31.75% in one particular year

was reached while in the sixth year the wastage rate was 26%. In Lagos City primary schools the annual wastage rates for 1970, 1971, and 1972 were 37.78%, 11.64% and 29.72% respectively while the average drop-out rate in the past five years stood at around 11%.¹⁰

Wastage costs:

To determine the costs of wastage we took into account two categories of wastage:

- (a) wastage each year, and
- (b) wastage at the end of course.

To cost annual wastage we multiplied the number of wastage each year by ₦17.60 which is the unit cost of primary education for one year in Lagos State.

This only gives the cost to the government and total wastage will have to take into account the contribution of parents. To cost wastage at the end of course, we multiplied the unit cost by six, and then multiplied by the total number of wastage figures at the end of Primary Six, that is, the number of failures.

Thus we see that for the primary cycle ending in 1972 the wastage cost to the state government was ₦1,710,490.4, representing an average annual wastage cost of ₦285,081.73.¹¹ In Lagos City alone the wastage cost in the six-year cycle was ₦1,099,120.00 or ₦183,186.66 for one year representing 64.25% of total annual amount at state level.

Paradoxically, therefore, the city, while possessing increasing opportunities for schooling, is also characterised as a centre for high educational frustration. The case of Lagos represents an interesting example of the types of impact that urbanisation can have on the teaching personnel, the students and the educational system as a whole. In the foreseeable future the administration of the city school system will continue to constitute a serious problem. At present there is a tendency to over-concentrate the state's educational efforts in Lagos City.

Irrespective of the nature of the urban population new directions in the city school system will necessarily involve the emphasis on technical and vocational skills necessary to prepare youngsters for participation in the rapidly growing industrial labour force. Solutions which tend to over-emphasise increasing openings for secondary-level training or even attracting youth to apprentice-

ship programmes are superficial and may not yield permanent results. The ultimate solutions appear to be in attracting people (adult and youth) to less urban areas, and checking urban bias in the provision of educational facilities, social services and in the generation of employment. Such measures can be executed only through political decisions at the highest level. In addition, there is a need to give a wider role to professional educational planners in the city school system who can check the discontinuities and disparities between massive educational expansion and growing economies.

Table 9

Total wastage in Lagos state primary schools

Year	Lagos	Badagry	Epe	Ikeja	Ikorodu	Total
1st	27,942	5,628	3,856	14,873	2,080	54,379
2nd	29,155	4,813	2,981	12,540	1,564	51,053
3rd	41,367	4,311	2,716	11,778	1,410	61,582
4th	25,736	3,591	2,296	9,122	1,180	41,925
5th	22,739	2,855	1,792	7,056	957	35,399
6th	15,979	2,288	1,273	5,826	829	26,195
Total	162,918	23,486	14,918	61,195	8,020	270,533
Cumulative wastage	25,388	3,340	2,583	9,047	1,251	35,387

With regard to problem students and students who drop out of school, the city school system will have to experiment with the alternatives of (a) marshalling available resources to do as much as possible to retain such students in the learning environment; (b) introducing guidance counsellors as agents in helping the potential drop-out to adjust and stay in school and opening dialogues with parents of problem students; (c) evolving some other methods of school funding which will make the school

accessible to all and prevent dropping-out because of inability to pay school fees. While all the alternatives appear workable, it is the second that deserves the greatest attention. The use of guidance counsellors cannot be over-emphasised. Because of the wide range of skills needed to keep pace with new occupations which develop in the city, the parent of the student often will not have the specialised knowledge necessary to guide the child into the occupation of his choice. Indeed, the parent may not know of the existence of the occupation. More than this, the guidance counsellor is the only agent of a school system who does not represent bad grades, 'discipline', or the host of other threats seen by the student; and often the student will accept the professional counsellor more readily than he will the teacher or the administrator.

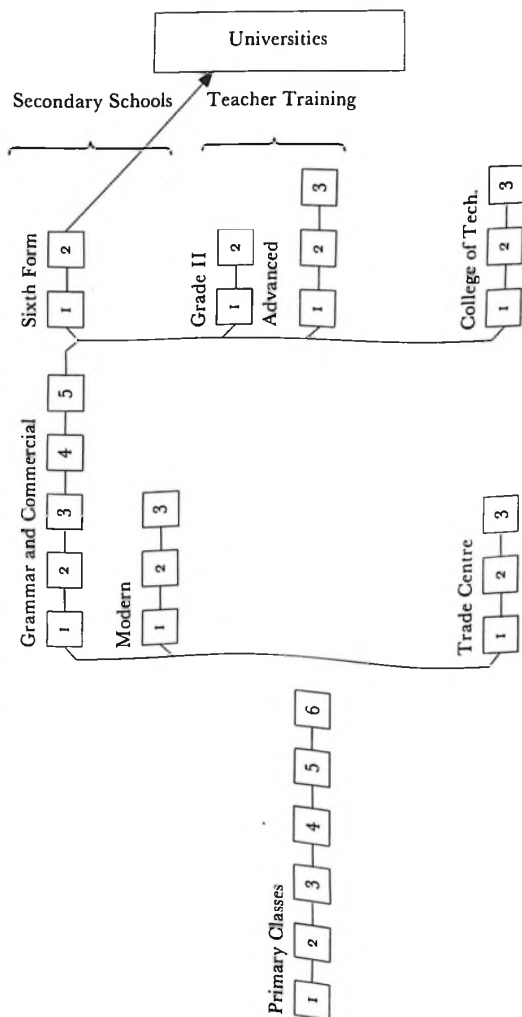
Finally, for greater effectiveness, the city teacher must be given more time to plan, more time to study, and fewer students. The disturbing rate of teacher turn-over in the city schools can considerably be reduced in several ways. The common strategies are:

- (a) Making the salaries and conditions of service for teachers compare favourably with those for those with equal education in government and possibly private sector.
- (b) Effecting a relative improvement of the teachers' career value *vis-à-vis* other branches of the public services and the private sector in the city.
- (c) Evolving a comprehensive promotion system for those within the profession; at present there is hardly any beyond the normal annual salary increases or those movements from teaching to administrative positions in the school system.
- (d) Arranging professional development during vacations and rewarding attendance and successful participation at such programmes.
- (e) Experimenting with a contractual system that will encourage continuity in teaching.
- (f) Further decentralisation of the state school system that would result in the formation of local school boards for the major geographical divisions in the city.

Notes

- 1 Computed from *Statistics of Education in Lagos State as at March 1972*, Series 1, vol. v, Lagos State Ministry of Education and Community Development.
- 2 George Pepple 1, King of Bonny from 1867, was noted for his education and the cause of missions he championed described by Lord Granville, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs as 'intelligent and well-disposed Chief'. One of the well-known Jaja of Opobo's sons, Sunday Jaja, was trained in both Liverpool and Glasgow. For more reading on this see AYANDELE, E. A., *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914*, Longman, London, 1966.
- 3 CARR, Henry, *The System of Education in Lagos*, Lagos Government Printer, 1901, p. 35.
- 4 Ayandele, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
- 5 The records show the nature of the problem of attendance. Going back to 1894 the figures were 74.3 for 1894, 74.00 for 1895, 73.1 in 1897, 73.8 in 1898, 75.7 in 1899, 77.3 in 1900 and 78.5 in 1901.
- 6 For further reading see OKONJO, C. and CALDWELL, J. C. (eds), *The Population of Tropical Africa*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1968 and MABOGUNJE, A. L., *Urbanization in Nigeria*, University of London Press, 1968.
- 7 Unpublished Report of The Study Committee on Education, *The Somade Report*, Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, p. 54.
- 8 ADESINA, Segun, *Secondary-Level Teachers: Supply And Demand In Lagos State*, A Project of the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, Lagos, 1969, ch. 3.
- 9 *Ibid*, p. 24.
- 10 ADESINA, Segun, 'Production And Utilization of Primary School Leavers: Case Study of Lagos State', University of Lagos, (Mimeo) 1974.
- 11 *Ibid*, p. 19.

The Structure of School System in Lagos



7 Health and Social Welfare

DR S. OLA DANIEL

Traditional medicine

Traditional medicine being practised in Nigeria dates back many years. In Lagos the traditional medical practitioners are called various names, such as Baba Elewe (Herbalist), Adahunse (Physician), Onisegun (Physician), Baba'Lawo (Herbalist/Soothsayer), etc.

The health of the people of Lagos had in the main been looked after by these 'traditional healers' until the advent of scientific medicine in Nigeria. Since that time both traditional and scientific medicine have been practised side by side even up till today.

Scientific medicine

It is not easy to draw the line in point of time between the traditional healing era and the beginning of scientific medical care because the latter merged imperceptibly into the former. Nevertheless the introduction of scientific medicine in Nigeria is attributable first to the early Portuguese slave traders and later on to the missionaries. The limited intention of the Portuguese slave-trading expeditions was to provide medical care for their own personnel and to select healthy slaves. Because of the transient nature of the visits of the doctors who accompanied these expeditions, it is doubtful whether they made any impact on the health of the people of Lagos.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the introduction of modern medical care in Nigeria is credited more to the sustained and humanitarian work of the missionaries. For instance, the late Prime Minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, in his

speech on the occasion of Nigeria's Independence in 1960, praised and thanked the missionaries for pioneering education and medical care in Nigeria. This praise was well deserved. The first missionary hospital was built in Abeokuta in 1895 by the Roman Catholic Mission and a leper settlement was started in the same town two years later. It was not until 1898 that the colonial government built its first hospital outside Lagos.

Evolution of medical services

The government medical service, as is now known, began as part of a West African Medical Service, which emerged from a military background. It was recorded, however, that no medically qualified men came to Nigeria under the auspices of the army until the 1890s. There was 'centralised medical service, at first military, and then colonial in structure' which gave rise to a uniform medical and sanitary service. Under this service, there was uniformity in providing medical care throughout the country. Lagos, as the capital, had a fair share. The Lagos General Hospital, built in 1873, was reconstructed in 1925 to enable more patients to be treated; the Massey Hospital for children was also rebuilt the following year (1926).

Decentralisation

In the middle of the twentieth century the administrative structure for providing health care changed with the changing political structure of the country. With the creation of the Regions came the Regional Ministries of Health and Social Welfare. Lagos health services were put under the Federal Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. A further change took place after 1967 when Nigeria was reconstituted into twelve states, each with its own Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Medical services are also being rendered at local government level. However, Lagos is unique in that among local health authorities in Nigeria (before 1964) only the Lagos City Council has ever employed doctors on a full-time basis for its medical work. Other local health authorities have usually had doctors seconded for such

work from their respective State Ministries of Health. An assistant Medical Officer of Health was appointed in Ibadan in 1964.

Slow progress in providing medical care

It is pertinent to look at the health service from the colonial days to the present time in order to appreciate the progress of the health of the people of Lagos.

The forerunner of the colonial medical service was the West African Medical Services, which served the West African Frontier Force. The first hospital was started then as a reception centre for sick seamen of the Royal Navy. In 1873 the 45-bed Colonial



7.1 *The old Colonial Hospital, built in 1873*

Hospital (forerunner of Lagos General Hospital) was built. The same year the Infectious Diseases Hospital was built in Lagos for smallpox cases, and the Yaba Mental Home was started for lunatics. These hospitals formed the humble beginning for the provision of scientific medical care through hospitals to the people of Lagos, who were fast becoming aware of its usefulness. In fact some Nigerians had been sent abroad to train in 'English medicine' as it was then popularly called.

Eminent Nigerian doctors in Lagos

The first Nigerian doctors who worked in Lagos were Dr Nathaniel King, who arrived in Lagos in 1876, joined the colonial medical service and died nine years later, and Dr Obadiah Johnson, who joined the colonial medical service in 1889. These doctors became practitioners of long experience in Lagos (Ajayi 1965).

In 1896 another eminent Nigerian doctor, Dr Oguntola Odunbaku Sapara, entered the government service in Lagos (see Appendix I). The following year he abolished arm to arm vaccination and joined the Shopona (God of Smallpox) cult incognito to gain information which led to the Parliamentary Bill against their practices. In 1903 he founded the Massey Street Dispensary which has now become the Massey Street Children's Hospital. Within ten years (1900-10) the high infant mortality rate fell from 450/1,000 to 324/1,000 to the level shown in Table 2 according to the vital statistics which had become compulsory in Lagos.

Table 1

Lagos Vital Statistics

Date	Birth rate	Death rate	Infant mortality rate
1900	—	—	450 (per 1000)
1909	42.2	37.2	375 (per 1000)
1910	44.0	35.8	324 (per 1000)

Health problems

Apart from the infant mortality problem, since 1863 so many other urban problems were being tackled with inadequate medical staff, and the effect of the new Nigerian doctors was not felt until almost the outbreak of World War I. One of the problems was venereal disease. In 1931 a seaman's clinic was opened at Apapa, and large numbers of people were treated. Yaws and syphilis were rampant.

Mental illness constituted another vast problem. Lagos (population 326,000) had 58 cases of whom 30 were certified and sent to institutions, under the current Lunacy Ordinance (Brown 1938). Brown also remarked that the herbalists offered innumerable cures and treatment, chief of which was the 'medicinal whip' soaked in infusions of certain medicinal herbs before use.

The period 1919-30

These were the years of slumps and depression with the inevitable adverse effects on the health of the people of Lagos. During this period came the beginning of the steam tram known as 'Koko-maiko', opened in 1902, and which crossed the Carter Bridge from Iddo Terminus to Lagos Island. As shown below, this steam tram also laid the foundation for a new system of sewage disposal.

Sanitary tramways

This tram was first used for conveying coal. Later it was used for carrying nightsoil in pails. 'The sanitary tramway was commenced in 1906 by an extension of the track by one mile, ending 65 feet out from the shore near Wilmor Point, known as "Dejection Jetty", south of the Five Cowrie Creek Bridge, which it crossed at a point approximately at the site of the present Federal Palace Hotel.' In 1907 the tramway worked a 'Midnight Express' or 'Ghost Train' and it took over the sanitary functions of the line. Prison labour was used to push the tram and the loaded trucks across the bridge which was not strong enough to take the powerful engines of the tram.

The sanitary tramway was still in use until the new Carter Bridge was opened in October 1933. It continued to operate on a small scale until it finally closed.

Plague and the slums

The people of Lagos were living in areas with primitive roads, open drains which were not concrete, and many makeshift houses sprang up between the more traditional houses of town dwellers. It was not surprising, therefore, that in 1924, bubonic plague broke out in Lagos. During the epidemic, 414 patients were affected with the disease, the majority bubonic in character with only a few pneumonic cases. Through active preventive measures the outbreak was confined successfully to Iddo and Lagos Island for a whole year. Slum clearance and town planning in Lagos began as part of the control measures against this plague.

Dr W. S. Clark, who had previously held the post of the Medical Officer of Health of Lagos and later became the deputy director of the health service, worked effectively for the control of plague in Lagos. The measures he took were concerned with demolishing

some dilapidated buildings and improvement of poor environmental areas, while infected huts were surrounded with corrugated iron sheets planted in the ground. Cases found during house-to-house inspection were removed to the I.D.H. Rats were destroyed and examined for the presence of *xenophylla cheopsis*, which was the common vector, and *xenophylla brazilensis*, which was also frequently found.

First Health Week in Lagos

It was Dr W. S. Clark who organised the first Health Week in Lagos in 1922 and he also worked for improvement in medical care of prisoners. Since then Health Week and Exhibitions have become an invaluable public health measure directed towards the achievement and maintenance of good health in the individual and a healthful environment.

Agents or Organisations in the Present Health Services in Lagos

The categories of agencies or organisations responsible for delivery of health care in Lagos include the following:

- 1 Federal Ministry of Health;
- 2 State Ministry of Health;
- 3 Lagos City Council/Public Health Department;
- 4 The University—Lagos University Teaching Hospital;
College of Medicine University of Lagos and Institute
Child Health, Lagos;
- 5 Private practitioners;
- 6 Voluntary organisations;
- 7 Industry;
- 8 International bodies, e.g. World Health Organisation,
United Nations Children's Fund;
- 9 Armed forces;
- 10 Traditional 'medicine men';
- 11 Pharmacists and patent medicine dealers.

Organisation

Of the above categories, the Federal Ministry of Health, the State

Ministry of Health and the Lagos City Council play major roles in the provision of health care.

The Federal Ministry of Health is responsible for the overall health of the entire people of Nigeria and is responsible to the Federal Government. At the head of the Federal Ministry of Health is the Commissioner of Health who is charged with the responsibility for all medical and health matters. Under him and responsible to him for the execution of approved policy are the Chief Medical Adviser and the Permanent Secretary. In each of the twelve states in the country there is a State Commissioner of Health and each state has its own Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Health.

Division of functions

Both the Federal and State Ministries of Health look after the health of the people. Certain functions are performed by Federal Ministry alone; some functions by the State Ministry alone and other functions jointly by the Federal and State Governments.

A. Federal Ministry alone

The Federal Ministry of Health looks after:

- 1 International health—regulations, aids and fellowships.
- 2 Quarantine at the ports—airports, seaports and border posts.
- 3 Federal public health laboratory service.
- 4 Controlling body for the medical and other professions.
- 5 Medical research.
- 6 Medical education—except in Lagos University.
- 7 Chemistry. (Chemistry division—Government chemistry).
- 8 Health advisory services— all areas.

B. Joint Federal and State responsibilities

- 1 National health planning.
- 2 Health education.
- 3 Epidemiology and mass communicable diseases campaigns.
- 4 Nutrition.
- 5 Environmental health.
- 6 Industrial health.
- 7 Para-medical education.

C. State responsibilities

- 1 Personal medical and health services.
- 2 Registration of births and deaths.
- 3 Registration of private hospital.

The above curative services are largely carried out in the hospitals and to some extent the health centres of the Lagos State. The entire range of preventive medical services, however, devolves on the local health authority of Lagos City Council whose department of Public Health is responsible for most of the preventive work of the community of Lagos. (See Appendix II.)

Preventive services and facilities in Lagos

Of the preventive services and facilities in Lagos the following deserve comment:

- 1 Child welfare service.
- 2 School health service (including dental services).
- 3 Maternal health service.
- 4 District nursing service.
- 5 Control of communicable diseases—smallpox eradication and measles control—mass campaign.
- 6 Environmental sanitation:
 - (i) Anti-mosquito schemes.
 - (ii) Control of rodents.
 - (iii) Health education.

Child welfare service

Table 2 shows the child welfare clinics in Lagos, their location and areas of Lagos served by them. These clinics are run by the Medical Officer of Health for Lagos under the child health service of his department. The service caters for the health of the pre-school population (children under five) with a unit in each ward for the convenience of the residents. Mothers are advised to use their own ward's child welfare facilities.

The clinic is run by an Assistant Medical Officer of Health who is assisted by a senior health visitor and health sisters. The auxiliary staff comprise health visitors and clinic assistants, de-

partmentally trained, who are of great assistance to the health sisters. The main function of the clinic is to promote the health of the children by advising mothers on the care and management of their children with particular emphasis on nutrition (a major health problem in developing countries of the world), immunisation, health education and prevention of illnesses. Minor ailments are also treated if and when necessary.

Child welfare clinics are mostly held in the morning, but evening ones are held for working mothers. Monthly clinics are also held in villages in Lagos.

Classes are organised in the nutrition clinics to give mothers practical demonstrations on the preparation, cooking and serving of baby foods.

In 1972 a total of 89,632 children attended the child welfare clinics.

It has been suggested that records of children attaining over five years should be forwarded to the School Health Service for follow-up.

School Health Service

This service looks after the health of the schoolchildren in Lagos.

Clinics run by Ministry of Health, Lagos State:

- 1 Oro-yinyin Street, Oko-Awo Lagos—serves schools in 'B' and part of 'H' Wards.
- 2 Ondo Street (West), Ebute-Metta—serves schools in Ebute-Metta.

Clinics run by Lagos City Council (Public Health Department):

- 3 No. 6 Catholic Mission Street, Lagos—serves schools in 'C', 'G' and part of 'H' wards. This clinic moved from 42 Broad Street (Yakubu Gowon Street) in 1968.

Group School Treatment Centres* are jointly run by the Lagos State Ministry of Health and Lagos City Council. Each centre is attached to the nearest health centre.

Lagos Island ('A' Ward)

- 1 St Paul's School, Breadfruit Street, Lagos.
- 2 Methodist School, Bankole Street, Lagos, attached to John Street Health Centre, serving schools in 'A' Ward.

Surulere

- 3 City School, Itire Road.

- 4 Salvation Army School, Iyun Road, attached to Randle Avenue Health Centre, Surulere.

Igbobi

- 5 City School, Onayade Street, attached to Randle Avenue Health Centre, Surulere.

Yaba

- 6 Methodist School, Herbert Macaulay Street, attached to Randle Avenue Health Centre, Surulere.

Apapa

- 7 Baptist School, Agbebi Street.
- 8 Methodist School, Randle Street.

The School Health Service, as practised in developed parts of the world, is mainly concerned with preventive work but this is not quite so in Lagos where more than 50% of the time spent is absorbed in curative aspects of the service. The reason for this apparent slow pace in the administration of preventive medicine was due to the acute shortage of doctors and nurses, and other health facilities. It is feared that the situation will continue for a long time if there is no appreciable improvement in the infrastructure of the health services of the country in general and Lagos in particular. Nevertheless the steps taken to promote the health of the school children are as follows:

- 1 Routine school medical inspection of new entrants in primary schools.
- 2 Dental inspection.
- 3 Immunisation programme.
- 4 Routine eye testing and inspection of new entrants in primary schools.
- 5 Nutrition clinic.
- 6 Health education.
- 7 Follow-up home or school visits.
- 8 Inspection of school meals and food-sellers.
- 9 Inspection of school premises.

In 1972 the School Health Service treated 125,762 school-children which is 84% of the total school population in the City of Lagos. The morbidity pattern of the schoolchildren during 1972 reveals malaria as the most common illness (25,762 cases were treated), followed closely by 'lacerations, cuts and abrasions' (24,348). 10,652 children had ill-defined cough. Conjunctivitis, which reached an epidemic proportion in 1969 (13,492 cases were

recorded in the last quarter of 1969), had subsided in 1972 (2,835 cases for the whole year). The marked improvement in the incidence of conjunctivitis and other diseases has been largely due to health education which permeated all aspects of the service and was pursued at all levels over the years. From 1968 onwards, sex education talks were arranged for older children in the upper classes of primary schools and some secondary schools, as well as their teachers, in order to combat venereal diseases found not infrequently among schoolchildren.

Maternal Health Service

This was started in conjunction with the Lagos Island Maternity Hospital from which mothers were collected either for delivery at home (later known as *Domiciliary Service*) or in the midwifery centres. In 1968 there were six centres in all; two on the Island of Lagos and four on the mainland. A superintendent midwife, with a district nursing training in addition to general nursing and midwifery qualifications, assists an assistant Medical Officer of Health in the running of the centres. Other members of staff are nursing sisters, midwives and clinical attendants. The Island centre at 42 Broad Street (Yakubu Gowon Street) and the mainland centres at Gbaja, Surulere and Harvey Road, Yaba, are entirely run by Lagos City Council (Public Health Department) whereas John Street Centre in Lagos, Randle (Apapa) and Randle (Surulere) Health Centres on the mainland are run in co-operation with the staff of Lagos Ministry of Health. The Lagos City Council does not provide any doctor to serve these jointly-run centres. The programme suffered a temporary set-back during the civil war, the effect of which was a decrease in the number of new patients. The areas most affected were Apapa and Ajegunle which were predominantly occupied by the people from the East Central State. After the war the situation improved and the service became increasingly popular.

Mothers appreciated the importance of good ante-natal care and the scientific form of delivery which led to the rapid expansion of the service. Also, fathers' meetings were organised and held monthly at all centres to enlist their interest in the welfare of the babies and mothers, also to enable them to obtain health education on vital matters. In 1968 all centres took a total of 3,213 deliveries, 2,242 on the mainland and 971 on Lagos Island. In recent years

the service has been extended to the villages in Lagos State and clinics are in the following four villages:

- 1 Idi-Araba Village Clinic at Haruna Street, Idi-Araba.
- 2 Obalende Clinic at Eko Akete Close.
- 3 Iwaya Clinic at the Community Centre.
- 4 Apapa Village Clinic at Custom Barracks, Apapa.

This expansion has contributed to an increase in deliveries of 1,251 in 1972. A total of 4,464 deliveries occurred in 1972 under the supervision of the Maternal Health Service. 3,234 of these were recorded for the mainland while 1,230 deliveries were recorded for Lagos Island.

District Nursing Service

The Lagos City Council has even taken bigger strides to establish the District Nursing Service in Lagos in 1969, which essentially is a home nursing service and also complementary to hospital care of the patient after he has been discharged. The multi-purpose usefulness of this service to the community has been responsible for its phenomenal growth in the past four years; since it meets the need of patients with chronic illnesses, and those who are unable to attend daily as an out-patient for treatment. Besides, it forms useful links between the district nurse and the patient in his micro environment for 'closed circuit' health education on the one hand, and a liaison with the physician on the other, for effective treatment. The outcome of these relationships will ultimately be reflected in a high turnover rate of hospital bed occupancy.

Control of communicable diseases

Routine childhood immunisations are being carried out in Lagos against many communicable diseases and attempts are continuously being made to control en masse the scourge of such dreadful diseases as smallpox, measles, tetanus and cholera.

Smallpox Eradication and Measles Control: Mass Campaign

This mass campaign began in Lagos in July 1967 as part of a national scheme sponsored by the Nigerian Federal Military

Government, the World Health Organisation and United States of America International Aid. The Lagos Smallpox Eradication and Measles Control Programme was directed by the author. Everyone in Lagos from the age of three months upwards was vaccinated against smallpox and children in the age-group six months to four years were given immunisation against measles. As a cardinal principle in the practice of health education, the leaders of the community are usually invited to take an active part in the various campaigns. Prominent among the first few people to be vaccinated in this campaign was the paramount leader of the community—the Oba of Lagos. The whole of Lagos City was



7.2 *The Oba of Lagos being vaccinated in 1967 by the author of this chapter, Dr S. O. Daniel, then Assistant Medical Officer of Health*

covered in this exercise. The result is that smallpox has been eradicated in the City of Lagos, and indeed the whole of Nigeria, since 1970.

Tetanus

The machinery used for the eradication of smallpox is now being

directed towards mass control of tetanus in newborn babies by immunising all pregnant women in Lagos through the administration of injections of tetanus toxoid. Schoolchildren are prone to injuries at school, such as lacerations, cuts and abrasions, and run a very high risk of tetanus infection. In 1969 the first comprehensive anti-tetanus campaign in primary schools was organised and executed—about 150,000 schoolchildren were vaccinated. This measure has now become an annual event carried out in schools at the beginning of the school year. Epidemics of tetanus have since been contained.

Cholera

But from time to time epidemics of other serious communicable diseases do occur in the country, and Lagos, being the federal capital, an important international airport and a major seaport, is threatened by importation of outbreaks from other parts of the world. Cholera broke out in Lagos in 1970. This disease, unknown in Nigeria until then, was said to have been spread along the coast from other West African countries into Nigeria by the fishermen and other petty traders. Many lives were claimed by cholera before it was put under control by strict preventive measures, including mass vaccination of groups of people who were considered to be at risk as it was also spread by contacts with the cholera-infected patient. The view expressed by some leading epidemiologists in the country is that cholera will still remain endemic in Nigeria for as long as the appallingly low level of the environmental sanitation exists.

Environmental sanitation

Environment is defined as the aggregate of all the external conditions and influences affecting the life and development of an organism. Thus the environmental factors in disease causation may be related not only to the physical aspects of the environment but also to the social, economic, and biological factors which impinge upon man's physical and mental health. This, no doubt, is a broad view of environment referred to as 'total environment' and is of immense value in tackling problems of environmental sanitation of any community. It is no less applicable to the City of Lagos.

The physical environment which meets the eyes of the public daily is the common yardstick used to measure the environmental sanitation because the cleanliness, orderliness and habitability of the environment reflect good sanitation. If, however, a city's cleansing services (refuse, sewage, streets and drain cleaning) lag behind and become ineffective, poor sanitation of the environment results. The Lagos City Council has provided, from time immemorial, services in connection with sanitation of the 'total' environment including roads and open spaces, buildings, markets, abattoirs, food premises, food, water supply, refuse disposal, offensive trade, domestic animals, rodents, mosquitoes and other insects. In 1913 these services were rendered by a Board of Health. At that time the sanitation of Lagos Sanitary District (comprising Lagos Island, Ebute-Metta and Apapa as well as Victoria Beach with a population of 76,246) was controlled by the Lagos Municipal Board, which was composed of three officials and five unofficial members appointed by the Governor of Nigeria, and presided over by a gentleman of wide colonial experience, who was also selected by the Governor. To facilitate the work of the Health Board, several laws were passed, notably one on identification of houses in Lagos. On 26 June the Towns (Amendment) Ordinary 1913 was enacted to provide for the identification of houses in Lagos by means of numbers.

Anti-mosquito schemes

The Destruction of Mosquito Ordinance had been introduced on 4 August 1910. The high mosquito index for Lagos (3.7%) in 1910, coupled with the outbreak of yellow fever in Lagos three years later, gave considerable impetus to anti-mosquito work. Strenuous endeavours were put forth by the Medical Officers in all districts to reduce the index to the lowest possible figure. It was remarkable to note that in Sanitary District of Lagos, 19,632 notices were issued, 1,060 persons were prosecuted and £364 (₦728) in fines were collected.

The Sanitary Inspectors (now known as Health Inspectors) still carry out house-to-house routine inspection, during which particular attention is paid to mosquito breeding. In 1972, 136,574 compounds were inspected and 1,660 cases of mosquito breeding were discovered in 443 compounds. Other breeding places treated were

public open drains, street pools, septic tanks, soak-away pits, canoes, etc.—all these constitute domestic and peri-domestic anti-mosquito schemes.

In recent years coastal swamps drainage schemes have been introduced, after a successful pilot scheme in Apapa during 1942 to 1944. The aim of the scheme is to eradicate *Anopheles gambiae* variety melas. It involved the drying up of swamps and marshy lands by construction of anti-malaria drains, bunds (sea wall) and tidegates. The flooding of the canalised areas during high tide is prevented by the tidegate which also permits water to discharge into the lagoon at low tide. In this way stagnation of water in the drain and consequent mosquito breeding do not occur. Twenty miles of bunds and twenty-one tidegates were constructed, a hundred and twenty miles of drains were dug and about 4,000 acres of land were drained. The operation of the scheme by Federal Malaria Unit was transferred to the Lagos City Council in 1948.

Control of rodents

In the biologic environment not only mosquitoes were creating a nuisance but also rodents. The control of rodents is an integral part of environmental sanitation measures and the number of rodents caught and destroyed by Inspectors and 'labourers' in Lagos in 1913 numbered 24,767. The condition has improved with the general sanitation. So in 1972, 204 rats were caught and killed. Nevertheless, the Lagos City Council continues to intensify not only its scavenging operations but also its 'cleansing' activity, especially collection and disposal of refuse in an attempt to keep the rat infestation low and to prevent as far as possible the breeding of houseflies.

Health Education

Health Education of the public is vital in achieving the ideal situation. Towards this goal, a 'Keep Lagos Clean' campaign was launched in 1972 in which the Health Education Service of the Lagos City Council featured prominently. Other activities of the unit over the years include the smallpox eradication and measles

control campaign in Lagos; Road Safety Week which took place two months after the change-over on 1 April 1972 to right-hand drive to remind the public about safety on the roads; Community Health Education Programmes; organisation of, or participation in, various exhibitions for the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, and for personal health services.

Improvement and progress in recent years

Vital statistics

Since 1863 when registration of births and deaths became compulsory in Lagos, the collection of vital statistics for this city had been gradually improving. Decennial censuses had taken place in Nigeria in 1921, 1932, 1952, 1963 and 1973 from which estimates of the population of Lagos had been taken.

The Federal Office of Statistics gave the estimated population of Lagos for the year 1972 as 941,000, but it is generally believed that this may be an underestimation.

The health of the people of Lagos had been improving. Although the crude birth rate based on registered and actual births rose from 47.1 per 1,000 population in 1971 to 69.5 in 1972 yet the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births has fallen from 75.27 in 1971 to 70 in 1972. The number of births in Lagos for 1972 was 47,161 which was 2,701 more than in 1971. The death rate decreased from 15.37 per 1,000 to 9.35 per 1,000 during the same period according to the Medical Officer of Health's annual report for 1972.

This improvement is no doubt due to increasing prosperity in Lagos coupled with its good fortune in having a greater concentration of physicians and health facilities than most cities in the Federation. For instance, there has been a remarkable increase in the number and capacity of government and private hospitals, health centres and clinics in Lagos in recent years. (See Table 3.) The number of doctors, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, and paramedical personnel working in them has also considerably increased and correspondingly the available medical services have also improved. However, there is still room for improvement in the health care delivery as evidenced by the unacceptably high maternal mortality rate as a result of the grossly inadequate obstetrics facilities at present available to mothers in childbirth.

Limitation to progress

Apart from the inadequate facilities, other factors impeding progress are the following:

- (a) Uncontrolled urban population development/movement.
- (b) Poor environmental sanitation.
- (c) Traffic congestion.

Uncontrolled urban population

In the annual report of the Medical Officer of Health for 1972 it was stated that the growth rate of the City of Lagos is as high as 10.12%. This phenomenal growth tends, no doubt, to stretch the health and social welfare services of the city beyond bearable bounds, with the resultant overcrowding.

Environmental sanitation

This problem is still present, especially the irregular or inadequate clearance of refuse from premises and major collection points. According to the Medical Officer of Health of Lagos City Council, accumulation of refuse in the city creates 'scenic blight and health hazards'. More funds will definitely be required to purchase highly efficient, economical and labour-saving equipment for refuse collection in Lagos. In 1972 there were 5,212 wells in Lagos, and although water production in Lagos has risen from 23 gallons of pipe-borne water per head in 1955 to 42 gallons of pipe-borne water per head in 1972, this is still inadequate to provide more than a million consumers with a flow of potable water available at all times, conveniently accessible and adequate for all purposes. It cannot be over-emphasised that water plays a great role in disease prevention, health promotion and general economic development.

Traffic congestion

Traffic congestion in Lagos has now become a threat to the health of the inhabitants. It may have caused physical and psychological reactions in people suffering emotional tension, which may aggravate the conditions of those already suffering from peptic ulcers,

or with existing hypertension. As a result of hold-ups, usually unpredictable, people requiring immediate or emergency transportation to the hospital may be unduly delayed. This has on some occasions led to, for instance, the birth of a child in a vehicle en route to the hospital, and delay in giving vital blood transfusions may endanger the lives of road-accident casualties.

The carbon monoxide resulting from incomplete combustion of carbonaceous materials from the petrol-driven engines of the automobiles may cause serious environmental pollution inimical to health after motorists' long and repeated exposure to it. The possible role of carbon monoxide in the genesis of disease, as distinct from its role in the exacerbation of existing illness or other impairment of function, could be an important health problem.

Evidence of construction activities aimed at easing the traffic situation abounds all over the city and its suburbs.

PART II

Social welfare services

Social welfare services in Lagos, like the health services, are being provided at two levels by two different authorities. At the state level, the Lagos State Ministry of Health and Social Welfare Services provides the services. In 1972 this ministry had been further divided into two—the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Sports and Social Welfare and Community Development—to emphasise the importance placed on social welfare services by the Lagos State Government. At local authority level, the Lagos City Council also provides social welfare services in Lagos. As already mentioned, most of the services now being rendered by the Lagos State Ministry of Health and Social Welfare were handed over by the Federal Ministry of Health and Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in 1967. The health functions, including curative medical care, were taken over from the former and the social welfare functions from the latter ministry. The Children's and Adult Welfare Service was among the services transferred to Lagos State Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, but later the Adult Welfare Service was transferred to the Lagos City Council.

The social welfare services of the Lagos City Council are divided into three main categories:

- 1 Institutional care for the aged and destitute.
- 2 Personal social welfare including:
 - (a) Port welfare;
 - (b) Prison welfare;
 - (c) Adult destitute relief and rehabilitation;
 - (d) Repatriation and raiding of undesirables.
- 3 Development of community by groups' efforts.

Welfare of the aged and destitute

The care of the aged and destitute in Lagos, as in other countries such as Scotland, was started by voluntary organisations, religious organisations and the parish. In Lagos the pioneers were the Salvation Army and the Roman Catholic Church Organisations who began rough shelter about forty-eight years ago to look after a few destitute men and women. This was the beginning of parochial care which continued for about ten years. In 1938 at the request of these parochial bodies, the local authority (Lagos City Council) assumed responsibility for this service. Around 1938 the Old People's Home was built, for eleven persons; since then the admission has been considerably enlarged. In 1958 this duty was legalised under a Public Health Ordinance—Section 142, sub-section 17 of the Lagos Local Government Ordinance (Cap. 93) of the laws of Nigeria, 1958. Today there are 49 inmates of the home. The development of this service was largely due to the efforts of the late Dr I. L. Oluwole, the first Nigerian MOH.

Other destitutes

Other destitutes, who are not aged, are also looked after by the local authority. Those entitled to relief fall into five groups:

- 1 Widows with or without dependants;
- 2 Men, disabled for work from sickness or infirmity;
- 3 Deserted wives with dependants;
- 4 Single women with illegitimate children; and
- 5 Lunatics and beggars.

The last group constitutes a major problem in the City of Lagos; makeshift efforts had been made to clear them off the streets in an attempt to keep the city clean for important events such as the Independence Celebration and Second All Africa Games. Some

have been repatriated immediately after the street raiding; others have been kept in transit in the Old People's Home. However, in 1972, a permanent camp at Gbagada Estate was created for these beggars and vagrants. At the end of 1974 about 500 persons were living in this camp and being looked after by both the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and the Social Welfare Division of the Local Authority. Unlike the Old People's Home, which admits mostly Lagosians, the 'Beggars' Camp' caters for all ethnic groups. This non-discriminatory treatment was also shown towards seamen and prisoners.

Welfare of seamen

As Nigeria's chief seaport, Lagos receives innumerable ships at its quays throughout the year from foreign countries. The promotion of health of the seamen is the responsibility of the Federal Ministry of Health while the Social Welfare Unit of the local authority works to promote their welfare by offering the following services:

- (a) Visitation of ships to find out requirements of the seamen.
- (b) Exchange of library books and issue of magazines and newspapers to ships of all nationalities.
- (c) Visitation of homes of African seamen at their request when they are away from Nigeria to look into their family affairs.
- (d) Visitation of sick seamen in hospital to attend to their personal requirements.
- (e) Organising excursions, entertainments and sporting activities for the visiting seamen.
- (f) Seeing to the comfort of distressed foreign seamen left behind by their ships due to ill health or other causes.

The goals of these services are, firstly, to provide recreational facilities to foreign seafarers during their stay in Lagos City, and to arrange for visits to interesting places to afford them a break from the monotonous routine of work; secondly, to give considerable attention to their problems, and give moral as well as financial support, where necessary, to wives and children when the husbands are away abroad.

Welfare of prisoners

Rehabilitation of prisoners is one of the primary duties of the

Lagos City Council's Department of Social Welfare. This duty involves the prevention of the prisoner from returning to prison after his first offence. It also prepares the prisoner for a new way of life by giving him necessary material for the start of a new life.

The Social Welfare Unit carries out the rehabilitation in two stages: in the prison and after discharge from the prison. Just before the prisoner's discharge arrangements are made for him to appear before the Discharge Board of the Lagos Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society (DPAS) a voluntary organisation recognised by the government. If the prisoner has learnt a trade while in prison he may be granted financial aid by the DPAS to carry on the trade. In other instances money is given to start an entirely new trade. In 1973, 673 prisoners were interviewed in Lagos. Out of 226 prisoners interviewed by DPAS last year 221 (nearly 100%) were granted aid.

Recently welfare departments have been set up within the federal prisons, and a welfare officer for each state has been appointed. A social worker is still to be appointed to give a full complement of staff. This welfare department will take over from the Social Welfare Unit of the Lagos City Council.

Conclusion

Health and social welfare services will continue to improve and in another decade or so greater strides will have been recorded. Research continues into more modern techniques for the advancement of the health of people in developing countries. Blessed as they are with natural resources, Nigeria in general and Lagos in particular will resolutely contribute their quota to the well-being of their people.

Appendix I

Early Nigerian Medical Practitioners in Lagos

(SCHRAM, Ralph: *A history of the Nigerian Health Services*, Ibadan University Press, 1971, pp. 443-5)

1 Dr Nathaniel King (1847-84)

1875 Qualified in Edinburgh.

1876 M.D. and C.M. Edinburgh. Came and worked in Lagos.

2 Dr Obadiah A. Johnson (1849-1920)

Attended school in Lagos.

1884 Graduated.

1886 Master of Surgery Edinburgh. Returned to Lagos.

1887 Asst. Col. Surgeon in Sierra Leone, 1 year.

1888 Returned to Lagos for Private Practice.

1889 Appointed Colonial Medical Service, later in

1897 Resigned from Colonial Medical Service.

3 Dr Charles Jenkin Lumpkin (1851-1919)

1884 M.D. Brussels.

1900 Joined Drs Johnson, Randle and Sapara in Colonial Service.

4 Dr John Randle (1855-1928)

1891 M.V., C.M., M.D. (Dunelin).

1900 Joined Colonial Medical Service.

(J. K. Randle Memorial Hall named after his son.)

5 Dr Oguntola Odunbaku Sapara (1861-1935)

Born in Sierra Leone in 1861.

1876 Lagos C.M.S. Grammar School.

1882 Unpaid assistant dispenser in Lagos Hospital.

1885 Fellow of Royal Institute of Public Health (Glasgow).

Ebute-Metta Maternity Home being built.

1896 Entered Government service in Lagos.

1897 Abolished arm to arm vaccination, joined Shopona cult incognito to gain information which led to the Parliamentary Bill against their practices.

1903 Founded Massey Street Dispensary (known as Massey Street Children's Hospital).

6 Dr Orisadipe Obasa (1863-1940)

1891 M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (Lond.).

1892 Graduated Edinburgh.

7 Dr Kubolaje Faderin (1873-1942)

1912 Graduated Edinburgh, M.B., Ch.B.

8 Dr Richard Akinwale Savage (1874-1935)

1874 Born in Lagos.

1900 M.B., Ch.B.

1905 In practice in Lagos.

9 Dr Ayodeji Oyejola (1874-1960)

1874 Born in Abeokuta.

Lagos schooling.

1905 Graduated Edinburgh.

1914 Private practice, 71 Docemo Street, Lagos.

- 10 Dr Moyses Joao da Rocha (1876-1942)
1913 Graduated Edinburgh, M.B., Ch.B.
Practised in Lagos.
- 11 Dr Curtis Crispin Adeniyi-Jones (1876-1957)
Born in Sierra Leone.
1901 Graduated, Durham, England, Rohinda, Dublin, and
Hammersmith, West London.
Practised in Lagos.
Member of Legislative Council.
House had private hospital with theatre, built in 1914.

Table 2

Child Welfare Clinics in Lagos

Clinic premises	Location	Area served
Oke-Awo	'B' Ward	'B' and 'H' Wards
Obalende	'G' Ward	'C' and 'G' Wards
Onikan Health Centre	'G' Ward	
Harvey Road, Yaba	'F' Yaba	'E' Yaba
Gbaja Street, Surulere	'E' Surulere	'F' Surulere
Ondo Street (West E.B.)	'D' Ward	'D' Ward
Ebute-Metta Health Centre	'F' Ward	'F' Ward
Simpson Street, E.B.	'F' Ward	'F' Ward
*Apapa Health Centre	'D' North	'D' North
*Oke-Arin (John Street Health Centre)	'A' Ward	'A' Ward
*Randle Avenue Health Centre	'E' Surulere	'E' Surulere

* These clinics are run in the Lagos State Ministry of Health Centres.

Table 3

Medical Facilities in Lagos City

Name of Hospital or Clinic	Address or State	No. of beds	Ownership
Lagos Univ. Teaching Hosp.	Surulere	520	L.U.T.H. Board (Fed. Govt.)
Lagos Univ. Teaching Hosp. annex	Rly. Compound, E.B.	100	L.U.T.H. Board (Fed. Govt.)
Military Hosp., Lagos	Yaba	120	Federal Government
Creek Hospital (now Armed Forces Hosp.)	Lagos	—	Federal Government
Yaba Dispensary	Harvey Rd.	—	L.U.T.H. Board (Fed. Govt.)
Royal Orthopaedic Hosp.	Igbobi	317	Lagos State Government
Lagos Island Maternity Hospital	Lagos	229	Lagos State Government
Yaba Mental Hospital	Yaba	500	Lagos State Government
Tuberculosis Sanatorium and Clinic	Yaba	60	Lagos State Government
Infectious Diseases Hosp.	Yaba	184	Lagos State Government
Children's Hosp., Lagos	Lagos	86	Lagos State Government
General Hosp., Lagos	Lagos	239	Lagos State Government
Prison Hospital, Apapa	Apapa	20	Lagos State Government
Onikan Health Centre	Lagos	*6	Lagos State Government
John St. Health Centre	Lagos	*10	Lagos State Government
Surulere Health Centre	Randle Av., S/L	*10	Lagos State Government
Apapa Health Centre	Randle Rd., Apapa	*43	Lagos State Government
E.B. Health Centre	Ebute-Metta	—	Lagos State Government
Child Welfare Clinic	Rly. Compound, E.B.	—	Lagos City Council
Child Welfare Clinic and Midwifery Clinic	Harvey Rd., Yaba	—	Lagos City Council
Child Welfare Clinic and Midwifery Clinic	Prison St., Lagos	—	Lagos City Council
Child Welfare Clinic and Midwifery Clinic	Gbaja St., S/L	—	Lagos City Council
Child Welfare Clinic	Onikan, Lagos	—	Lagos City Council
Child Welfare Clinic	Oroyinyin St., Lagos	—	Lagos City Council
Antenatal Clinic Centre	67 Denton St., E.B.	—	Lagos State Government
Maternal Health	42 Yakubu Gowon	—	Lagos City Council
School Health	Catholic Mission St., Lagos	—	Lagos City Council
Group School Treatment Centre	Various	—	Lagos City Council
Chest Clinic	Yakubu Gowon St.	—	Lagos State Government
BCG Vaccination Clinic	Attached to Lagos Registry of Births and Deaths and LIMH	—	Lagos State Government
Eye Clinic	Yakubu Gowon St.	—	Lagos State Government
N.R.C./N.P.A. Apapa Dispensary	Wharf Rd., Apapa	—	Nig. Rly. Compound
NEPA Staff Clinic	Ijora	—	NEPA

* Maternity beds only

Figure 1

Evolution of Medical Services in Nigeria

West African Medical Services (West African Frontier Force)



Colonial Medical Service



Uniform Medical and Sanitary Service
(known as Federal Medical Services)



decentralisation



Regional Ministries of Health and Social Welfare Services



State Ministries of Health and Social Welfare Services

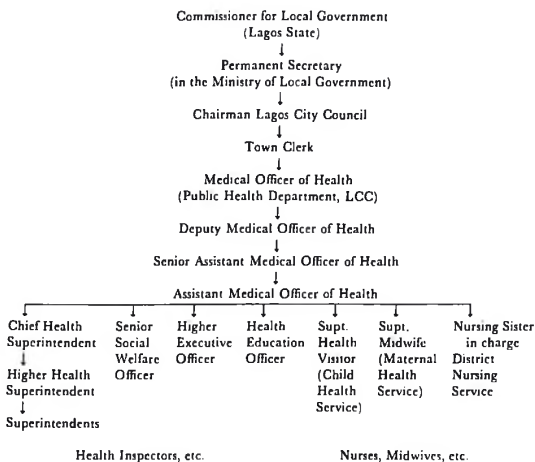


Doctors seconded to Town Council

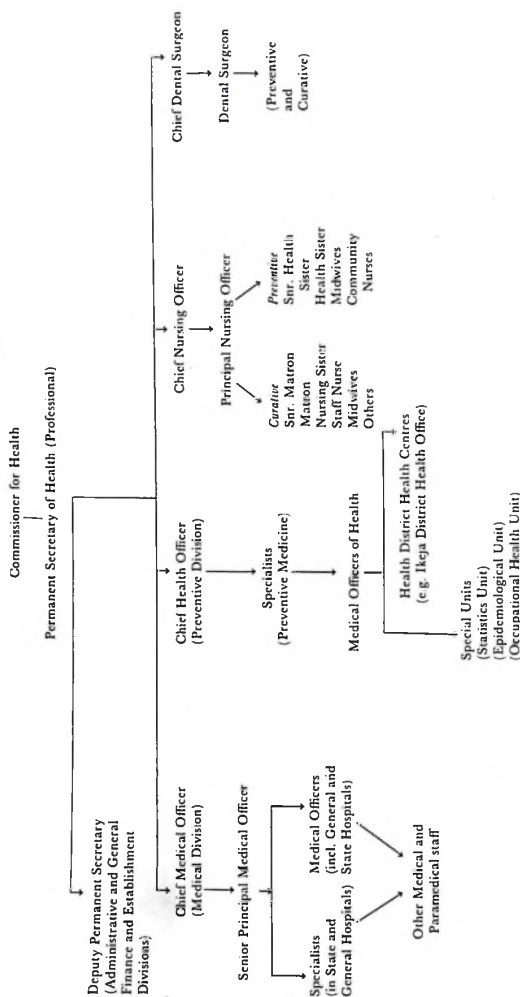
Doctors employed by
Town Council (Lagos)

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*Appendix II***Organisation of Local Authority in Lagos**

Administrative and Organisational Pattern of the Curative and Preventive Medical Services in Lagos State, Nigeria



8 Patterns and Developments in Lagos Religious History

G. O. GBADAMOSI

Any attempt to describe the religious history of Lagos comes face to face with the progress or otherwise of the three dominant religions in the city: traditional religion, Islam and Christianity. Religious history, it is generally agreed, has its own peculiar hazards, which are not very much diminished in dealing with a situation presented by an African city like Lagos. In a metropolis where trade predominates, and traders go and come, a study of the religious beliefs and policies of the people threaten to become a bewildering if fascinating mirage. The general Yoruba characteristic of an admixture of faith in the society, and even in the life style of the individual, compels caution in providing a chronicle of the progress or otherwise of any one faith. It is against the background of such peculiar problems, that we would prefer to deal with Lagos religious history, not by presenting individual accounts of each of the dominant but separate religions, but by attempting to sketch a total, if rough, picture in which the shifting kaleidoscope, the interplay and admixture of the religions would be perceived; an all-embracing picture where the swell and tide of each particular stream can be discerned, albeit in the general flow and turmoil of religious life. It is an essential part of this totalism, that, as could be expected in an African situation, religion would be seen in the context of life of the community, and an attempt will be made to see the interaction between religion and the society at large.

The religious history of this city during this period could be seen as resolving itself into three distinct phases. First, there was the *Era of Traditional Religion*, when this religion held an almost unchallenged sway, till about the middle of the nineteenth century when the rival religions of Islam and Christianity appeared more prominently on the scene. Traditional religion was by no means a forgotten or neglected theme, but such were the drive and zest and

the rapid spread of the other religions that this second phase could be christened the *Era of Religious Crusade*. It continued till about 1895. After this period, evangelical work did not diminish, but the non-evangelical aspects of the lives of the believers began to engage the attention of all alike. Two issues of politics and indigeneity henceforth became intertwined. On the one hand, the city saw the engaging interplay of policies and personalities, and the unending and shifting drama of doctrine and practice. On the other hand, and almost at the same time, members of both Church and Mosque strove to adjust the organisation of their foreign religion, and even its tenets and practices to their own local traditions and practices. This era which stretched into the early decades of the twentieth century can be described as that of *Religious Politics, Dissent and Indigeneity*. This leads especially in the more recent past to the domination of the issue of indigeneity. The dominance of one theme during a particular age does not, of course, rule out the presence of other forces being at work. For example, the crusade is still with us in modern times; and neither could we say that in the seventeenth century, there was no trace of religious politics and dissent. This periodisation only helps to highlight such major developments as characterised the unfolding religious history of the people in the city.

The era of traditional religion

In this first era, traditional religion predominated. In striking contrast to its Yoruba hinterland, however, Lagos had comparatively little traditional religion.¹ Some popular systems of divination such as Ifa and Osun were widely practised. The cult of Egungun was also well known, enjoying royal patronage since the days of Adele. And the belief in Olodumare, the Yoruba deity, was also familiar in this Yoruba city. But compared with such major Yoruba towns as Ife, Oyo, Ado-Ekiti, Abeokuta and Ijebu Ode, Lagos appeared to have been relatively free, in no small measure, of the whole galaxy of innumerable gods—most of whom were dutifully worshipped and regularly appeased by rulers and subjects alike. Groves in Lagos were relatively fewer; and traditional religious festivals and taboos were not comparatively too elaborate for the town as a whole. This relative paucity of traditional religion is curious, and the question can be raised as to

why this was so in an African indigenous town. While this might be a field for social anthropologists and theologians, the historian might try to draw attention here to the historical origins of this settlement. Beginning as a fishing settlement, Lagos was free from the myths and legends of the founding hunters and diviners characteristic of many Yoruba towns. Its sparse population grew slowly in the course of time, but it was unsteady and the settlement was for a long time impermanent. Engaged primarily in fishing, the few and changing settlers could not develop the full paraphernalia of animist religion with all its trappings of sacrifice, taboos and dances. Thus circumstances of population, occupation as well as location, determined the nature of Lagos traditional religion.

Such indigenous religion as there was in Lagos did have its own tang and peculiarity. It prominently featured the worship of the god of the sea (Olokun); and some of its traditional ceremonies relate very closely to water as exemplified in its regatta. But perhaps most peculiar to Lagos are the complexity and colour of the traditional religious system, reflecting no doubt the equally complex and heterogeneous character of the Lagos population. In addition to the dominant Yoruba group in Lagos, certain non-Yoruba speaking elements have, in the course of time, made noticeable contributions to the religious life and history of Lagos. Only two instances need be cited here. There is the ancestor worship which is no doubt well known among the Yoruba but which is particularly distinctive in Benin, and which is reflected in the ancestral shrines (*Oju egun*) of a number of families in Isale Eko, and more popularly among the royal, chiefly and some priestly groups. Much more public is the case of the *Igunnu* of the Nupe (Tapa) elements of Lagos. Occupying a special position among all traditional rituals in Nupe, the *gunnu* was both a funerary rite as well as an annual ceremonial meant to renew fertility and general well-being. Though in some modified form, the practice in Lagos has tried to follow the indigenous Nupe style.

But even within the Yoruba group, the diversity of the sub-ethnic groups is reflected in the diversity of religious practices, some of which had become more or less general in the city. The Awori,² a major group of settlers in Lagos, have introduced the *Gelede* masquerade into Lagos, together with a number of religious dances and beats. Also, they have occupied in Lagos a significant place in Egungun worship, which has remained a very popular

and established practice in the heartlands of the Awori. With some inevitable modifications, the popular Awori Egungun in Lagos include those from among the three major cadres of *Alagbada*, *Alabala* and *Erudi*. They normally appear not only on their respective festival days but also on the occasions marking the funeral ceremonies of one of their members.

The distinctive socio-religious observance in Lagos, to which some attention will be paid here, is the Adamuorisha, perhaps better known as the *Eyo* masquerade ceremony. It is confined to Lagos Island only. Reportedly introduced by the Ijebu, the *Eyo* has become 'the most attractive, the most enjoyable and the most thrilling traditional play in Lagos. It is an occasion for feasting, dancing and merry making'.¹ It was usually staged as one of the funeral rites of a deceased Oba, or Chief; and more recently it is also performed to honour the memory of distinguished sons of the soil. Before the public appearance of the *Eyo*, some preliminary rites and observances are customary. These include the outing for some days of the traditional *Eyo* staff (*Opabata*) by the staff bearers of the various *Eyo* groups; the traditional Agodo eve dance at Enu Owa where Chief Eletu Odibo performs the ritual dance; the preparation of a token lying-in-state (*Imoku*) preferably at the residence of the deceased in whose honour the *Eyo* was being done; and the ritual dance of *Eyo Oniko* in the night preceding the D day. On the appointed day, each *Eyo* masquerade appears in the streets draped in white ample gowns covering hands and feet and reaching to the floor, with a broad-brimmed hat, and a staff which was not infrequently used to strike and scare people. Their headgear is of various distinctive colours and patterns, according to the different groups. The first to appear is *Eyo Adimu* group which enters the Agodo to perform some traditional rites before proceeding to the palace (*Iga Idunganran*) to pay homage to the Oba, and later to the *Imoku* for the traditional crying. The other groups in their white robes and other colourful dresses then parade the town, chanting various songs to the accompaniment of drums and other musical instruments. One of the popular and enduring songs is that of a quarter in Lagos (Olowogbowo) which is of some historical interest as it described the wealth of the deceased, the occupation of the people, and even raised a politico-economic issue.

Eyo o, Olowogbowo, eyo o
Eyo baba t'awa
To fi golu nsere
Awa o le sanwo onibode
O dile.

Eyo o, Olowogbo, eyo o,
 Eyo of our own father
 Who plays with gold,
 We cannot pay custom tolls,
 Home we go.

The era of religious crusade

During this period, Lagos was subjected to intense evangelical campaign by the two world religions of Islam and Christianity. The progress of each of them has its own fascinating detail.

In modern times, the religion of Islam enjoys wide and popular support. The Muslim call to prayer can be heard from every quarter being blared all over the city through modern public address systems. The Muslim festivals are colourful and popular occasions during which virtually the whole town is *en fete*. This established position of Islam today would astonish the small group of people who first professed adherence to this religion in Lagos Island as they were not allowed to make the normal public call to prayer and could only worship in quiet secrecy and private solitude, forever living in fear of serious reprisal. The transformed position of Islam today is an eloquent testimony of the intense missionary work which had taken place in Lagos especially in the nineteenth century.

The exact date when Islam came to Lagos cannot be precisely fixed. This is because Islam was practised in secret when it first came to Lagos. We know that some un-named members of the court of Oba Adele professed the faith of Islam and worshipped singly and in secrecy. Oba Adele himself adopted a policy of tolerance towards these believers, so much so that one of the charges which his opponents levelled against this once-popular ruler was the favour he granted to Muslims; and, indeed, his expulsion from the palace (*Iga*) during the first period of his reign was due, in

some measure, to his overall liberal religious policy. His successor, Oba Osilokun, was not deterred, however, by the adverse consequences of the religious policies of his predecessor for he continued this policy and even went further to allow the Muslims to worship openly. The Muslims could now gather in congregation, make the loud and open call to prayers in true Muslim fashion and gather together on Friday afternoon to say their jumat prayers. This was a remarkable development in the religion, making a transformation of the social position of the Muslims and a step forward in their growth and establishment.

We might therefore pause a little here to identify some of the major causes responsible for this novel development. First, the Muslims had successfully won the confidence of those in authority. This explains why two successive Obas were prepared to risk their thrones on their behalf: one lost his throne because of them and yet would not renounce them; and the next one gave them even stronger support in spite of all odds. The secret behind the royal support which the early Muslims enjoyed might be partially explained by reference to the charms or metaphysical powers for which they as a class have now acquired a dubious reputation. But this should not be exaggerated. Their medicinal powers need not be denied; but so also was the medicinal power of the custodians of traditional religions. The Ifa priests together with the votaries of Oya and Shango commanded comparable, if not greater, influence as a result of their medicinal powers. Yet the influence of the Muslims with the political authorities was greater without there being any proof so far that the medicinal powers of the Muslims were greater than those of the custodians or traditional religion. In the light of this we need further explanation about the relatively greater success of the Muslim priests in royal circles. It is also suggested here that the devotion and perseverance of the early Muslims in the face of all odds, as well as their loyalty to political authorities, are factors that deserve greater recognition in explaining the reciprocal support and dedication which the political authorities gave to the Muslims.

The first mosque that the Muslims used in Lagos was the Animashaun Mosque situated along Martin Street opposite the present bus-stop, and the first Chief Imam that preached for them there was Chief Imam Salu. Once they started to have congregational prayers, the Muslims became more emboldened to spread their faith in the fast expanding settlement of Lagos Island.

The pattern of Islam during this early period determined to a large extent the basis for the future development of the Lagos Muslim community. Radiating from the court, Islam was established at Isale Eko, Olowogbowo, Okepopo and Oko (Ita) Faji areas. In these areas the Muslims were largely drawn from the immediate Yoruba environment especially from the Oyo-speaking areas and they were engaged in various occupations and trades. It is this settlement that had formed the core of the early Lagos Muslim community and up till today, these early Muslim families have constituted an influential force within the community.

Although the community was to all appearances established, the religion was still under a cloud as aptly put by Richard Burton, a keen contemporary observer.⁴ Indeed, the events of 1851 showed that the community had not entirely passed out of the wood. In that year, the Muslims became very much involved with the political crisis in Lagos which resulted in the exile of Kosoko from Lagos. Details of this dynastic political struggle have been dealt with elsewhere⁵ and the point of interest here is the repercussion of Kosoko's exile on the progress of Islam in Lagos Island. Kosoko himself was a Muslim sympathiser and many of his followers were influential Muslims in Lagos. These followers decided to join Kosoko in his travail. This decision substantially depleted the Muslim ranks in Lagos, and the community was even left without the Chief Imam who also had thrown in his lot with the exiled.

The position of Islam was rather shattered by this 1851 episode, and we might pause here to find out why the Lagos Muslims decided to evacuate Lagos with Kosoko. The chief reason would appear to be their loyalty to established authority, a cardinal principle in Muslim belief. Having committed themselves to Kosoko, whose patronage they had enjoyed many years back, they most probably felt obliged to continue to support him even when he was no longer in power. Moreover, there was no guarantee that the new Herod who was established in Lagos in place of Kosoko would not reverse the policy of toleration and sympathy which had hitherto benefited the Muslims.

Fortunately, the 1851 setback was only temporary. After about a decade of exile with their patron in Epe, the Lagos Muslims returned to Lagos in triumph. They were given new land for settlement called Epetedo and this constituted another substantial Muslim area of Muslim population among whom Oshodi was, of course, prominent.

The progress of Islam during this period was particularly enhanced by the return of liberated slaves. Apart from Christian elements within this group which will be dealt with presently, the Muslim elements were noticeable and exercised a considerable influence on the subsequent history of Islam in Lagos. They consisted of two main streams. The first stream involved those liberated slaves who came from Sierra Leone via Abidjan and Badagry. Together with the Christian counterparts, they settled at Olowogbowo area where they built their own mosques and appointed their own Imams. Prominent among these Sierra Leone Muslims were some members of the families of Cole, Williams, Martin and Tinubu. The other stream of returning Muslim immigrants comprised those liberated slaves from Brazil and Cuba. These people settled in the Brazilian quarter, Tokunbo and Bamgbose. They were for the most part distinguished by the influences of their sojourn in Brazil, with many of them speaking Portuguese. Prominent among them were families of Pedro, Martin, Gomez and Augusto. They had also acquired some skills in masonry, carpentry, tailoring, bakery and confectionery. These two groups considerably reinforced the Muslim elements in Lagos.

Drawing upon the influence of both the hinterland and overseas Muslims, Islam in Lagos increasingly became established, in the equally expanding City of Lagos. Available statistics relating to this establishment and progress might be suspect for a period when the processes of enumeration stand vitiated today for its lack of sophisticated and scientific handling. But they might be safely taken as providing a rough indication of development. In this spirit, we might mention the government or semi-official figures⁶ that in 1861 the Muslims numbered about 800 out of a total population of 30,000; by 1871, they formed about one-sixth of the population. Two decades later, the Muslim population had risen to about 14,300 representing over 44% of the entire African population of about 33,000 of the town and harbour of Lagos.

The numerical rise of the Muslims was matched by the arithmetic progression of the number of mosques. The erstwhile single mosque of Animashaun was by 1881 being supplemented not only by eight fairly large open spaces which served as places of worship, but also by twenty-one mosques among which six were reported built with good materials and covered with corrugated iron sheets. The growth of Islam in Lagos was dramatised and advertised by the opening of the Shitta Bey Mosque in 1894. Begun in 1891, this

mosque eventually cost about £3,000 by contemporary accounts, and was the sole enterprise of the renowned Muhammad Shitta, the Muslim merchant and philanthropist. It was opened, in the presence of top government officials including the Colonial Governor, Sir G. T. Carter, by Abdullah Quillam, an accredited representative of the Sultan of Turkey who consequently bestowed the title of Bey of the Ottoman Empire on Shitta, the Muslim benefactor.

The expansion of Christianity in Lagos during this period was no less striking. The establishment of Christianity in Lagos began with the migration to Lagos and its hinterland by the ex-slaves of Sierra Leone and the new world. Details of this migration have so much been spelt out⁷ that it is only necessary here to give its major outlines. Partly as a result of nostalgic feelings and partly also as a consequence of the abolition movement, African slaves who were liberated in the new world were repatriated back to Africa, and perhaps the largest migration flowed back to Lagos and its hinterland, particularly Badagry and Abeokuta the capital of Egba kingdom. From these areas both Anglican and Methodist missionaries came to Lagos at about the middle of the nineteenth century. For various reasons, commercial and political, Lagos received a large number of these Christian missionaries and the Christian Church developed rapidly in subsequent years. Parishes were established at various parts of the city: at Breadfruit, St Paul's; at Aroloya, St John's; at Ebute Ero, Holy Trinity; at Ita-Faji, St Peter's; and at Ebute-Metta, St Jude's. These parishes served as the nuclei of Christian missionary enterprise or, as described by Professor Ajayi, the Christian civilisation developed round the mission house. Schools followed and, as will be seen below, the educational activity of the Christian missionaries proved extremely effective and useful.

The expansion of Lagos Christian community was inadvertently aided by political developments in the interior. A good example here was the expulsion of Christians from Abeokuta on 13 October 1807, the breaking point of a continuing tension between the Egba political authorities, the Lagos colonial government and the policies and attitudes of the Christian missionaries. This incident, called *Ifole*, forced many hundreds of Egba Christians to take up residence in Lagos, and for some years, Christian refugees continued to pour in to Lagos. European missionaries and African converts arrived in such numbers that the colonial government was

obliged to settle the Egba refugees at Ebute-Metta upon the mainland in the area now known as *Ago-Egba*, the Egba camp. Some of the earliest arrivals in Lagos established the Palm Church at Aroloya, on the site where they originally placed their first palm booths.⁸

We might at this juncture examine how the Roman Catholic Mission was established in the city. The role of the famous Padre Antonio is well-known in the course of the establishment of the Roman Catholic faith in Lagos. Father Antonio was a remarkable catechist, born towards the close of the nineteenth century at San Thome Island. He was sold into slavery and taken to Brazil where he eventually gained his emancipation and was returned with other slaves to their home land in Africa. He returned to Lagos and he was in the forefront of the building of Bamboo Chapel for the services of Roman Catholics. It was here that he gathered his co-religionists, conducted catechism classes for them, preached sermons and tried to nurture the early Catholic community to the best of his ability until about 1862 when Father Borghero came to Lagos on an exploratory visit. The encounter between this dignitary and the local catechists was interesting, as Padre Antonio wished to prove if the missionaries were really Catholics. To test Father Borghero, Padre Antonio asked him to recite the rosary, and as Father Borghero completed the first decade, Antonio exclaimed to the people, 'Yes, they are true Catholic priests for they prayed to the blessed Virgin Mary.'⁹ Thus began the co-operation between missionaries and this remarkable local catechist which eventually led to the firm establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Lagos. More missionaries arrived to assist Father Borghero and by 1864 about three hundred people, old and young, were already receiving the sacrament and baptism, while about thirty-three catechumens were receiving instruction and about the same number were confirmed. The peculiar feature about the early history of the Roman Catholic Church in Lagos was its European character. Whereas the Protestant churches, particularly the Anglican Church, had English clergy for evangelic work, the Roman Catholic Church relied from the start as much on French as well as Italian and Irish pastors for their work. This European character of the Roman Catholic clergy indicated the origins in West Africa of the Roman Catholic Church in Lagos. For here the church was an offshoot of French missionary activity in Ouidah and Porto-Novo; and indeed, for some time, the Lagos

mission was under the overall direction of the resident pastor in these French-speaking territories.

In the last decade, the Lagos mission spread from Dahomey and was erected as the vicariate pastoral of the Bight of Bini. By this time the Roman Catholic Church in Lagos had already established its first convent in Nigeria, St Mary's Convent, and its first grammar school, St Gregory's. Its monumental church, which later became the Holy Church Cathedral, had been dedicated. With the attainment of local autonomy, the Lagos mission was well placed to expand into the interior from the opening years of the twentieth century. Intensive missionary work in the next three decades bore results which no doubt warmed the hearts of the overseas sponsors of the Roman Catholic faith. Catholic adherents in the City of Lagos were reckoned to have been about 10,000.

What factors are responsible for this religious expansion during this period? The devout in the two religious communities would point *inter alia* to the dedication and self-sacrifice of the early fathers; and the appeal and fascination of the faith. More mundane explanations can, however, be found in the expansion of the city itself, an expansion that transformed a small fishing settlement into a capital town, the entrepot of a booming trade, and the centre of political gravity in the nineteenth century. This expansion and transformation brought in large numbers of people either as converts of one of the major religions or as ready material for evangelical work. The repatriation to Lagos of liberated slaves has already been noted as aiding the expansion of both the Christian and Muslim communities. So also did the establishment of Epetedo, and of Egba Christians at Ebute-Metta result in the numerical and physical growth of the Muslim and Christian areas of Lagos respectively. Secondly, the socio-economic circumstances of Lagos played an important part. Business activity, of course, encouraged considerable social mingling, facilitating exchange of ideas and beliefs. Similarly, there was the heterogeneity of the population, which encouraged anonymity and individual variant behaviour.¹⁰ But perhaps most crucial here was the fact that the conversion of some people was, in certain ways, aided by the joint Muslim-Christian assault on 'paganism'. This assault was sustained for the greater part of half a century and, in the relatively modified and attenuated position of traditional religion in Lagos, it weakened the status and respectability of its age-old rival. Put conversely, it became fashionable and respectable to be a Muslim

or a Christian, and the scale of social values was heavily tipped against the devotees of traditional religion who, worshipping in private if not in secrecy, were increasingly relegated to the background and regarded as 'primitive' and 'pagan'. Thirdly, there were a number of peculiar factors aiding the expansion of Christianity or Islam. On the one hand, the presence of a Christian imperial government, not to mention pro-Christian policies of individual governors and official functionaries, provided more than a stimulus to the dissemination of Christian doctrine and prestige. On the other hand, the use of indigenous men as clerics and the indigenisation of the organisation of the Muslim community went a long way to reduce the trauma of the transition from traditional society into the Muslim community.

The era of religious politics, dissent and indiginity

The story of Christian missionary enterprise in the field of education is too well-known in Nigeria to require even more than a mere recapitulation here for the case of Lagos.¹¹ The Christian missionaries were concerned with the provision of some form of education for their various needs. In spite of the gallant efforts of many of the missionary bodies, it was the Church Missionary Society (CMS) that largely dominated Christian educational efforts in Lagos. The success which attended the provision of this education is attested to today by the preponderant number of Christians within the educated class in Lagos. Much criticism has, however, been made of the quality of the education that was offered. Contrary to some criticisms, the missionaries did not encourage idleness in the mission schools or mere literary academic education. Their school was conceived as part of a process of drawing away children into the mission fold, not only in a literal sense but also in a mental and spiritual way. This is supposed to encourage the quality of Christian life by dissociating the new converts from their heathenish environs.

The point of interest about the provision of Western education by Christian missionaries in this context is the highlight which it gives on the religious politics and relationship during this period. Absolutely a monopoly of the Christian missionaries, the schools became not only the forum for bringing up Christian young men and women but also the potent agencies for achieving the apostacy

of Muslim boys and girls. Much as the Muslims would have liked to embrace Western education because of its obvious practical value in the commercial and political life of Lagos City, they recoiled from the Christianity-oriented education offered by the missionaries. Consequently, they saw the offer as a mixed blessing. It was like the mythological wooden horse gift of the Greeks which could, and did, prove disastrous. This, however, did not deter the Christian missionaries from continuing to pressurise Muslim wards of theirs to become Christians if they wanted to continue to enjoy the benefits of the Western education which they provided. Quite a few, of course, successfully resisted this pressure, remaining steadfast in their faith. Others possibly accepted Christianity out of a genuine and voluntary change of heart. But definitely little practical protection was enjoyed under the Education Ordinance which granted religious toleration and freedom of worship in all schools approved by the government. The net result was the conversion of Muslim children into the Christian faith. Even if the numbers of such converts were few in comparison with the numbers of converts from traditional religion, the issue itself became a painful matter which exacerbated feelings and caused considerable estrangement between the adherents of both faiths. Placing their religious obligations before any material advantages, the more wary Muslims tended to keep aloof from the Christian bait of western education.

Muslim withdrawal from Western education became a matter of concern to the government who appreciated that the overall development of the country would be difficult to achieve if the substantial Muslim population of Lagos continued averse to a Western type of education. It therefore endeavoured to find out the true objections of the Muslims, and eventually succeeded in persuading the Muslims to accept Western education by making them realise that Christian proselytisation was not synonymous with Western education. The government demonstrated to the Lagos Muslim community that it was possible to combine and synthesise sound Western education with an equally sound Muslim religious education; and the way it achieved this was by starting in Lagos a Government Muslim School on 1 June 1896. Although financed and sponsored by the government, this school was administered and managed by the local Muslim community. The curriculum combined secular and Muslim religious subjects, and it was not surprising that the school was a huge success. The

student enrolment increased by leaps and bounds, and almost every year new and larger accommodations had to be provided.

If this Government Muslim School in Lagos won over the Lagos Muslims to a realisation of the possible synthesis between Muslim and Western education, it did not save all Muslim children from the influence of their Christian rivals. Indeed, the Muslim taste of Western education only made them more eager to have the education even when the Christian bait remained. Thus the conflict between the two religions continued to be dramatised in the field of Western education.

But even within each religious group there was considerable tension and conflict. This might be due in part to the large-scale conversion of the previous decade and in part to the inevitable conflicts of personalities and clashes of policies within a social organisation. Within the Muslim group, this had surfaced first in 1875 when a certain Muslim cleric from Nupe, Sulaimon by name, appeared in Lagos and stirred up a protracted theological dispute. The upshot was the emergence of a new Muslim group in Lagos called the Alalukurani Sect. This sect adopted the standpoint that the Quran was all-sufficient for Muslim religious education. They denied the orthodox Muslim belief that the Quran, in spite of its pre-eminent position in Muslim law and theology, could be supplemented in other ways especially by a recourse to the Hadith, a body of literature dealing with the sayings and rulings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. This 1875 Muslim split heralded many a subsequent division within the Lagos Muslim community. The Alalukurani Sect itself soon broke up into other groups under the pressure of Ahmadiyya doctrine.

The politics and dissent within the Muslim community in Lagos reached its highwater mark at the beginning of the twentieth century. The issues involved were complicated and protracted, but we can identify one major trend. There arose a political conflict with the colonial government. Professing concern over the health of the people in the island, the imperial government decided in 1916 to introduce a number of health measures, one of which was the supply of pipe-borne and treated water. At least the nominal cost of this was to rest on the shoulders of the native population who must be prepared to pay a token sum for the immense social benefits planned for them. This water rate, however, became a highly political issue, and the people almost as one person presented a united front against its imposition by the government. In

spite of the prolonged agitation, the government in the end legalised the imposition of the water rate.

The point of interest here was the role of the Muslims and the significance of their involvement in the political agitation. Whereas all the Muslims had opposed the imperial government over this issue, some of their leaders, notably the Chief Imam Braimah, later turned round to support the government and thereby caused a split within the Muslim ranks. The Imam and others of his persuasion pleaded religious and other arguments to justify their support of the ruling powers of the day. But the bulk of the Muslim community felt unconvinced, and roundly condemned this desertion of their good cause against an autocratic and non-Muslim government over an issue in which the whole city was also up in arms. Irreconcilable arguments led to the solidification of attitudes, and two groups eventually emerged with clear-cut politico-ideological standpoints. The pro-Imam group, known as Lemamu Party, supported the government and had their base in the Central Mosque. The anti-government Party, known as *Jamat*, was anti-Imam. They were more numerous and were concentrated on Shitta Bey Mosque in Martin Street. This political division later had consequences, for the anti-Imam group, bent on renouncing the leadership of the Imam, now raked up against the Imam charges of a wide-ranging nature. This prompted the imperial administration, in the professed interest of peace and stability in the city, to become actively involved and bring from the north an arbiter who returned a verdict in favour of the Imam. This only further displeased his opponents, who became even more incensed at the government. The local traditional rulers became involved, supporting the group that was anti-government and anti-Imam, just as much as the politically minded educated Africans also became actively interested in the matter. The ultimate result of this was that a large section of the Muslim community in Lagos remained for a long time overtly opposed to and distrustful of colonial rule, and constituted ready material and collaborators in the nationalist agitation in Lagos.

In 1923, the Imam Ibrahim died; and there began a protracted dissension over the appointment of a successor. A little explanation here will be necessary in order to appreciate the nature of this Imamate dispute. In Lagos, the Imam is normally chosen in rotation from the two families of Nafiu and Nala. Nala himself had come to Lagos from Ilorin and was the assistant to Imam Nafiu

who, it would be recalled, became the Chief Imam in Lagos, consequent on the departure of Imam Salu with Kosoko to Epe in 1851. It was this Nala who had Buraimoh, the son of Nafiu, as his deputy; and this Buraimoh eventually became the Imam on Nala's death. The dispute arose when, on the death of Buraimoh, it became necessary to choose a successor. His own deputy was Tijani, the son of Nala, and some people preferred him as the successor largely because he had been a deputy. His opponents, numerous and vocal, supported the candidature of his younger brother Ligali. The crucial issue in the dispute was the importance of the congregation in the selection of its Imam. While some people held that the succession should be automatic to the former deputy and lieutenant of the Imam, others believed that the congregation reserved the right to examine and determine the leadership of the congregation.

This dispute over apostolic succession raged for many years in spite of the well-intentioned attempts to settle it. But this ostensibly clerical dispute was, to a large extent, a renewal of the long-standing political conflict. The old Lemamu party favoured the tradition of allowing the deputy to succeed, whereas the old Jamat party stood for the right of the congregation and the laity; and the ultimate triumph of this group meant the establishment and dominance of this principle in the determination of the future affairs of the community.

Conflicts within the Christian Church

The Christian community was not immune to similar tension and conflict. As already demonstrated, there was a strong competition between the various Christian foreign missions for the souls of men in Lagos and they all petitioned against one another and tried to secure one vantage point or the other in their effort to establish themselves firmly. And even within each group itself all policies soon produced political divisions and clashes of personalities.

A notable development of the internal conflicts and politics within the Christian Church was the rise of the African Church at the turn of the nineteenth century. This development, it is well known, was partly the result of African dissatisfaction within the Protestant churches, particularly the disillusionment with the personnel policies pursued by European members of the Anglican

clergy. The tension between the African and European clergy was dramatised outside Lagos, but the full repercussion was keenly felt in Lagos as it was the headquarters of Protestant missionary work. The settlement of 1894, which ensured European supremacy in the church, was the last straw and the movement for an African Church which had been building up for the past few decades gathered more momentum.

In 1888 the African Church had emerged in Lagos out of the mission organisation of the Southern Baptist Convention. This Native Baptist Organisation did not of course claim to be an African church but aimed to create a truly Baptist organisation governed by the congregation, as in the United States. After the split which occurred a few years later a truly African Baptist mission emerged which aligned itself with other African churches that were developing out of the other Christian organisations.

The Native Baptist Organisation of 1888 certainly ushered in a new era of Christianity in Lagos and its environs. As admirably put by the scholar of the African Church Movement, 'a split had been broken, a door had been opened for Christians of every mission affiliation to find a dignified means of escape from the tyranny of the rule (Christian Missionary) society'.¹² The glory of the Baptist polity was the freedom which a local congregation exercised. The local congregation is the church in Baptist belief, and the events of 1888 were repeated in other Christian mission groups in 1891, 1901 and 1917 and this led to various attempts to bring together the various splinter groups which had a distinctly African orientation. This effort came to fruition in the founding of the United Native African Church (UNA) on 14 August 1891. The UNA made an effort to create a West African church which would at once be truly indigenous and all-embracing on matters of doctrine. For the first time, Anglicans, Methodists and Baptists gathered in Lagos to create this movement which became the centre of this inter-denominational African Church. Its impact stretched up to the Niger, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. And in spite of the natural opposition of the established historical churches, the Native Church Organisation grew in strength.

In contradistinction to their parent missions which emphasised the individual nature of Christian life, the African Churches, true to the communal spirit of African society, stressed communal responsibilities. Whereas the mission preached: 'Come out from among them and be ye separate,' the African Churches sought 'to

leaven the loaf'. They emphasised the unity and brotherly love of African society, and, because of their communal approach, their clergy had no hesitation in baptising entire compounds of families at one single stroke. They naturally encountered some criticism, not least from among their rival foreign missions who poured scorn on their broad basis and lack of quality. But they remained steadfast to their mission of creating an indigenised and national church, and although they missed good opportunities to get established in very many places outside Lagos, they remained a strong force within the Christian Church in Lagos.

In Lagos, the African Churches would appear not to have acquired the same social respectability enjoyed by the foreign missions. This latter group was backed by the imperial authorities and still had within its ranks wealthy and notable members of the society. But the African Churches strove to model themselves after their foreign parents. Bethel and Jehovah Shalom churches were developed along the lines similar to those of Christ Church, St Paul's and Tinubu Churches; and, indeed, the large African Churches, Salem and Bethlehem African churches and the Christ Church Elegbata, by 1914, beat the Catholic Church in Lagos in both numerical and financial strength.

A remarkable feature of the growth of the African Church was its economic enterprise. This is best shown in the drive to encourage cocoa plantation, particularly, at Agege and adjacent districts of Lagos. The construction of the railways made it easy for some leading African Churchmen such as Coker, Williams and others to develop coffee and cocoa plantations in the outlying districts of Lagos. And thanks to their enterprise, by the close of the second decade of the twentieth century, Agege had become one of the richest agricultural areas in Nigeria.

Here we might examine the distinctive doctrinal features of the African Church movement, if any. Whereas the foreign missions set a large store on the acquisition of religious education before the acceptance into the church, the African Churches reversed the mission method to 'preaching, baptism and teaching'. Similarly, they showed a considerable distaste for the rituals attendant on various Christian ceremonies. African secular customs were allowed to develop and modify church practices. Thus church music was given an African idiom; and perhaps the greatest contribution which the African Church has made to the history of Christianity in Lagos is the volume and quality of Christian

African songs. The Native Baptist Organisation produced the first hymn book composed by J. W. Vaughan, and a few years later, the UNA printed its own hymn book, since reprinted many times. Among the talented musicians and organists produced were Aboyade Cole, and Lijadu.

An extension of the Africanisation of the Christian movement was the Christian reformation of indigenisation cultural institutions. This was particularly noticeable in the organisation and reformation of the Ogboni cult. This had been prevalent in certain parts of the Yoruba hinterland of Lagos where no doubt it exercised some political functions. Its religio-cultural elements were also undeniable. The cult worshipped Mother Earth, had its own carved images, and ritual symbols; and it developed its own sacrifices, as well as rules and regulations. The introduction of the Ogboni into Lagos could most probably be attributed to the Yoruba, perhaps, more specifically to the Egba, Ijebu and Oyo-speaking groups among whom it was well established. In Lagos this institution underwent considerable change and Christianisation under the influence of educated Christian Africans. Particularly remarkable was the Rev. T. A. J. Ogunbiyi who attempted to synthesise Christianity and traditional religion in the Ogboni. The result was the emergence of the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity (ROF) of which the *Olori Apena*, or general secretary, was Ogunbiyi himself. This Reformed Ogboni Society was open only to Christians and Christian songs and prayers began and ended their meetings. A remarkable feature of the reformation of the Ogboni was that it became possible for people of all tribes to become members, thereby breaking the age-old tribal frontiers of the Yoruba Ogboni. The Reformed Ogboni Fraternity has also been regarded as the African counterpart of the Masonic lodges which the Christian whites had imported to Lagos. These lodges were for some time dominated, if not monopolised, by the whites, and some people thought that the educated Christians should also create their own Christian African Brotherhood.

A full understanding of the process of indiginity within the Christian Church would be incomplete without a reference to the recent phenomenon of the Aladura churches.¹³ Although very many of these were formed outside Lagos, almost all are to be found in various parts of Lagos. Among the most prevalent are the Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim founded around 1925, the Church of the Lord (1930), the Christ Apostolic Church

(1931), African Apostolic Church (1937), Church of Christ's People (1938), Holy Flock of Christ, and Christ Apostolic Gospel Church which stand at the top of a long list of Aladura churches that today must be reckoned in hundreds and scores of hundreds. A good percentage of these arose and faded out; some were offshoots from parent Aladura organisations; and many were largely individual movements of little account. Altogether, however, they form a huge and spectacular movement. Most of them cut across tribal or even national frontiers. Some give prominence to women who are appointed as officers, or prophetesses. They have been classified in various ways as 'messianic', 'prophet-healing', 'revelatory prophet-healing independent churches', and 'movements of protest and renewal'. In the bewildering array of the number and types of Aladura churches, and in view of their very recent developments, it is essential for the historian to be cautious in making any definitive statements. And only one or two general points need be made here in the light of recent researches. They are the modern expression of the nineteenth century effort to create a genuinely indigenous Christianity; and their proliferation seems to indicate a certain degree of resourcefulness, exuberance, and restless dynamism within the African Church today.

The indigenity of Islam

Indigenous religious movement within Islam, however, necessarily took in some ways a character different from that of its counterpart within Christianity. Whereas the Christian missions had been sponsored from abroad, Islam had been introduced and nurtured in Lagos by African elements. Consequently, the racial issue, which featured prominently in the politics and conflicts within the Christian church and constituted a major factor in the forging of the African Church Movement, was to a very large extent non-existent within the Muslim community in Lagos. Indeed, the Muslim community had been very much indigenised in its personnel and institutions, and perhaps no better proof of the indigenisation of Islam in Lagos can be given than in the institutionalisation of its organisation. As is well known, Islam has no hierarchy of priests as much in Lagos as in its Yoruba hinterland. The Muslim community developed its own organisation inspired by and modelled on the traditional patterns of socio-political organisa-

tion. In the Muslim hierarchy, there was a combination of clerical and lay officers, arranged in a pyramid form culminating in the Chief Imam. This structure at once shows the flexibility of Islam in an African city as well as the vitality of local traditions in modifying imported cultures.

The one Muslim counterpart of the African Independent Church Movement was the Nigerian Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, which developed out of the only foreign Muslim missionary body that was established in Lagos—the Ahmadiyya Mission. The latter was, to all appearances, like any of the Christian foreign missions in Lagos. It had its base in Pakistan and employed in Nigeria the paid services of trained Pakistani missionaries. These missionaries won converts to their own fold, as much from Muslim as from non-Muslim ranks, all of them formally and legally bound to the Pakistani Head of the Ahmadiyya Mission by an oath of allegiance. But they, in spite of their denials, also had such distinctive interpretations of Muslim belief as made others regard them as having a separate set of doctrines. Of particular relevance here was the fact that they maintained a doctrinal belief which the general body of orthodox Muslims did not heartily share about the continuation of prophecy after the demise of the Prophet Muhammad. This made them affirm that the founder of their group, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, was a prophet. These two issues of foreign leadership and distinctive doctrinal belief soon produced tensions as much among the orthodox Muslim groups as within the Ahmadiyya mission itself. Two major results can be identified. First, an indigenous Ahmadiyya mission was established which held no allegiance to a foreign head. Secondly, an indigenous Ahmadiyya mission also emerged which did not subscribe to the original doctrinal belief of the Ahmadiyya mission.

Notwithstanding their deep-rooted indigenisation, the Muslim community has continually sought to adjust to modern pressures and demands in a manner that is at once African and Islamic. For the most part this has taken the form of organising Muslim groups and associations along modern and African lines in order to meet particular situations. For example, in the face of Christian monopoly of western education and the challenges offered by Christian proselytisation, the response of the Muslim community was the formation of societies that would advance the cause of Islamic and western education. And the most important of such societies that emerged was the Ansar-Ud-Deen which was estab-

lished in Lagos in 1923. Other such societies which were developed elsewhere had of course taken roots in Lagos. It is these societies that championed the cause of reform and modernisation within the Muslim ranks of Lagos.

The 'modernisation' of traditional religion

The indigenisation of Christianity and Islam could not but affect the status and nature of traditional religion, in spite of the erstwhile attacks of both on the latter. And many other historical developments have combined to revive and enhance at least some aspects of indigenous religion—the attainment of political independence, the Africanist ideology, the cultural re-awakening of Africans and so on. Thus there has been a country-wide (if not continent-wide) return to, and reappraisal of, tradition, culture, and religion, a movement in which Lagos has necessarily been involved.

These are very contemporary developments about which only tentative generalisations can be made. And we can only draw attention here to two discernible patterns. First, there is the attempt to 'modernise' traditional culture and religion. This is evident, for example, in the case of the Eyo masquerade ceremony, where the rules and regulations have now been updated in order to suit modern consumer tastes. The *Opabata*, the traditional staff of the Eyo, should not be used for reckless beating but gently used to touch friend or relative in a friendly gesture, and followed up with traditional greetings. Similarly, the members of the public, on approaching Eyo, should among other things put away their pipes, cigarettes or cigars.

Secondly, there is some attempt to resuscitate only certain artistic or dramatic aspects of traditional religious practices. Hence 'festival dances' are performed and songs are rendered against a purely social or semi-intellectual background while all the rituals, taboos and other religious ceremonies normally attendant on such 'artistic' displays are left out. (Or are the artistic flowerings inspired by the religious philosophy?) And Lagos has had its own share of boat regattas, cultural plays and Arts Festivals. But for how long we can witness Hamlet play without the Prince remains to be seen. However much these are divorced of their religious trappings, they have been earning the displeasure of the more orthodox religious leaders who still see them as 'heathenish'.

Conclusion

From this survey, some obvious features are discernible which can be briefly summarised. First, Lagos is not a secular but a truly religious African city where, alongside the normal pressures of urbanisation and forces of modern development, religion is still a vital force of life. The history of its religious development shows that this development had taken place concurrently with the expansion of Lagos itself. As the nucleus of a fishing settlement evolved into a complex city and a growing centre of trade and the seat of government, the nature of religious life became more amplified and its content was increasingly indigenised and modernised. True to its heterogeneous population, the city shows a religious system that is varied, complex and rich in texture, often cutting across borders of tribe, occupation, wealth and so on. There is, therefore, in Lagos a religious co-fraternity *par excellence*. For, in the same quarter and in the same family, Muslims and Christians of various shades and hues often jostled together, with a sprinkling of adherents of traditional religion. It is this religious co-fraternity that has blunted the edges of its religious conflicts and confrontations, added a certain suppleness to the social setting, and ruled out an outright religious war. By virtue of the singular position of Lagos in the country, its urban status, and its social composition, certain developments in the religious sphere in Lagos often had long-range effects on other parts of the country, although the complexity of the social network in Lagos often kept some religious developments within Lagos itself, while it also responded to some developments outside Lagos. This is one of the paradoxes that make Lagos at once a pace-setter, a special city and a sounding board—a unique role for a city.

Notes

1 For further information about Yoruba traditional religious belief, there is a large number of scholarly books among which the following can be consulted: FARROW, S. S., *Faith Fancies and Fetish*, SPCK, 1926; TALBOT, P. A., *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, vol. 1, London, 1926; LUCAS, J. O., *The Religion of the Yorubas*, Lagos, 1948; and IDOWU, Rev. E. B., *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief*, London, 1962.

- 2 For much of the information here, I am obliged to Mr Fatai Kudayisi, a fairly elderly person of Otta origin who is well-informed about Awori culture.
- 3 The main source of information about the Eyo here is Chief Bajulaiye, the Eletu Odibo of Lagos.
- 4 R. F. Burton was a much travelled man who showed much interest in many aspects of the lives of the people he visited. His ability to move with the people as well as with officials contributed greatly to making his observations rich and shrewd. See for example BURTON, R. F., *Abeokuta and the Cameroons Mountains*, vol. I, London, 1863; *Wanderings in West Africa from Liverpool to Fernando Po*, 2 vols, London, 1805.
- 5 For further information about this dynastic struggle see AJAYI, J. F. Ade, 'Political Organisation in West African Towns in the Nineteenth Century: The Lagos Example' in *Urbanisation in African Social Change*, Edinburgh, 1963.
- 6 Extracts from PAYNE, J. A. O., *Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History*, Lagos, 1893. He gives here official census figures as published and used by the government. See also *Colonial Report—Annual*, 1887, and various contemporary newspaper reports, especially *Lagos Times*, September 1881, and *Lagos Weekly Record*, 7 July 1894.
- 7 Two notable historians of Christian missionary activity are AJAYI, J. F. Ade, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841–1801: The Making of a New Elite*, London, 1965; AYANDELE, E. A., *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842–1914: A Political and Social Analysis*, London, 1966.
- 8 BIOBAKU, S. O., *The Egba and their Neighbours, 1842–1872*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 82–84.
- 9 See BANE, Martin J., *Catholic Pioneers in West Africa*, Dublin, 1956.
- 10 Can we attribute the popular saying 'Eko gbole o gbole' (Eko accommodates thieves, it accommodates the lazy ones) to this nature of the urban city of Lagos?
- 11 See note 5 above.
- 12 For further information, see WEBSTER, J. B., *The African Church among the Yoruba, 1888–1922*, Oxford, 1964.
- 13 Some of the major recent studies on this subject which have been consulted here include TURNER, H. W., *African Independent Church*, vols. I and II, Oxford, 1967; and BARRETT, D. B., *Schism and Renewal*, Oxford, 1968.

9 Contemporary Culture

FRANK AIG-IMOUKHUEDE

Art and Craft

When discussing Nigerian art one may, for example, talk of Benin or Yoruba art because each possesses distinct characteristics and features generated into being by certain principles and beliefs existing within each ethnic constituent. But one cannot, as most authors of books on African art persist in doing, see art in Nigeria in terms of Ife, Benin, Igbo Ukwu or Nok alone. The Ife bronzes are not living art but belong to a forgotten past with which there is no visual continuity. The same is true of the Igbo Ukwu bronzes. These works are reflective of the ages which produced them and in consonance with the conventions and mores of those ages. One cannot expect their perpetuation if these philosophies no longer exist or are unacceptable to offspring of those who produced them.

Similarly, one does not expect all Italian art to continue to bear the physical features and characters of Leonardo da Vinci's, nor what is known as Byzantine art to be characteristic of the countries of twentieth century Europe. Using the same logic Nigerian art would therefore fall into phases, periods and styles in lineal chronology, with Nok the earliest known. Outside influence has acted before on Nigerian art, as is amply manifested by the 'Portuguese' period of Benin art. Modern trends in Nigerian art reflect the assimilation that followed years of contact with outside artistic influence and forms.

For our purpose, contemporary art is art form that is current and, within the particular context, naturally straddles the earlier and dominant ethnic art which many people wrongly equate with the present and future of Nigerian art and modern art: a by-product of the Nigerians' contact with Western culture and her assimilation of it.

The history of contemporary art in Nigeria corresponds roughly with the development of political and social consciousness and like these found its beginnings and roots in Lagos.

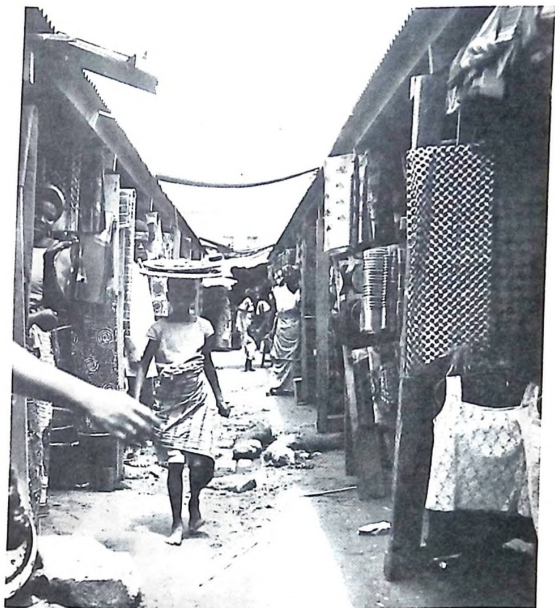
From the seventeenth century when he began to be mentioned in European accounts, the artist in Lagos spread himself over the traditional breadth and length of art—architecture, craft and art. In architecture, most of his efforts were confined to murals of gaily coloured geometric figures or mud reliefs—a decorative art partly founded on magic and religion. Craft and art hardly found any demarcating line for the simple reason that both were largely functional. Except in relatively few cases the object did not take on a particular religious or sacred significance until after it had been acquired for use. The ‘pure’ craft provided the population with household utensils, occupational implements and clothing materials.

We know that dyeing was widely practised in Lagos in the 1860s from an account on ‘the making of aged and indigo dye which contributed to the unhealthiness of Lagos’.¹ Up till the 1930s, Lagos was one of the most important centres of the dyeing industry along with Ibadan, Oshogbo and Abeokuta. One of the biggest weaving centres in the thirties, Ijebu, produced cloth whose patterns were similar to those produced by ‘a small group of Ibo women near the sea’² (probably Akwete), and is contiguous with Lagos. A very active weaving industry existed in Lagos and environs, as evidenced by the reported 50,000 native cloths exported from Lagos in 1857.³ The importance of this cottage industry is to be seen against the report in the same year that ‘The Manchester Cotton Supply Association sent two tons of cotton seed to the Consul (of Lagos) for distribution’⁴ (to farmers). There has been a serious decline in weaving because of competition from manufactured textiles, and from the interior where the cost of living has not raised the prices of raw materials.

Pottery was not reported as being of importance, and except for importations from the interior, was restricted to local products which served largely as household utensils or for use in the wide-spread dyeing industry. A few ritual pots of beautiful design, however, exist in household shrines of many of the chiefs.

The conditioning factors of change in Nigerian art are many, but a few examples will suffice since our main concern is with Lagos. The first, religion, came in varying intensity depending on the region and the form of religion. In the north it was Islam and in

the south, Christianity—each spreading in opposite directions towards the other. Both succeeded in a large measure in supplanting or assimilating traditional supernatural beliefs and depriving ethnic art of its *raison d'être*. They were reinforced in their eroding of tradition by colonial rule and the attendant contempt for indigenous civilisation by the natives and the destruction of images used in pagan cults.



9.1 *A variety of cotton cloths on sale in Lagos market*

In no other place was the development of art affected by the growing urbanisation and cosmopolitan development as it was in Lagos. The different styles of carving and weaving converged on Lagos and created for it a heterogeneity which combined all the features and characteristics that make up Nigerian art. The slave trade and the internecine wars of the interior, especially after

1861, naturally drove other ethnic groups together with their artists to the comparative security of Lagos.

If Lagos offered security for the artist, its growing sophistication and its intercourse with Europe brought about the decline of the art of these same artists. It brought traditional art into competition



9.2 *A characteristic carving for the tourist trade*

with cheaper mass-produced imported goods. Some of the foreign manufacturers often flooded the market with cheaper but deceptively close imitations of local designs. A new set of clientele, made up of town-dwellers, missionaries and sophisticated immigrants and foreign tourists, became a strong factor in Lagos where new industries developed for mass-producing furniture, implements, ivory carvings and brass casting for the souvenir market. Most of the products of this new development are 'often

of questionable value without any cultural roots or artistic content'.

Alienation resulting from the inroad of foreign ideas and philosophies led to the discontinuation of tradition and customs which in turn is responsible for the dearth of examples of carvings comparable with these found in the interior of the country. This does not mean, however, that contemporary art in Lagos excludes these traditional features.

Not all African ethnic art serves a religious function, especially those which rely on royal patronage and the nobility for survival. Those areas of culture which survived and are re-established within the new setting have survived with the art forms which served them. As long as they have a *raison d'être*, the art forms which feed these institutions remain contemporary. Today, they exist in the form of beadworks like crowns, royal staffs, chieftaincy regalia and several beaded works for the rich.

Contemporary art

The evolution of contemporary art is not sudden; rather it was a process which spanned many decades—a slow but inevitable metamorphosis in a society that was replacing the supernatural with the rational and chance occurrence with logic, and adapting itself to the culture of the Western world into which its people began to be inexorably pulled. This is the background against which the changing format of art in Nigeria should be seen. 'The African cannot meet the demands of the present and the future by taking up again the art of the past,'³ for it was natural that with old ideas being abandoned, with the traditional content of his art changing and metamorphosing, new values should intrude themselves and that new modes should be adopted for expressing or validating such values. This is where the vision of Lagos-based Aina Onabolu and his efforts were important in crystallising these values and introducing new formats and principles of art. His efforts represent the typical position of leadership Lagos was enjoying in the development of thought and ideas in what was later to become Nigeria. Onabolu's importance should be seen within the social and political context of his time and the attitudes which were typified by the statement of Sir Hugh Clifford, Governor of the Gold Coast, in an article in 1918:

The West African negro has often been reproached with his failure to develop any high form of civilisation. It has been pointed out *ad nauseum* that he has never sculpted a statue, painted a picture, produced a literature or even invented any mechanical contrivance worthy of the name, all of which is perfectly true.⁶

This pronouncement is surprising in the light of the visit of Frobenius a few years before to Nigeria and the surprise of Europe at seeing such magnificence emanating from the same source as the Bini works. It is more surprising when one learns that Onabolu started to practise as an artist in Lagos in 1900, the first known 'Nigerian' to have practised 'pictorial art in any scientific form', that his commissions were received in 1902 and 1903 and that his portrait of Mrs Spencer Savage (1906), long before he received his first formal training abroad, showed a 'remarkable awareness and understanding of character of perspective and of anatomical proportions'.⁷ But the statement is not without some truth—even if that was not intended—as far as Lagos and Nigeria was concerned. A sizable proportion of Lagosians were already alienated from the customs and beliefs which produced the well-known Benin and Ife bronzes and the carvings which were considered the by-products of fetishism and primitivism. So far as this élite group was concerned, therefore, there was no sculpture, no painting and very little literature to show for all its pretensions.

Onabolu's pre-eminence rests not only on his providing an exception to the assertion of Governor Clifford. It also rests on the groundwork he laid for the evolution of modern or contemporary art. It was his effort in Lagos that led to the introduction of Fine Art into the Nigerian school curriculum for:

he succeeded in convincing the government of the time and was able to get the Education Department to obtain the services of other qualified teachers to work in the provinces since it was physically impossible for him to cover Lagos and the provinces all alone.⁸

The political importance of Onabolu's work is to be seen against the omission of his name or activities from *Nigerian Teacher* and its successor *Nigeria*, although between 1923 and 1963, when he died at the age of 83, he taught students of many Lagos primary and secondary schools the art of drawing, painting, and graphic

design, and although these two journals gave a lot of space to publicising the development of Nigerian art and craft.

Side by side with Onabolu's efforts were others like the late K. C. Murray who began to teach art in Omu Aran in 1928 and



9.3 *Examples of elaborately carved and decorated figures*

functioned largely in developing school art education in the provinces and in the establishment of museums in Nigeria.

Within the same period, traditional art was kept alive on Lagos soil by provincial artists who found new patronage and new incentives. As the converging point for all ethnic groups, Lagos reflected the best, and ironically the decline, of traditional art. At

the turn of the century people like the master carver Kobadoku and Alamide of Igbessa, only 20 miles from Lagos, emerged. This period probably produced the magnificent wooden *ose Sango* and the twin-stemmed brass plus wood version belonging to the Araba of Lagos and a probable companion to the better known ones at Agbo'le Ar'oba close to the Oba's palace.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, Lagos had attracted some of the finest artists of the interior in Idah, Ona and Sowolu. Ona, who was from Ijebu-Ode, was well-known for his caricature-like figures but he also produced those items which the sophistry of cosmopolitan life has not destroyed — *ibeji*, *opon ifa*, etc. O. Idah, a product of the traditional Benin school, left Benin in 1923 at 15 to learn carpentry in the Public Works Department (PWD), Lagos. He is credited with starting in Lagos ebony carving — a medium which has since become widely adopted and which has somewhat regrettably also become the backbone of the tourist art industry. He taught wood-carving at King's College for nine years before returning to Benin in 1947.

Sowolu, a contemporary of Ona, came to Lagos from Abeokuta in 1915 and began to work in the PWD two years later at the age of 22. Now 80, Chief Sowolu still carved *ibeji* statuettes and other cult objects at his 94A Aroloya Street carpentry workshop. His case is a reflection of the sad future which faces this area of Nigerian art — the reservoir from which contemporary art must continue to draw inspiration to retain its unique quality. His son, who is a very good carver, works in a government corporation but will take up carving seriously only after his retirement in a few years' time!

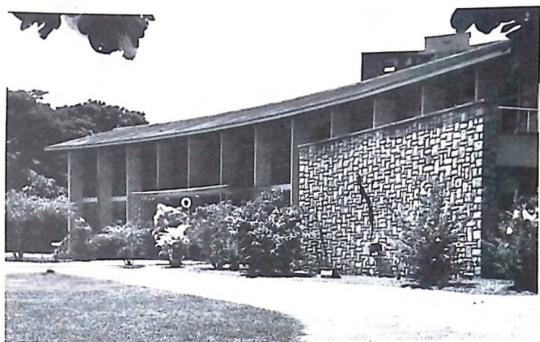
Among H. I. Erhabor's students in Lagos are well-known modern artists like Erhabor Emokpae and Oni-Okpaku. Erhabor's name is remembered for his relief wood carvings which provided functional designs for cabinets and chests.

In the 1930s and 1940s these artists were joined by more artists from the interior. Akinola Lasekan (Lash), whose political cartoons were one of the attractions of the *West African Pilot*, was a self-taught artist whose naturalism and pictorial exactness made him very useful as a book illustrator. Although he taught art in some Lagos schools, it was no surprise to find him attracted into the CMS Bookshop, an organisation which offered the first big attraction to artists and created the first market for their talents. Among the artists who joined the bookshop group were J. Akeredolu from Owo, famous for his thorn carvings and his relief wood carving that

showed a mastery of technique and form; and his former student Aghagha.

The efforts of Onabolu, Murray and others were beginning to bear results with the successful Festival of Arts which featured the works of several children in 1950.

All the time that the new ideas were being identified and realised and consolidated, the establishment of the Exhibition Centre, the only indigenous hall in Lagos for showing contemporary art in 1943 and the inauguration of the Lagos Museum and the Department of Antiquities, marked the beginning of definite distinction in the paths taken by contemporary and traditional art, the distinction between art and antiquity.



9.4 *The Antiquities Museum*

We have seen that the future of Nigerian art had been plotted along a definite line of development—a future which, in the words of Lauzinger, was ‘closely bound up with his (the artist’s) inexhaustible imagination, talent for abstraction, sense of rhythm and keen flair for penetrating to essentials’,⁹ a future borne out by the success of Ben Enwonwu, and those after him, in having his works adorn public buildings not only in Lagos but also at Ibadan and Enugu.

The dream of Onabolu came true in the local nurseries for producing trained artists—the Technical Institute (later College of Technology) which produced artists like Emokpae, Festus Idehen and Grillo (who later went to Zaria). It came true in the setting-up

of a Department of Fine Art in the Nigerian College of Technology in Zaria which later became part of the Ahmadu Bello University, the department of Fine Arts at Ife and Nsukka. The exhibition of Nigerian Art which formed part of the Independence Celebrations testified to this and also the importance of Lagos as a centre for artistic development and the growth of ideas in art. Almost all the major artists who exhibited were Lagos-based although the majority belonged to the interior of the country. They illustrate, however, the truth of Murray's statement 'that the African artist has had a genius for turning what he has derived from other civilisations to his own creative ends giving it an unmistakable African character'. This creativity is valid within even the African conglomeration, an artist often borrowing from outside his tribe or clan, and re-creating a new synthesis.

For example, Bruce Onobrakpeya derives his theme mostly from within the oral tradition of his Urhobo tribe and yet many of his works reflect his contact with other cultures from which he extracts symbols and designs as tools for fashioning his themes which revolve round folk tales, and a vindication of black culture. Onobrakpeya is always experimenting with new forms. From his paintings to lino works and his latest and important medium, deep etching, Onobrakpeya has shown an aptitude for meticulous work and a flair for surprising one with juxtaposition of motifs from seemingly incongruous sources and achieving harmony.

Emokpae, an Edo, extracts essential motifs and symbols from his folk tradition to explain his philosophy which covers subjects like dualism, spiritual conflict, the concept of religion and freedom and 'blackism'. His sculpture seems to waver between several influences but continues the dominant themes of his paintings.

The late Simon Okeke has been included in this survey because Lagos served longest as his base. Texture and tone were his *métier* and a delicate sensitivity and lyricism pervades all his works. His colours recall ochre and the glow of camwood and imbue his paintings with the certain aura of sacredness.

Ajayi's lino prints remind one of the Benin cast bronze and Yoruba wood carving and carved calabash. His subjects belong to everyday life among the people with whom he has come into contact, as well as Nigerian legends and mythology.

Grillo's work, on the other hand, is characterised by a mastery of colour and tone and a certain austere formalism resulting from his excursion into semi-abstraction: his works are characterised by

stylised tapering figures. A firm grasp of 'modern' technique apart, he seems to delight in large spaces and his mosaic murals decorate many public buildings in Lagos. He is the only Lagosian among the important national artists.

Lagos-based Okeke, Emokpae, Onobrakpeya, Grillo, Ajayi, all belong with others like Demas Nwoko and Uche Okeke to the Independence movement in art, the first articulation of contemporary philosophies and aspirations through art. A new generation has followed them, which has gone through a different experience but retained the influence of the earlier.

For example, David Dale, a graduate of Ahmadu Bello University, has a lot in common with his former teacher, Onobrakpeya, from whom he learnt the technique of etching, and is a very exciting water colour painter. Unlike his teacher, however, he uses his motifs often for purely decorative effect in his design and tends to remain simple as opposed to complex, direct as opposed to allusive.

Yemi Oguntola was already an established graphic artist before going to the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, for a degree in art. He is one of those phenomena of Nigerian art, being the third generation of a continuous family of artists, and a good illustration of the gradual evolution from ethnic art into the contemporary.

Of the two other promising Lagos-based artists, only Kola Oshinowo comes from within the State—from Ikorodu. Like Shina Yussuff, his classmate at Zaria, Oshinowo is a painter employing oil on board and delighting in large spaces. Both show a subtlety in their introduction of motifs from the traditional.

In discussing the development of art in Lagos, one cannot ignore one factor responsible for providing the artist with a solid base. The art gallery has helped in generating interest and growth and in creating a rapport between the artist and his public—not just those who come to admire but those whose patronage is more important to his future existence—the connoisseurs.

In addition to the Exhibition Centre (which after 1967 proved inadequate and was no longer used), a number of galleries have sprung up—the government-sponsored Gallery Labac (short for Lagos Branch of the Arts Council), Bronze Gallery on the former site of Gallery Labac and owned by Miss Afi Ekong, Gong Gallery which grew out of the monthly exhibition held in the home of Frank and Emily Aig-Imoukhuede, and many studio-galleries belonging to several artists but of very precarious existence. Among

the latter was Idubor (later Orhoghua) Gallery (now moved to Benin City), de Idehen Gallery and Mbari Mbayo, belonging to Tayo Aiyegebusi, himself an artist. Also active are exhibition centres like the Goethe Institute and the Italian Cultural Institute which belong to foreign governments. As important to the future of Nigerian art as the artists and these galleries and the patrons who purchase their works is the importance of keeping most of these works within the country. This assessment is not based on speculations about future financial appreciation of these works but on the experience of this country in respect of her antiquities. This is why one gives special attention to the efforts of several expatriate patrons in the Ikoyi area who provide exhibition facilities in their homes for those artists and a channel for art-drain even if such art is restricted only to Ife and Oshogbo artists and one or two of the 'college trained' Lagos-based artists.

The future of contemporary art is difficult to predict but there are definite trends which point to future tendencies. The traditional would exist to serve what is extant of the past of which it is part and parcel, until perhaps it takes the quality of religious art in Brazil and Cuba. Such a fate is unthinkable for at least the next hundred years since the material source cannot atrophy or be completely replaced until the entire countryside has become completely de-cultured.

The main conflict would be in determining between what is Nigerian art and what is 'counterfeit'. This was a question raised at the inauguration of the Society of Nigerian Artists in 1964 in Lagos and a pointer to the two camps into which the world of the Nigerian artists has been divided: one belonging to what Gerard Moore has described as the 'college-trained artists who seemed destined at one time to carry all before them' and the other group of summer workshop-produced artists supported by expatriate experimenters who seem intent on not just being patrons but also the determiners and inventors of new forms of Nigerian contemporary art. Although thoroughly restricted in location and local appeal, and a minority element in the world of Nigerian art, their spokesmen, usually expatriate, have given them an image outside the country disproportionate to their importance or impact.

The 24 foundation members of the Society of Nigerian Artists ranged from the college-trained to those who still carried on their works in the traditional medium. One therefore cannot accuse it of trying to discriminate against the self-trained or traditional artists

since the latter are represented in the society. One of its requirements is that the artist should speak the language of his time.

What in fact the Society of Nigerian Artists appears to be saying is that art forms should not be foisted by outsiders on the country or products of such experiments peddled abroad as the only artistic or important trend. More important, it represents some objections to elements of Lambarene paternalism, a complex which pioneers to Africa from Albert Schweitzer down suffer from because they are unable to see the previous 'simply minded primitive' grow into an educated man with the same artistic ability and capability as any other artist in the world.

Another cause of misrepresentation of contemporary Nigerian art by foreigners is their heavy dependence on anthropology and ethnography which, though useful in providing background material to many of the works of art, are nonetheless an inadequate substitute for aesthetic principles in art appreciation.

One would like the whole controversy resolved in very practical terms: a man can be an accomplished artist without going to an art school in the same way that a college-trained artist can be a very bad artist. Again the Western man's mind is as subject to mental conjuration of ghosts and bizarre horror figures as an African's vision can be realised in realistic or abstract form. What may distinguish African art from any other are artistic influences from within his life experience beyond the grasp of most foreigners.

Music

The convergence of several Yoruba and non-Yoruba ethnic units is reflected also in the musical practice, the type of music and the traditional musical instruments that occur in Lagos. For example, among the membranophones, the *bata* drum is represented by three versions—the full thong-wrapped Oyo version, the smaller Awori version and the scant-thonged, rather more rounded and shorter Ijebu version whose *omele abo* and *omele ako* (male and female omele) are slung round the shoulder almost upright in front of the body and beaten with the palm. Some flexibility is reflected in a recent introduction of the small 'band' drum to replace the omele. Again because of the difficulty in securing either instrument or a proficient drummer, the versatile *dundun* (hourglass pressure

drum) serves for several occasions including Sango worship and egungun festivals.

For Igunnu adherents, the *Dokun* is used. This is an earthenware pot drum of Nupe origin with raised embossment on its body played by a man wearing on his wrists rattles of tin plates with rings round the circumference. It is used with the cylindrical bembe drums introduced to the south from the north.

Korogun belongs to the Lagos War Chiefs and the ensemble consists of an *Iya'lu* (mother drum) about eighteen inches tall shaped roughly like a lifebuoy with a truncated top into which long pegs are driven to secure the membrane; a goblet-shaped omele; and twin-pegged omele ako and omele abo tied together at the tapering bases. The twin drums are called '*s'omo d'eru ote s'omo d'eru*' ('turn the son of the house to a slave, civil war that turns the child of the house into a slave') from the drum-pattern.

The use of the *apese* or *ikoko* at agemo or osugbo rituals and ceremonies characteristic of the Ijebu area has also been reported. The plucked idiophone, the only known Yoruba stringed instrument, *duru*, has also been reported and this is understandable considering the proximity of Lagos to Ijebu where the instrument is regularly featured at palace festivals when it is accompanied by two small peg-fastened membranophones—*konkolo* drums.

Apart from these, most of the traditional musical instruments connected with particular Yoruba religious institutions are widely distributed in Lagos and include *igbin*, *agere*, and the *gbedu* which dominates palace ceremonies at the Iga Iduganran. Beside them are other musical instruments like *kandika*, which is made of two pods of the *kandika* (*Caloncoba glanca*) attached to a string. One is held in the palm and the other swung round to hit the first, both are briefly shaken and then the free pod is swung again. This instrument used to be a favourite of children who accompanied it with glottal noises and clucks produced with the tongue.

Lagos appears to have had a few musical traditions without correspondence in the other Yoruba areas and which are conspicuously absent in Johnson's *History of the Yorubas*.

In 1885, *Pandero* dances and songs were reported in Lagos as a source of complaint because the songs were bawdy and the women were semi-nude. The same year, the *Kerikeri* was banned 'apparently because the songs were used to ridicule D. C. Taiwo who had lost his struggle to keep Ajasah (former apena to Dosunmu) from returning to Lagos'.¹⁰

A few samples of Kerikeri songs that have passed down to us confirm their abusive quality, their bawdiness and their potential for needling people of different tribal units or for use in domestic verbal exchanges. For instance:

Kilo ti se

Oo ti se 'yawo se bed-i

(What have you done yet—to warrant satisfaction
You haven't married and made a man's bed.)

Or the exchange between a man called Adelakun Baji and some women:

Bebe 'di e np'owe o e

Okobo ile o pe o e

Adelakun Baa ji.

Pandero songs were accompanied by *seli*—two circular-handled metal plates with rings affixed round the circumference and struck together. This instrument later on came to be used in *waka* music.

The loss of the Kerikeri and the Pandero is more than made up for by various surviving forms of vocal music. *Igbe* is a vocal type usually restricted to members of the Royal House. It normally features at funerals of the nobility but could also be sung for any wealthy Lagosian. The singing is done at a dignified pace with vocal breaks which lay emphasis on particular words and involve a great control of the vocal chords.

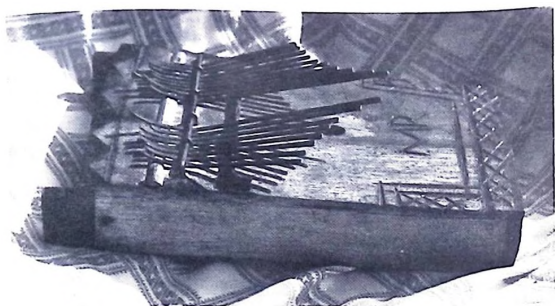
The *agasa*, which is of Awori origin, is sung with a roll and the faster *woro* is usually accompanied with stick clappers called *apepe*. *Woro*-type music also accompanies *agere* (stilt) dancers and serves for war songs and was very prominent in the fiery Lagos political campaigns of the late forties.

Besides them, most of the secular Yoruba vocal types are retained as popular musical expressions within the little homogeneous pockets of Yoruba elements. *Rara*, *ege* as well as vocal music connected with religious and cult observances like *esa* (used by *egungun* worshippers), *ijala* for Ogun worship and *iyere* for Ifa are still in use and the last named is usually accompanied by ifa gongs and beaded gourd rattles.

Islamic influence like elsewhere has made its presence felt in music, especially *waka* music, which features the *seli*, and *sakara* music in which the frame drum made from the cut-off neck of an earthenware pot and, often, the *goge* fiddle are used. *Apala* probably

evolved out of *Igunnu* music to which its sonorous vocal style and the drum accompaniment are similar. But if the interior has influenced the music of the coastal Lagos, Lagos has made its own contribution to the wide variety of musical types of the country.

Mensah discussing the impact of Western music on the musical traditions of Ghana,¹¹ mentions urbanisation and changed circumstances as factors which hastened change. An atmosphere had been produced in which everything Western became a mark of prestige—including Western music—and urbanisation created new settings and a new ordering of life outside strict tribal patterns thus creating new vacuums to be filled. The need to occupy oneself at



9.5 *A thumb piano*

the weekend evolved new types of entertainment and the wealth made it possible to exploit the advantages of western musical instruments over local hand-made ones. This was also the pattern in Nigeria and especially Lagos where urbanisation was most felt.

Two kinds of developments thus resulted from African contact with foreign musical traditions. In one, elements of western music were drawn to enrich forms which are basically African in conception. Of this type were the guitar and banjo bands in which the thumb piano or the drum was abandoned by the formerly itinerant musician and more hands engaged to give a greater impact. It led to the birth of *juju* music.

In the other development, particular songs and instrumental pieces which feature African elements are employed to enrich what is basically Western in conception. This involves a more

conscious application of Western concepts than the former and was the antecedent of highlife music.

Two drums are particularly associated with external influence on the music which Lagos developed and passed to the rest of the country.

— The *samba* is a hand-beaten single membrane frame drum with a rectangular or square wooden frame and is reported by Clement da Cruz to be a Brazilian introduction to Dahomey from the end of the nineteenth century 'at which time an orchestra was created by Francisco da Souza for use in the Brazilian "Bonfin" festival'.¹² It would appear this festival and its musical features were similar to a festival of the same name introduced by Brazilian elements into Lagos. In fact, up till the 1940s in Lagos, the *samba* and many Brazilian dances were still prevalent. The *samba* drum is often featured in juju music.

The origin of the word 'juju' in juju music is quite obscure but it has nothing to do with fetish. It is related to the minstrel tradition and perhaps derived from the need to entertain at drinking places hence its more pejorative description as *tombo bar music*.

Juju is a single-membrane tambourine drum with a usually wooden frame of hexagonal design. Within each frame side is an opening into which are nailed metal discs—usually flattened bottle tops. An early illustration of a Juju or Ju Orchestra¹³ shows the instrument as well as a banjo in use.

Today, juju music has taken on more sophisticated features relying as it does on electronic equipment and a lot of gimmicks. Instead of the banjo, some of the orchestras sport bass, rhythm and lead guitars. Its past masters were the inimitable Tunde King,¹⁴ Akanbi Ege,¹⁵ Ayinde Bakare and Ojoge Daniel. Like the traditional entertainment types from which it derived, juju music was expected to commemorate significant milestones and pay tribute as well as make social comments. Radio and the gramophone record increased its popularity and although Lagos, several decades later, is still the most profitable hunting ground for its exponents, several changes have since taken place.

Juju music has taken on more sophisticated features and can hardly have any claims to originality, borrowing often unashamedly from various sources far and near and making up for its lack of compositional variety with a lot of electronic gimmicks.

Two other types of musical expression associated with Lagos but not now current are *konkoma* and *agidigbo* music. Konkoma in

Lagos was introduced by Fanti and Ewe immigrants and was characterised by vocals in Ewe and Yoruba, the beating of a bottle and the rasping of a saw. It just preceded the agidigbo which swept through the land in the fifties and was dominated by the now defunct Rio Lindo Orchestra. Agidigbo music is named after the big box-type *sansa* with metal lamellae which provided the background rhythm.

From samba and Bonfin type celebrations developed another musical form which later evolved into the highlife—a musical expression common to West Africa in which western popular forms got fused with traditional entertainment music. Various hypotheses have been offered for the origin of the highlife music, but most of them never count on the common process of change given a cosmopolitan atmosphere with the movement of sailors whose predilection for flashy fashion and tastes was an important factor in the fashion trend among the ordinary Lagosians.

With the Brazilian import, the *caretta*, or fancy (a description of the flair and flamboyance embodied in the wearing of colourful costumes and often face masks), came the band music developed in imitation of music supplied by members of the Hausa constabulary. Here, however, was free musical expression unhampered by the strictness of keeping to notated beat with which most popular musicians of the time were unfamiliar. The beat of the *caretta* or fancy group was the basic *kere-re-re gbamgbam*. This type was soon followed by the Calabar Brass Band whose repertoire included the most exciting pieces in which cornets and bugles were played with great verve as the Lagosians 'steamed' from one end of the island to the other. 'Steaming' was free—a sort of dance parade which gathered crowds as it went along and halted at road junctions to allow members of its procession to dance 'face to face' with handkerchiefs held high and waving in the air.

In the 1930s the Triumph Club Dance Orchestra was formed. 'The subsequent arrival of commercial gramophone records and the establishment of radio stations in Nigeria led to a rash of popular bands using Western European dance band instruments.'¹⁶ The fusion of the brass band and the samba groups gave birth to the highlife in Nigeria; its early exponents included Bobby Benson, the man who also introduced European sophistication into entertainment in Nigeria and for whom most of the important highlife band leaders played at one time or the other. Extraneous influence of importance on the highlife came from Ghana in the form of

E. T. Mensah's Tempos Band and Zeal Onyia, a Nigerian trumpeter who led a Ghanaian band.

The highlife was characterised by its preoccupation with themes relating to the fickleness of women and suchlike and although it spread throughout Nigeria gathering, acquiring and assimilating local musical idioms, it was dominated by Lagos-based musicians whose innovatory genius has kept it alive and established well known idioms like the Akwete of Victor Uwaifo, the warm Ijaw beat of Jim Rex Lawson. Although still struggling hard to survive, it has been displaced in popularity by another outcome of the fusion between the indigenous and the foreign. Fela Ransome-Kuti started with the highlife in the orchestra of Victor Olaiya before going to Britain to study music. When he abandoned highlife his music at first had a largely Latin American flavour, but his Afro beat is firmly founded on indigenous roots. Despite his claim to speak for a wider audience, most of Fela's songs are in Yoruba except the latest in which he employs the medium of pidgin English. Like juju music, they are characterised by a repetitive background rhythm for which most folk songs are well-known.

If one classes juju, highlife and Afro beat or Afro rock as popular musical expression, this is not to say that there were no other musical forms raised on Lagos soil. This new type, however, is distinguished by the reliance on foreign, usually western, formats and the use, because notated or scored, of western or conventional musical instruments. Such 'serious' music is classified into church and secular music. The former had found interested purveyors and followers from the time of the establishment of missionary schools.

While these Missions paid great attention to music education it was to European music and with the purpose of enabling their schoolmasters, catechists and priests to play simple Anglican chants and hymns from staff notation on the harmonium which replaced Nigerian traditional musical instruments. Nigerian drums were tabooed—they were pagan instruments. . . .¹⁷

This does not mean (a very superficial and emotional way of assessing the situation) that these instruments went into disuse and became obsolescent or completely lost. The percentage of converts was too insignificant to destroy what were the customs of the majority.¹⁸ The ostracism of others by the so-called educated élite only succeeded in screening 'pagan' activities from public view,

from records and from publications except where they came for castigation. Nonetheless, these practices waxed strong until a new factor, education and sophistication, began to infiltrate the minds of the native sons and destroy the *raison d'être* of some of these customs.

Within the Lagos élite the need to aspire to the refinement of the English society led to the pursuit of several of that model society's pastimes and practices. The Philharmonic Society, the first musical society in Lagos, was formed in 1873 and concerts were performed in Philharmonic Hall located on Tinubu Square. This was followed by the Lagos Esprit de Corps Society (1876) and the Flower of Lagos Society (1878). The evening's programme was made up of solos, duets and quartets by male, female and mixed groups and violin compositions as well as selected readings and dramatisation. The fare reflected the philosophy of life of the period and the cleavage in the social life of Lagos where there was a definite distinction between natives and immigrants which polarised into heathen, or pagan, and Christian, between uncivilised and civilised. Of this attempt to introduce Western cultural entertainments to the land, Brown says, 'most natives and many immigrants did not understand either the language or the meaning of the performances and therefore could not appreciate them'.¹⁹ This delight of foisting foreign musical entertainments on an unappreciative audience continued till the late 1940s when film shows at the Capitol Cinema²⁰ were preceded by demonstrations of ballroom dancing on the raised platform abutting the screen and where a violin recital often preceded a cowboy film which was a favourite of the time.

A parallel development was taking place in church circles. Most church music was more or less evangelical in aim and consisted of forcing Yoruba translated words on English tunes with 'very risqué effect'.²¹ The first Lagosian (and Nigerian for that matter) to be trained abroad in music (Germany, 1871) was R. A. Coker. He was followed by the renowned T. K. E. Philips forty years later. The end-product of this era which spanned some six decades were several oratorio works and compositions for organ whose character was definitely European and reflected little of the richness of local music forms and practices. This was the situation for the whole of the country until the 1920s when traditional tunes began to be composed for special church events like harvests, Easter and Christmas. Lagos was not in the forefront of this new

trend for the simple reason that Ethiopianism was more involved in proving the competence and enthusiasm of the African clergy in alienating the converts from any direct contact with pagan practices—including music. Here the pioneering efforts of the Rev. Olude and others elsewhere must be mentioned, although the greatest influence in introducing Nigerian traditional tunes and musical instruments into church music in Lagos are the African Church and the Cherubim and Seraphim and allied sects.

It was not all oratorios and cantatas, however, for Lagos lovers of 'serious' music. A local musical composition titled, 'Souvenir de Lagos' featured at Coker's Handel Festival of 1882. Secular music began to attract the interest of the new musicians who came from different parts of the country. The first works by such musicians relate to the use of European forms without any reference to Nigerian elements in the music. To this class belongs Fela Sowande's *Piano Suite* and *Sonatas*. But even as early as the beginning of the 1950s Sammy Akpabot's famous background music to the Barclay's Bank advertisement was already indicating the other direction musical compositions by Nigerians would take—the fusion of European forms with Nigerian, African or Afro-American music. This is best demonstrated in Fela Sowande's *Art songs for Tenor and String Orchestra* which draws on negro spirituals, melodies and rhythms from Ghana and Nigeria and Ayo Bankole's *Art Songs for Voice and Piano* which draw their life substance from Nigerian melodies.

Fela Sowande's international acclaim was capped when he was commissioned by the Nigerian Government to compose a work to mark Nigeria's Independence. The pieces which emerged from this commission include recognisable traditional passages from *Oni Dodo* and the music of Julius Araba.²² Bankole, who had made his mark earlier as a child prodigy within the oratorio tradition, seems preoccupied with recapturing not only the essences of Nigerian music by employing programme music technique, but strives to achieve the tonal patterns and inflections and nuances by freeing the words from the music accompaniment which either reinforces or counterpoints the melody.

A third important name in Nigerian music whose owner is part of the Lagos scene is Steve Rhodes. Rhodes' equal familiarity with both popular and classical music has stood him in good stead in the arrangement of choral music and made his group, the Steve Rhodes Voices, one of the most accomplished in the country. His

importance lies in the way he has influenced choral singing in Nigeria and is attested to by the rash of imitators that have sprung up. His group was the first black group to be invited to the international Eisteddfod in Wales in 1972, where it gained fifth place out of 27 participants from all over the world.

Contemporary literature

A brief survey of the situation in the first half of the last century shows little creativity in literature of local origin. One would consider literature in this wise as reflecting the thoughts and philosophies of a people, as being the literary reaction to the condition of life and the expectations and aspirations of the people, or as being linguistically related to its geographical location. The division of Lagos society into pagans and Christians, into primitives and the civilised and the quality of this so-called civilised élite ensured that nothing original or creative was produced. The Lagosian of that time cast his gaze outward to Europe and lived in a dream-world far removed from his real needs and his real existence. The majority refused to use or feigned ignorance of their mother tongue and delighted in fancifulness about the 'Town' (by which they referred to Freetown in Sierra Leone) or effusions about that other Eden—England. Popular reading of the period reflected a paradoxical cross between the highbrow and the low-brow. The popular T. A. King's store offered reading material such as: *Card Players' Hand Book*, *Egyptian Circle of Fortune*, *Napoleon's Book of Fate*, *Tales for Boys and Girls*, *Ladies Guide to Etiquette*.

The real significant change in the situation occurred within the 'native' and less sophisticated population among whom an oral literature already existed. Literary Yoruba was developed out of the need to help converts read the Bible and Lagos as the base of several missions became the centre of this new development and growth. This accounted for the preponderance of religion as the subject of the literature produced.

The upheaval in the church and the growing nationalism that swept through Lagos increased interest and pride in things Yoruba as well as the need to explain traditional philosophies and values. There was particular concern over the preservation of Yoruba proverbs and songs. From the 1880s there was a larger supply of

printed works by Africans in both English and Yoruba. *Iwe Owe* and *Iwe Alo*, by S. A. Allen and D. B. Vincent respectively, came out in 1883 and E. M. Lijadu's *Aribiloso* three years later. Other efforts spanned anthropology and history, essays and translations: the foundations of Nigerian interest in African Studies were being laid.

Between 1884 and 1885 a series of lectures by J. O. George was published bilingually as 'Historical Notes on the Yoruba Country and its Tribes'. The most outstanding work in this direction, however, was J. A. Otunba Payne's *Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History* (1884) which 'became a text-book for all lawyers and Judges in Lagos' and which the Rev. James Johnson used in teaching Yoruba and Lagos History. Subsequent writers 'in citing exact dates, often utilised' Payne's *Table of Principal Events*.

By 1903, the Lagos Native Research Society under the secretaryship of the Rev. H. Atundaolu was formed and a greater impetus given not only to cultural nationalism but also to the growth of a literature. The subjects concentrated on Yoruba life and culture, yet these works represent the earliest material content of a 'Nigerian' literature, and set the pattern which development within the other areas of the country was to take. For although there was no political amalgamation or independence or a definite literary style common to them, the works were characterised by a 'national' consciousness of the authors and the use of subject matters of local interest and colour. This character to literature in Lagos was shared by other areas in which literary activities later on developed.

The period was very fertile and produced works covering various genres. Religious works in Yoruba include translations of the Bible, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, a biography of Bishop Crowther, *Omode Erukunrin ti o di Bisopu*, as well as original studies like *Ifa* by E. M. Lijadu, *Iwasu Nipa Igbeyawo* and *Ifa Amona Awon Baba Wa* by Rev. D. Onadele Epega. *Aso Ilewa, or Native Dress*, a play in Yoruba written by S. C. Phillips and published in 1916²³ was the earliest script available although it was 'by no means the first to be sent to the press'. Reference is made in 1937²⁴ to 'native plays of good quality by some societies in Lagos some copies of which may be obtained from especially the Awe Recreation Club'. No scripts are available of the folk opera and other Yoruba plays, since most of them are ad-lib material with at best the barest of written outlines. The major work of importance, however, is Okediji's *Rere*

Run, a sociological play about a trade unionist whose single-minded pursuit of union rights and devotion to his men fails to support him against the machination of his enemies and the fickleness of men.

The earliest example of the novel was *Segilola Eleyinju Ege*, which predates Fagunwa's first Yoruba novel by almost two decades. The novelettes and essays have come down in some profusion with A. K. Ajisafe (whose real name was E. O. O. Moore) contributing *Tan t'Olorun* (1919), published in 1927, and *Enia soro* (1931), Deniga, *Ba nu so* and Latunde, *Asaro Irin Aiye*.

The historical works include several short histories by Ajisafe, whose literary activities attracted a lot of response from several eminent men of his time; and *Iwe Itan Eko* and *Iwe Itan Ogun Ote Ilu Oke* by J. B. Losi. The poets of the period include Ajisafe (*Aiye Akamara*, 1921), but the works of Sobo Arobiodu, the pseudonym for J. S. Sowande, especially his *Arofo* compiled in 1927 and 1934, and Obasa's *Akwis* seem to have captured great attention.

Some of the authors named above are not necessarily Lagosians but residents who come from other parts of the country, or frequented Lagos from their bases, but there is no doubt that the works are a reaction to prevalent conditions and the literary influences being felt by Lagosians. For example, the latest pressure from the Egbe Ijinle Yoruba whose pressure-point is Lagos is responsible for the outstanding play, *Rere Run*, in the same way that Samuel Johnson's *History of the Yorubas*,²⁵ though published in 1921, was the fruit of the cultural nationalism that swept through Lagos in the last quarter of the last century. O. Delano's *The Soul of Nigeria* (1937), by an Egba, also falls into this category.

Of the many novels and plays in English written by non-Lagosian residents in Lagos like Achebe, Nzekwu, J. P. Clark, none except some of the works of Cyprian Ekwensi can be said to belong to Lagos. Society and the social situation can produce aesthetic and literary reactions. There is no doubt that Ekwensi's best novel, *Jagua Nana*, owes its success to his sensitive response to his most productive milieu, Lagos. For Ekwensi appears to be at his most convincing best when the setting is Lagos. At the other extreme is Rasheed Gbadamosi, a playwright who hails from Ikorodu only a few miles outside Greater Lagos but whose childhood experience in the city has so far formed the base of his themes. Fela Davies, though a Lagosian, belongs not particularly to Lagos literature as defined but to the mainstream of national

literary activities to which most important writers resident in Lagos belong.

This is reflected in the literary contributions to radio, television and the stage (which for reasons to be stated later on has not attracted the more important literary works or activities).

The Lagos theatre

Even though theatrical productions were not unknown to the immigrant Lagosians of the nineteenth century, there was no report of any serious dramatic activities up to the 1860s. The famous fund-raising night held by pupils of the Lagos Grammar School on 18 June 1872 took the form of 'readings and enactment' from the *Worth of the Bunker Hill monument*, *The concert*, *What is Man?*, *The Lonely Traveller*, *The Learned Man*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Death of Nelson*, *The Speech to the American Congress*, *Excelsior* and a debate on the question 'Are the mental capacities of the sexes equal?'

In 1882 St Gregory's Grammar School successfully attempted a five-act play entitled *He Would Be Lord* with songs in English and French. The evening ended with a farce, *Mickey Free and the Editor*. Four years after, Miss Hoare's private pupils presented *HMS Pinafore* and 'received excellent reviews especially for the staging which included a realistic deck and poop'.

Musical and dramatic performances were not, however, restricted to school presentations. There were efforts by the Brazilian Dramatic Company, and the Rising Entertainment Society whose only (1881) production was its last. In spite of the fact that portions of the presentation were in Yoruba, we are told 'the five and one-half hour performance which lasted until 1.30 in the morning tried the patience of many'.

A month later, the Melo Dramatic Society made its appearance with Herbert Macaulay as the guiding force. In 1886, five years after its inauguration, its name was changed to the Philharmonic Society.

In considering the general picture of theatrical activities at this period it is necessary to present a brief critique of the literary content and trends and an account of the available facilities of the time. For example, most of these activities took place in 'Chapel, and school premises set apart as they are, for the worship and service of God (which) have been unlawfully abused.' This brief

quotation gives an insight into the theatrical type as well as the type of interest the press of the time took in the development of the arts. Concerts predominated and were regarded as an appendage of the evangelical process. This was made abundantly clear in a reviewer's comment: 'I can tolerate civilisation in the vernacular but I detest the exhibition of low forms of heathenism in any language.' Among things objected to was the 'use of the tom tom at the stage, rude expressions in the native language and dancing of a fantastic kind'.

Thus in spite of the misplaced 'Anglomania' of the Lagos elite, the foundation of the future of the theatre in Nigeria was being laid—a combination of theatrical elements from traditional theatre (rituals, court ceremonials, etc.) with Western concepts and the establishment of the validity of the vernacular as suitable material for the stage.

As for stage facilities, the link between the past and the present—Glover Hall was just being mooted. Lagos today enjoys, considering development and growth in other directions, relatively speaking, no more and no less than it did in the last century—school halls and auditoriums, and Glover Hall. The addition of the hardly adequate J. K. Randle Hall has not made up for the loss of places like the Tom Jones Memorial Hall, the scene of fiery political speeches in the late 1940s as well as folk operatic presentations, Lisabi Hall and the Foresters' Hall which doubled as dance and theatre venues.

Up to the 1930s the literary content of drama on the Lagos stage was largely foreign and the favourite authors included Macaulay, Longfellow, Tennyson, Homer, Milton and Molière. What Echeruo refers to as the 'school certificate cult of Shakespeare were out of the school syllabus'. The first full-scale production of Shakespeare was made in 1946 by the sixth-formers of Queen's College, Lagos, to raise funds for the West African Students Union. Two performances of *Twelfth Night* were given in the Garrison Theatre 'for African and European audiences and another performance in their Dining Hall for the school children of Lagos'. The production was of sufficiently high quality to merit high praise and the costumes were 'almost entirely the responsibility of the girls'.

The theatre was dominated by school productions and expatriate groups like the Festival Players who concentrated on bringing reminiscences of home to the Englishman abroad.

The first major impact came with the 1960 Masks, a group formed by Wole Soyinka which attracted the cream of the stage personalities of the time—Olga Adeniyi-Jones, Patrick Ozieh, Yemi Lijadu, Ralph Opara and Segun Olusola. The group took off with the *Dance of the Forest*, an allegorical play drawing on all the elements of Nigerian theatrical devices, originally intended as a special presentation for Independence. Apart from plays by J. P. Clark, the 1960 Masks also scoured round for materials from neighbouring areas like Sierra Leone (Sarif Easmon's *Dear Parent and Ogre*). With the withdrawal of the Masks to Ibadan and its resuscitation there as the Orisun Theatre the life struggle of the Lagos Theatre again became routine until the 1964 Theatre Workshop's production of *Ikeke*, with a cast of some fifty, including dancers, musicians and other 'extras'. *Ikeke* also was remarkable for its running time, having played consecutively for five days in Lagos, two days at the Arts Theatre in Ibadan and four more days on the Lagos stage and coming to an end, in spite of audience demand, because the cast complained of monotony.

Lagos has since had groups like Eldred Fiberisima Productions, Stagecraft, Vintage Theatre and the Phoenix Theatre, but regrettably the impact is not as big as the university productions from Ibadan, Ife and Nsukka. This is not because of the absence of theatre art and skill but because of the lack of sufficient manpower—traffic jams and the hustle and bustle of urban life prevent a full roll for rehearsals and restrict not only the scale of production to plays of manageable cast strength, but also ensure that playwrights who aim to use the stage in Lagos work within a limited, less ambitious scope.

All the same the theatre in Lagos has generated some very important works from young authors like Fela Davies and Rasheed Gbadamosi, whose sharp angry tone does not submerge his fine grip on social themes.

The other direction which drama was to take was already being established, as we saw, in the last century. By the 1930s we learn that 'some societies at Lagos stage native plays of good quality every year'. One of them is identified as the Awe Recreation Club. Yoruba Folk Opera, in its present form, came when Hubert Ogunde was commissioned by his church in 1943 to compose a service of songs into which he injected some drama. The outcome was the *Garden of Eden*, his first work which was performed in 1944 with great success at Glover Hall. Ogunde resigned from the Police

Force two years later and became a professional dramatist. That resignation started a career highlighted by *Strike and Hunger* which ran with great success during the 1945 country-wide strike (and carried the famous chorus line '*Kini a fi kobo o jumo se?*'), *Bread and Butter*, during the Enugu coal mine disputes in 1949, and *Yoruba Ronu*, another child of a crisis which split the Yoruba in the early 1960s. The keynote of the Hubert Ogunde Concert Party is social comment and the format is usually an opening song and dance display establishing the moral; the plot acted through; and the closing song and dance with a restatement of the lesson to be drawn from the 'play'.

The efforts of the Lagos-based Ogunde led to the establishment of several others at different points and locations—like Ogunmola and Duro Ladipo—and his success has led to a rash in Lagos of operatic groups like Ogungbe, Oyin Adejobi, etc.

Their plays rely for their impact on ancient myths and legends, echoes of traditional ritual and a validation of the supernatural. As a result, magic, legerdemain and the *deus ex machina* are relied upon to carry the plot through. The ends sometimes justify the means since these folk operas often bear moral messages which are restated in song at the denouement.

This is why the contribution of Moses Olaiya Adejumo to the development of vernacular theatre is very significant. His targets are the foibles and other peccadilloes of his fellow humans, while his vehicle is satire. His plots are usually loosely fashioned, the whole play relying for its impact on current allusions, impromptu comic lines thrown in to engage well-known personalities in the audience.

Starting off in 1960 with a musical group, the Federation Rhythm Dandies, Moses Olaiya has brought a most exciting transformation to theatrical designs and straight comedies which do not rely on the well-known elements of the operatic tradition for their sustenance.

Concluding remarks

Contemporary culture in Lagos (and this includes the mainland and all of Greater Lagos) is essentially urban. Its content is not so much regulated by the need for ethnic purity as by the need to satisfy consumer taste. Its basis is often the need for entertainment

and distraction from the grind of urban life. The by-product is growth and development, not necessarily along traditional lines, but founded on different new sources. This is best exemplified in the proliferation of popular music types like juju and high life.

Another factor is affluence which creates patronage and consequently leads to growth. The large population ensures the congregation in one location of people of particular tastes—in exploitable numbers.

The large population of affluent patrons creates a demand for supply by the artist or craftsman. In Lagos, it has begun speculation in art to which many Nigerians are attracted. This in turn has ensured improvement in the content of art and created for Lagos a leadership which even the other University towns cannot easily challenge.

By and large, Lagos will remain important as a centre of national culture, it will determine taste and form and provide the best marketing opportunity for art. Its traditional social structure will also survive, as it has done from the time of the cession of Lagos, although its contents may change materially to accommodate future exigencies and new components.

Notes

1 BROWN, S. H., 'A History of the People of Lagos, 1852-1936', Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1964, p. 19.

2 MURRAY, K. C. 'Weaving in Nigeria; a general survey', *Nigeria*, 14, 1938, p. 118.

3 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

4 *Ibid.*

5 LEUZINGER, Elsy *Africa, the art of the negro peoples*, London, 1962, p. 210.

6 Article in *Blackwood Advertiser*, January 1918, quoted in *Nigeria*, 79, December 1963, p. 295.

7 'Dapo Onabolu, Aina Onabolu,' *Nigeria*, 79, December 1962, pp. 295 f.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Leuzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

10 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

11 ATTA ANNAN MENSAH 'The impact of Western Music on the musical traditions of Ghana', *Composer*, 19, Spring 1966, pp. 19-22.

12 THIEME, 'A descriptive catalogue of Yoruba Musical Instruments', Ph.D. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1969, p. 276, quoting Clement da Cruz, 'Les instruments de musique dans le Bas-Dahomey', *Etudes Dahoméennes*, v, 12.

13 A 1947 painting of a juju orchestra in *Nigeria*, 32, 1949, p. 88, shows a banjo player accompanied by a juju drum and a netted gourd rattle. In front of the players is a gourd of palm wine or tombo.

14 The introduction of the banjo to juju music is attributed by Daniel Ojoge Aleshinloye (Ojoge Daniel) to King for whom it was purchased at Las Palmas by a friend.

15 Who, according to Ojoge, introduced the gangan (talking drum) into juju.

16 SOWANDE, Fela 'Nigerian Music and Musicians: then and now', *Nigeria*, 94, September 1967, p. 260.

17 Sowande, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

18 The census of the colony of Lagos and its dependencies 1891 given by Otunba Payne in his *Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History*, p. 30, shows a total population of 85,607 of which 10,269 were Christians, 21,108 Muslims and 54,230 pagans.

19 Brown, *op. cit.*

20 Now renamed Sheila Cinema.

21 Sowande, *op. cit.*

22 An exponent of a version of juju music called 'Afro-skiffle'.

23 Published at the CMS Mission Press, Lagos.

24 BANJO, S. A. *The Teaching of Yoruba*, *Nigeria*, 13, 1938, p. 59.

25 Johnson was an Oyo man and the manuscripts were sent to the printers in 1899.

10 Bibliography

A. OLUGBOYEGA BANJO

This chapter is a comprehensive bibliography of sources which are available in the City of Lagos to both the serious student and the casual inquirer. In order to limit its scope to manageable proportions it has been decided to include only publications which are devoted either entirely or almost entirely to Lagos. Thus many standard works on the Yoruba, or Southern Nigeria, or Nigeria, which contain useful information on Lagos have been excluded.

Among these works are:

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Others are:

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- BURTON, R. *Wanderings in West Africa . . .*, London, Tinsley, 1863, 2 vols.
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From the beginning of modern Nigerian history, Lagos has been a cosmopolitan city and a hub of commercial and administrative activities. More recently it has developed into the leading industrial and urban centre in Nigeria. Also it has been the traditional centre of newspaper and party political publications. There is therefore a wealth of archival as well as published material on the city and people of Lagos. The range of such materials include official and private records and documents, newspapers, books, pamphlets, periodical articles and theses.

This bibliography provides a directory of significant archival collections and a subject list of books and articles followed by alphabetical lists of theses, official publications and newspapers published in Lagos, both current and retrospective.

Archival collections

Various documents and private papers about Lagos exist in many archives and libraries in Nigeria and Europe. Most of these collections have been described, *inter alia*, in:

MATHEWS, N. and WAINWRIGHT, M. D. comp. *A guide to manuscript and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa*, London, O.U.P., 1971.

CARSON, P. *Materials for West African history in archives of Belgium and Holland*, London, Athlone Press, 1962.

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The following is a descriptive list of the most important of such collections.

Nigeria

(i) Supreme Court of Nigeria, Lagos

Lagos Supreme Court Records

Records of all previously decided court cases dating back to the beginning of this century.

(ii) Lagos City Council, Lagos

Lagos Town Council Records

Files of the various departments of the Lagos Town Council from the inception of municipal administration.

(iii) National Archives, Ibadan

Many valuable files relating to Lagos such as records on roads, bridges, records on the Nigerian medical and sanitary services, records on chieftaincy matters, etc. It also has a collection of official publications relating to Lagos.

Britain

(i) Church Missionary Society, London

Many valuable correspondence and papers on Lagos dating back to 1845.

(ii) City of Liverpool Public Libraries, Liverpool

Ships' papers relating to Lagos.

(iii) House of Lords Office, London

Papers concerning the reduction of Lagos.

(iv) John Holt and Company, Liverpool

Correspondence, diaries, financial records and photographs on economic and administrative development of Lagos.

(v) Leeds City Library Archives Department, Leeds

Correspondence and papers in the Arthington Trust Collection relating to the Church Missionary Society.

(vi) Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, Liverpool

Reports on trade with Lagos. Most of the papers are now in the custody of the City of Liverpool Public Libraries.

(vii) Methodist Missionary Society, London

Minutes, correspondence, papers, maps, etc. on the Lagos District Mission.

(viii) The Public Record Office, London

Colonial Office files relating to Lagos and the Southern Protectorate of Nigeria.

Belgium

Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Dépôt Central des Archives, Brussels

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France

(i) Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Quai d'Orsay, Paris

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(ii) Archives Nationales, Paris

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Italy

(i) Archivio di Stato Sezione Prima, Toriuo

File of letters from Gianbattista Scala, trader, resident and Piedmontese consul (1856-7).

(ii) L'Archivio Storico del Ministreo Degli Affari Esteri, Rome

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Portugal

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LAGOS The development of an African City

This volume collects together historical and contemporary studies of the Lagos urban area under the editorship of Professor A. B. Aderibigbe, Chairman of the History Department at the University of Lagos, and with a foreword by Professor J. F. Ade Ajayi, Vice-Chancellor of the University. The contributors and their subjects are: A. B. Aderibigbe: Early History of Lagos; P. D. Cole: Lagos Society in the Nineteenth Century; B. A. Williams: The Federal Capital; P. O. Sada and A. A. Adefolalu: Urbanisation and Problems of Urban Development; R. A. Akinola and N. O. Alao: Some Geographical Aspects of Industries in Greater Lagos; Segun Adesina: The Development of Western Education; Dr S. Ola Daniels: Health and Social Welfare; G. O. Gbadamosi: Patterns and Developments in Lagos Religious History; Frank Aig-Imoukhuede: Contemporary Culture; A. Olugboyega Banjo: Bibliography.



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