

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. For similar arguments, see Kapur, *When Was Modernism*, and Harney, *In Senghor's Shadow*.
2. See, e.g., Vogel, *Africa Explores*.
3. See Okeke, "The Quest," 41–75, and Ottenberg, *New Traditions* and *The Nsukka Artists*.
4. See Godwin and Hopwood, *Architecture of Demas Nwoko*; Okoye, "Nigerian Architecture," 29–42.
5. See Enwezor and Okeke-Agulu, *Contemporary African Art*.
6. See Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*; Mount, *African Art*; and Kennedy, *New Currents*.
7. See Enwezor, *The Short Century*.
8. See Fagg and Plass, *African Sculpture*, 6.
9. See Hassan, "The Modernist Experience in African Art," 216.
10. Araeen, "Modernity, Modernism," 278.
11. Shohat and Stam, "Narrativizing Visual Culture," 28.
12. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 122.
13. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 114–116.
14. Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, 52–63.
15. Nkrumah defines *consciencism* as "the map in intellectual terms of the disposition of forces which will enable African society to digest the Western and the Islamic and the Euro-Christian element[s] of Africa, and develop them in such a way that they fit the African personality. The African personality itself is defined by the cluster of humanist principles which underlie the traditional African society." See Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 79.
16. Taylor, "Two Theories of Modernity," 183.
17. John S. Mbiti famously asserted the status of the individual in Africa with the

dictum, “I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am.” See Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 109. The tenability of this assertion has for years been a matter of intense philosophical debate. But there is ample evidence from popular sayings, proverbs, and aphorisms of diverse African peoples to suggest that individual subjectivity is for the most part strongly linked to an awareness of its dependence on a network of relations with other human and metaphysical beings.

18. Shutte, *Philosophy for Africa*, 47.
19. See Achebe, *Arrow of God*, 234.
20. Drewal, “Memory and Agency,” 242–243.
21. Jeyifo, *Perspectives on Wole Soyinka*, 117.
22. See Appiah, “Postcolonial and the Postmodern,” 62.
23. Italics added. See Young, *Postcolonialism*, 57.
24. Moore-Gilbert, “Postcolonial Modernism,” 551.
25. See my “Politics of Form,” 67–86.

CHAPTER 1: COLONIALISM AND THE EDUCATED AFRICANS

1. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 243–244.
2. Taiwo, *How Colonialism Preempted Modernity*.
3. Taiwo, *How Colonialism Preempted Modernity*, 11.
4. Carland, *Colonial Office and Nigeria*, 108.
5. Frenkel, “Edward Blyden,” 288.
6. Colonial government in southern Nigeria blamed the mission-trained Africans for the massive consumption of alcohol responsible for the illicit liquor trade. For her part, the nineteenth-century ethnographic writer and explorer Mary Kingsley thought that mission education made the African “the curse of the Coast.” Several other commentators emphasized the threat these mission-trained Africans posed to the colonial system and its regime of racial and social hierarchy. For more, see Lyons, “Evolutionary Ideas and Educational Policy,” 15–19.
7. Lyons, “The Educable African,” 17.
8. Lyons, “The Educable African,” 17.
9. Lyons, “The Educable African,” 17.
10. Lugard’s influential book, *Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, in which he laid out the principles and practice of indirect rule, became a manual of sorts for colonial officers in colonial British Africa. See Lugard, *Dual Mandate*.
11. See Porter, *Critics of Empire*, 151.
12. Mary Kingsley once stated: “I regard not only the African, but all coloured races, as inferior—inferior in kind not in degree—to the white races.” Quoted in Porter, *Critics of Empire*, 151–152. Porter discusses Mary Kingsley’s influence on the development of indirect rule colonialism.
13. “[W]e are certain that the publication of the Report will add the last nail to the coffin of the Nigerian System, falsify the aspersions which have been cast upon the educated Native by daubing him an agitator who is denationalized by virtue

- of his liberal culture and attainments, and lastly prove conclusively that Sir Frederick Lugard's infernal rule in Nigeria is nothing short of a policy of military terrorism, of subordination and domination which are at variance with the cherished traditions of British Imperial rule." See "Amritsar and Ijemo: A Parallel and Suggestion," *Lagos Weekly Record*, August 7, 1920, 5.
14. "Amritsar and Ijemo: A Parallel and Suggestion," *Lagos Weekly Record*, August 7, 1920, 5.
 15. Margery Perham, *Lugard*, 491. The first radical nationalist northern politicians, including Aminu Kano, the leader of the Northern Elements Progressive Union, and Sa'ad Zungur of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, were also among the first northerners with postsecondary education. See Coleman, *Backgrounds to Nigerian Nationalism*, 356.
 16. Mbembe, "Provisional Notes on the Postcolony," 12.
 17. See Perham, *Lugard*, 491.
 18. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 37–46.
 19. Olusanya, "Henry Carr and Herbert Macaulay," 282.
 20. As Judith Byfield shows, some elite women in Lagos also defended polygamy, wore traditional dress, and criticized the economic disempowerment of women because of Christian marriage and new ideals of respectable womanhood. See Byfield, "'Unwrapping' Nationalism," 12. See also Mann, *Marrying Well*, 89–91.
 21. Webster, "The African Churches," 255.
 22. "Whitehall" is a colloquial reference to the seat of the British government.
 23. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, 80–81.
 24. Afigbo's *The Warrant Chiefs* is an excellent account of the impact of the so-called warrant chiefs invented by the colonial administration among the Igbo, a people known for their fierce political independence and distrust of authoritarian government. Disdain for these warrant chiefs and the colonial regime coalesced into the popular uprising by women (the Aba Women's War) in eastern Nigeria in 1929.
 25. See Perham, *Colonial Sequence*, 143.
 26. Perham, *Colonial Sequence*, 86.
 27. For a description of the difficulties faced by Lugard upon rejection of his request by the Colonial Office, see Osuntokun, "Lagos and Political Awareness," 267–272. James Bright Davies, the editor of the *Times of Nigeria*, for instance, accused Lugard of "rancorous negrophobism," which was responsible for the natives' apparent sympathy for the Germans. Because of this, Davies served a six-month jail sentence that raised his popularity as a champion of political independence.
 28. Perham, *Colonial Reckoning*, 34.
 29. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, 460.
 30. See Lyons, "Evolutionary Ideas," 1–23.
 31. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, 433. My emphasis.
 32. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, 435.
 33. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, 452.
 34. Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, 439.

35. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 42–43.
36. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 65–74.
37. Upon the death of Booker T. Washington, Jesse Jones became the “unofficial spokesman for the cause of black industrial education” and more or less determined the Phelps-Stokes position on the subject. See Lyons, *To Wash an Aethiop White*, 150–151.
38. The white paper called for the “partnership between government and missions in education” and advocated an educational program tailored to the “mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples.” Quoted in Perham, *Lugard*, 661. The document was originally published in London in 1925 as *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*.
39. See Robertson’s 1974 letter to Graham Thomas; Thomas, *The Last of the Proconsuls*, 117.
40. For further discussion of the political and religious aspects of Ethiopianism, see Ugonna, “Introduction,” xxiii–xxvi; Skinner, *African Americans*, 181–214; Shepperson, “Notes on Negro American Influences,” 299–312.
41. Azikiwe’s autobiography, *My Odyssey*, documents his difficulty finding a teaching or civil service position in Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Ethiopia.
42. Azikiwe, along with Obafemi Awolowo (1909–1987)—another important nationalist and lawyer—founded the Igbo State Union and Egbe Omo Oduduwa, respectively the pan-Igbo and pan-Yoruba cultural associations mandated to protect the interests of the two peoples within the context of the colonial state.
43. Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa*. His career and politics inspired young West African students, many of whom became important figures in West African nationalism. Kwame Nkrumah, Nwafor Orizu, and Mbonu Ojike, for instance, studied in the United States rather than England, as was normal in Anglophone colonial Africa. They also identified with Du Bois and Garvey.
44. Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa*, 98.

CHAPTER 2: INDIRECT RULE AND COLONIAL MODERNISM

1. See Ogbechie, *Ben Enwonwu*.
2. Egonwa, “Evolution of the Concept,” 52–60.
3. Ogbechie, *Ben Enwonwu*, 45.
4. See Onabolu, “A memorandum on the teaching of art in schools and colleges by Chief Aina Onabolu M. B. E. Submitted to the Nigerian Council for Art and Culture held in the committee room of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, 15th August, 1962 as requested.” Kenneth Murray Archive, National Museum Library, Lagos.
5. Onabolu, *Short Discourse*.
6. This first one-person exhibition helped Onabolu raise money for his overseas training. Although he had taken part in several group exhibitions, mostly during festivals and fairs, and had received many private and public portrait commissions, the 1920 show was conceived as a manifesto for this new art.
7. Onabolu, *Short Discourse*, 14.

8. Dosumu, "Preface."
9. Quoted from Oloidi, "Art and Nationalism in Colonial Nigeria," 193.
10. Onabolu's students and admirers called him "Nigeria's Joshua Reynolds" and "Mr. Perspective."
11. Kapur, *When Was Modernism*, 145–178.
12. Onabolu taught at the C.M.S. Grammar School, Wesleyan Boys High School (later called Methodist Boys High School), Eko Boys High School, Kings College, and Christ Church Cathedral School, Lagos. He also taught private art classes for most of his career.
13. Onabolu, *Short Discourse*, 8.
14. Araeen, "Modernity," 278.
15. Letter from Kenneth Murray to E. R. J. Hussey, January 27, 1933. For his disapproval of art professionalization "in the English sense," see Murray to Arthur Mayhew, October 11, 1932. Kenneth Murray Archive, National Museum Library, Lagos.
16. Murray, "Art Courses for Africans," 1021.
17. Murray, "Art Courses for Africans," 1021.
18. Murray does not indicate the specific text(s) by Barton to which he referred. But these notes are consistent with the ideas Barton expressed in his six-part series on modern art, to be discussed shortly. See the typewritten page titled "J. E. Barton on Art in Education for Citizenship," Kenneth Murray Archive, National Museum Library, Lagos.
19. Ogbechie, *Ben Enwonwu*, 42.
20. Fry, "Sensibility versus Mechanism," 497–499.
21. Barton, *Purpose and Admiration*.
22. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Śiva*, 21.
23. Delange and Fry, "Introduction," 7.
24. Murray, "Exhibition of Wood-Carvings," 12–15.
25. Rothenstein, "Whither Painting?," 1115.
26. Ogbechie, *Ben Enwonwu*, 44. Similarly, Ola Oloidi (in "Art and Nationalism," 194, n. 9) states: "Murray's admirable teaching ideology went hand-in-hand with his vocal and dissenting response to the current European attitude towards Nigerian antiquities." Here, I think, is the problem with the current assessment of Murray's contribution to Nigeria's art history: there is an unwillingness to separate his work as a teacher of "modern" art from his work as a visionary ethnographer and museologist noted for his dogged, ultimately successful campaign to establish a Nigerian national ethnographic museum.
27. Murray, "Arts and Crafts," 156.
28. Murray, "Arts and Crafts," 157.
29. Murray, "Arts and Crafts," 162.
30. See von Sydow, "African Sculpture," 210–227. The last section (225–227) begins with a question: "Is there a Renaissance of African Art in Africa?"
31. Von Sydow, "African Sculpture," 226.
32. See Stevens, "Future of African Art," 150–160. Stevens also helped compile the

book *Arts of West Africa*, published in 1935 as a textbook of sorts for art teachers in need of models of traditional West African art. In his introduction to the book, Sir William Rothenstein reiterated the need to salvage the dying arts of West Africa for the region's future artists, who would have to rely on the art of their ancestors to create an authentic African art: "How can the little that still survives of the old vision and cunning of hand be preserved in Africa, and how should they be continued?" See Rothenstein, "Introduction," ix–xi.

33. Hiller, "Editor's Foreword," in *The Myth of Primitivism*, 1.
34. Olu Oguibe's assessment of Murray's work, in the context of modern Nigerian art, is an exception. See Oguibe, "Appropriation as Nationalism," 243–259.
35. MacRow, "Art Club," 250–257.
36. Osula, "Nigerian Art," 244–251.
37. Osula, "Nigerian Art," 245–247.
38. Osula, "Nigerian Art," 249.
39. Danford, a sculptor, created the *Emotan* statue at the Oba's Market in Benin City. The figure, rendered in the classic academic mode, portrays the legendary Benin Queen.
40. Danford, "Nigerian Art," 155.
41. Duerden, "Is There a Nigerian Style of Painting?," 51–59.
42. Duerden, "Is There a Nigerian Style of Painting?," 59.
43. Taiwo, *How Colonialism Preempted Modernity*, 8.

CHAPTER 3: THE ACADEMY AND THE AVANT-GARDE

1. Information about this exhibition is contained in a two-page typescript unpublished catalogue, *The Nigerian College of Technology Art Exhibition*, in NCAST files, Department of Fine Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (henceforth DFA-ABUZ).
2. *Nigerian College of Technology Art Exhibition*.
3. Professor Gerrard (1899–1998) apparently moderated the June 1959 examinations, though the negotiation for affiliation was still inconclusive. See college principal's "Handing over Notes: Dr. C. A. Hart–June 1959," MSS Afr. S. 1623. C. A. Hart Papers, box 4, file 2, NCAST, Rhodes House Archives, Oxford University.
4. Registrar to assistant principal, May 2, 1958. NCAST files, DFA-ABUZ. Ben Enwonwu's birth date has long been a matter of controversy. Whereas most records indicate 1921, the art historian Sylvester Ogbechie proposed July 14, 1917, as Enwonwu's actual birth date. However, a biographical note written by Enwonwu in 1938 at Kenneth Murray's request, possibly the artist's earliest autobiography—appropriately titled "Account of My Life"—states that he was born on July 4, 1917.
5. In his paper at the Negro Artists and Writers Congress in Paris, Ben Enwonwu also criticized the colonial government's art commissions to European artists, such as Danford's *Emotan* statue in Benin City. See Enwonwu, "Problems of the African Artist," 434–435.

6. Registrar to the assistant principal, Zaria branch, May 2, 1958. NCAST files, DFA-ABUZ.
7. Acting permanent secretary, Ministry of Education to the registrar, May 25, 1958. NCAST files, DFA-ABUZ.
8. See "Matchet's Diary," *West Africa* (April 10, 1954): 323.
9. "N. B. S. Talk Series: The Development and Teaching of Art," undated typescript, 1. NCAST files, DFA-ABUZ.
10. "N. B. S. Talk Series," 2.
11. On this topic, see Kapur, *When Was Modernism*, 111; Karnouk, *Modern Egyptian Art*, 1.
12. Details of the excursion to southern Nigeria by Zaria teachers and students and the courses offered by de Monchaux are from Uche Okeke's diary entries and information de Monchaux provided me (via e-mail) on December 8, 2010. At the Asele Institute, Nimo, in August 2002, Okeke gave me full access to his 1957–1965 diaries. See Okeke, "Extracts," 270–289.
13. Frith was a former student of Victor Pasmore at Camberwell, the bastion of the Euston Road School that at one time had William Coldstream as head of a team that included Lawrence Gowing, Claude Rogers, and William Townsend.
14. Frith met Lambert and her first husband, the composer Constant Lambert, through a mutual friend, Michael Ayrton. They became close after Isabel married Frith's good friend Alan Rawsthorne. Frith provided this information to me via e-mail on February 2, 2011. For further information on Lambert (aka Isabel Rawsthorne), see Jacobi, "Cat's Cradle," 293–314.
15. Sir Julian Huxley's reply to Clifford Frith, January 25, 1962. NCAST files, DFA-ABUZ.
16. Letter and recommendation from Clifford Frith to the principal, N. S. Alexander, February 14, 1962. NCAST files, DFA-ABUZ.
17. Memorandum, "Teaching the History of Art in the University of Northern Nigeria," signed by Donald Hope on May 19 and Eric Taylor on May 21, 1962. NCAST files, DFA-ABUZ.
18. See Enwonwu, "Problems of the African Artist," 435.
19. The exhibition *Paintings by Nigerian Schoolboys* appears to have traveled to other venues between 1957 and 1958. A copy of this press release is in Akolo's file in the Harmon Foundation Collection. Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Manuscript Division, Harmon Foundation Collection, African Artists, Box 83, Jima [sic] Akolo.
20. Like U. Okeke, Nwoko, and Onobrakpeya, Grillo had already distinguished himself as a young artist, having won medals and certificates in the Nigerian Festival of the Arts for three consecutive years. For his part, Olaosebikan, a schoolmate of Akolo at Government College, Keffi, was also mentored by Dennis Duerden. Quite likely, Akolo, who himself did not become a member of the society, may have pulled Olaosebikan into the Art Society group's circle. On the other hand, Simon Okeke, like Uche Okeke, came from the Awka district, in the eastern region.
21. Oditia and Osadebe were in the same art class with Nwoko under the legendary

- teacher Roland Ndefo (1924–1999) at Merchants of Light School, Oba. In the fall of 1960, Ikpomwosa Omagie (life dates unknown) joined the society, making her the group's only female member. From every indication, she did not complete the diploma course.
22. On February 9, 1959, Simon Okeke resigned the presidency of the Art Society. The next day, Uche Okeke replaced him; William Olaosebikan became the secretary. In 1960, Okechukwu Odita became the secretary after the graduation of Olaosebikan, Yusuf Grillo, and Simon Okeke.
 23. See J. I. Vaatsough, "Students' Activities," *Nigercol* (May 1960): 23.
 24. The issues ran from May 1958 to May 1961, the year the Art Society and the college disbanded.
 25. In his diary entry of January 15, 1960, Okeke stated, in response to Mr. Frith's talk about affiliation with Goldsmiths': "I can foresee the danger of a European Art Empire in the nearest future if something drastic is not done soon enough. Our local condition, materials etc should be taken into account should truly national art be evolved in this space age."
 26. See Mphahlele, "Dilemma of the African Elite," 324.
 27. See Okeke, "Extracts," 289.
 28. Karnouk, *Modern Egyptian Art*, 2.
 29. Geeta Kapur uses this term to refer to the work of progressive Indian modernists between the 1940s and 1960s, including F. N. Souza, Akbar Padamsee, Tyeb Mehta, and Jeram Patel. See Kapur, *When Was Modernism*, 272, n. 11.
 30. Okeke, *Art in Development*, 1. Italics are mine.
 31. Okeke, *Art in Development*, 2.
 32. Okeke, *Art in Development*, 2.
 33. Okeke, *Art in Development*, 2.
 34. See Jules-Rosette, *Black Paris*, 65.
 35. Sartre, *Black Orpheus*, 21.
 36. Okeke, *Art in Development*, 2.
 37. For extracts from Blyden's speech, see Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 263–265.
 38. Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 263–265.
 39. Legum, *Pan-Africanism*, 265.
 40. See Okafor, *Development of Universities in Nigeria*, 17.
 41. See Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 98.
 42. Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 91–92.
 43. Allen, "Introduction," 308.
 44. Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 90.
 45. See Harney, "The École de Dakar," 18.
 46. Fanon, "On National Culture," 173.
 47. Fanon, "On National Culture," 174.
 48. Demas Nwoko, taped interview with the author, in the presence of Uche Okeke. Idumuje-Ugboko, Nigeria, August 21, 2002.
 49. Okeke titled this work *Beggardom* at the time he painted it, as his diary notes indicate. *Jumaa* refers to the Friday Muslim religious service.

50. On March 15, 1961, Okeke noted in his diary: "Worked on my painting 'Anam-muo.' A purely experimental piece. It is a beginning of a fight which may be life-long! My love for pure linear effects and shapes (abstract shapes) should be from now on fully exploited. I should study more closely our traditional mural decoration style. Awka Division [the administrative region to which his hometown, Nimo, belonged] has a good many examples of these decorations. I should more markedly show my contempt for mere superficiality inherent in naturalism. As far as that goes I am all out for my ancestral heritage!"
51. In 1956, before enrolling in the NCAST, he worked as a curatorial assistant at the Jos Museum and was therefore quite familiar with its collections.
52. Some of these drawings accompanied his essay in *Nigercol*, and more were included in a monograph published in 1962 by Mbari Publications.
53. This second work, listed as "Beggars," is illustrated in Mount, *African Art*, 141.
54. See Darah and Quel, eds., *Bruce Onobrakpeya*, 31.
55. Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art*, 346.
56. Frith ventured into abstraction while studying under Victor Pasmore at Camberwell School of Art and Crafts (now Camberwell College of Arts, a branch of the University of the Arts, London). At Zaria he continued with abstraction alongside his better-known figurative work.
57. Jimo Akolo, taped interview with the author, Zaria, August 10, 2002.
58. See Société africaine de culture, "Report of the Commission of the Arts," 456.
59. See Crowder, "Nigeria's Artists Emerge," 30.

CHAPTER 4: TRANSACTING THE MODERN

1. The three main themes of the congress were "(1) the richness of black cultures; (2) the crisis in these cultures in relationship to political action; and (3) the prospects for the future." See Jules-Rosette, *Black Paris*, 53.
2. See Jahn, "World Congress of Black Writers," 39.
3. See, e.g., Yesufu, "Black Orpheus," 24–51; Benson, *Black Orpheus*.
4. The journal's advisory committee included the negritude heavyweights Aimé Césaire (1913–2008), Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2001), Paul Vesey (Samuel Washington Allen, b. 1917), J. A. Ramsaran (life dates unknown), and later, Léon-Gontran Damas (1912–1978). Its second issue included a section on negritude, focusing on poems by Damas, Jacques Roumain (1907–1944), Guy Tirolien (1917–1988), and Roussan Camille (1912–1961), in addition to an article on Césaire's poetry by Jahn.
5. See "Editorial," *Black Orpheus* 1 (1957): 4.
6. See Jules-Rosette, *Black Paris*, 61.
7. See Senghor, ed., *La nouvelle poésie nègre*.
8. For Beier's account of his experience at University College, Ibadan, see Beier, *In a Colonial University*.
9. These included articles on Yoruba cement sculpture, Ibibio funerary monuments, Igbo *mbari* houses, mud shrines dedicated to the Yoruba goddess Olokun, and Yoruba *adire* dyeing. One of his earliest publications after arriving in

Nigeria was an article on Yoruba wall painting, “Wandmalereien der Yoruba,” published in *Das Kunstwerk* 5 (1954/55): 37–40.

10. Akanji, “Wenger,” 29–31. “Akanji” refers to Sangodare Akanji, the name given to Ulli Beier by the Yoruba Sango cult. He also published under the pseudonyms Omidiji Aragbabalu and Obotunde Ijimere. The decision to publish some of his critical writings as Akanji or Aragbabalu and his creative work as Ijimere appears to be part of Beier’s strategy of inserting his polemical voice into the discourse of Nigerian art and literature, without drawing attention to his identity as a foreigner. This strategy, indeed, works well in this particular instance of writing about the work of Wenger, who at that time was his wife. Beier’s use of the name Obotunde Ijimere has been questioned by scholars. See Owomoyela, “Obotunde Ijimere,” 49.
11. Akanji, “Wenger,” 30.
12. For Dubuffet’s writings in defense of *art brut* and against elite culture and its institutions, see Jean Dubuffet, *Asphyxiating Culture and Other Writings* (New York, 1988).
13. Beier, “Two Yoruba Painters,” 30.
14. Kurtha, *Francis Newton Souza*, 32.
15. Aragbabalu, “Souza,” 16–21, 49–52.
16. Aragbabalu, “Souza,” 21.
17. See Kapur, *Contemporary Indian Artists*, 16.
18. See Dalmia, *Making of Modern Indian Art*, 92.
19. Mullins, *F. N. Souza*, 16. John Berger, the first important critic to comment on Souza’s work, “admitted,” according to Mullins, that “he was lost for words to explain” the artist’s work (25).
20. Aragbabalu, “Souza,” 21.
21. Souza’s darkly cynical paintings and drawings of Christian subject matter have been linked to his strict Catholic upbringing, his bitterness about the Goan church’s hypocrisy and racism in his adult years, and finally his turn to atheism and communism. See Kurtha, *Francis Newton Souza*, 39–41.
22. Years later, Beier continued to promote, exhibit, and publish the work of several important Indian artists. These included Sultan Ali, whose work combined surrealist imagery with Indian folk art forms; G. R. Santosh, a key member of the Neotantric school, whose abstract paintings explored magical signs of tantric yantras; and Tyeb Mehta, an associate of the Progressive Group, known for his expressive figural paintings, among others.
23. Beier, “Demas Nwoko,” 10–11.
24. Beier, “Demas Nwoko,” 11.
25. The exhibition, mounted in a thirty-five-acre space on Victoria Island, Lagos, opened on October 1 and closed on October 22, 1960. More than 500,000 visitors saw the show, described in contemporary media as Nigeria’s greatest show. See, e.g., the report on the close of the exhibition in the *Daily Times* (Lagos), October 24, 1960.
26. Other members of the committee included Dr. Lopashich, Mrs. MacLaren, Mrs. Aduke Moore, and Dr. O. Adeniyi-Jones.

27. In a letter to the Federal Minister of Education dated July 29, 1960, Enwonwu stated that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry “had decided to dispense with his services in connection with the exhibition of Arts and Crafts . . . and [they] have preferred a European who is not an artist to undertake the Exhibition Organization.” Ben Enwonwu to the Hon. Aja Nwachukwu, M.H.R., Minister of Education, Nigerian Arts Council folder, Kenneth C. Murray archives, National Museum, Lagos.
28. Okeke designed the main mural on the front wall, while Onobrakpeya and Nwoko designed murals along the pavilion’s “covered way” and the craftsmen’s section, respectively. C. Mitchell and Company, a media firm, commissioned Yusuf Grillo to design a mural on the theme of Nigerian agricultural products.
29. In his diary report on the interview, Okeke wrote this statement in quotation marks.
30. In discussions while they were executing the mural projects at the arts and crafts pavilion, Okeke and Nwoko (and sometimes Onobrakpeya) expressed resentment at the high-handedness of the arts council officials, particularly the chair, Nora Majekodunmi.
31. Enwonwu, “African Art in Danger,” 16.
32. As the next two chapters will show, these contestations, particularly between Enwonwu and younger Nigerian artists, had become more clearly defined by the middle of the 1960s.
33. For an illustration of this section of Nwoko’s mural, see Beier, “Contemporary Nigerian Art,” 31.
34. Throughout his career, Enwonwu’s formal style vacillated between realism—as in most of his landscape paintings and portraits—and a figural stylization evident in many of his dance series and in large-scale compositions, such as his *Beauty and the Beast*, 1961.
35. Idubor ran a well-known studio; several of his apprentices later established successful careers. Among them was his brother, Francis Osague (b. 1941), and Osagie Osifo (b. 1939), who were also represented in the exhibition.
36. Beier, “Contemporary Nigerian Art,” 31.
37. Beier, “Contemporary Nigerian Art,” 27.
38. Beier, “Contemporary Nigerian Art,” 30–31.
39. Beier, “Contemporary Nigerian Art,” 51.
40. Beier, “Contemporary Nigerian Art,” 51.
41. The need for this space assumed new urgency when the organizers of the Nigerian independence celebrations rejected Beier’s proposal to stage Wole Soyinka’s play *A Dance of the Forests*. The outright, though predictable, refusal to support the play, a dark view of the colonial past and postindependence future by Nigeria’s supposed cultural elite, most of them expatriate officers in the colonial administration, confirmed Beier’s growing suspicion that the emergence and sustenance of new and experimental Nigerian expressive arts must happen outside state-owned institutions, away from the brazen conservatism of both the expatriate and national cultural elite.
42. The Fairfield Foundation and the Congress for Cultural Freedom, it was revealed

in 1967, were CIA-sponsored organizations. The congress in particular had several well-known international artists and writers as its front men. Funding from the congress primarily came through Mbari's first president, Ezekiel Mphahlele, who after leaving Nigeria became the African representative at the congress's Paris office. For further details about the funding of *Black Orpheus* and Mbari, see Benson, *Black Orpheus*, 33–39. For the CIA connections with Farfield Foundation and Congress for Cultural Freedom and their roles in US cultural politics during the Cold War, see Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*.

43. Other members of the club included the South African Begum Hendrickse and the Nigerian writers Francis Ademola, Amos Tutuola, D. O. Fagunwa, Yetunde Esan, Mabel Imoukhuede, Kenneth C. Murray, and Segun Olusola. There were many more.
44. Ulansky, "Mbari: The Missing Link," 250.
45. For an elaborate study of Igbo *mbari*, see Cole, *Mbari*, and Cole and Aniakor, *Igbo Arts*.
46. Cole, "Art as a Verb," 34–41, 88.
47. Cole, "Mbari Is Life," 87.
48. In fact, it was precisely the sense that the club could not forge a meaningful connection with its local community that led to Beier's decision to support the desire of Duro Ladipo, the popular Yoruba language dramatist, to establish a new space in Osogbo, farther away from Ibadan and the university crowd, in 1962. The Osogbo space, popularly called Mbari-Mbayo, became the first of many Mbari clubs to be established in Nigeria in the early 1960s. Other Mbari clubs were in Lagos and Enugu, the capital city of the eastern region.
49. Earlier in 1952, he had converted a walkway in the University College Library, Ibadan, into a gallery space, where he organized *Sango*, an exhibition of sculptures from the shrine of his friend and royal mentor, the Timi of Ede, and *Artists against Apartheid*, a show of solidarity with the accused in the 1956–1961 *Regina v. F. Adams* treason trial in South Africa.
50. The Exhibition Centre, Lagos, run by Michael Crowder, remained quite important, especially when Ibadan lost steam with Beier's relocation to Osogbo and when some of the inaugural members settled in Lagos and elsewhere.
51. The WNTV (Western Nigeria Television) *Spotlight* program gave them a thirty-minute feature, while the federally owned NBS (Nigerian Broadcasting Service), Lagos, announced the opening in the evening news. Segun Olusola, a producer at WNTV, and Chinua Achebe, acting director of programs at the NBS, were members of the Mbari Club.
52. See Beier, "Ibrahim Salahi," 48–50.
53. Beier, letter to the author, by facsimile, October 10, 2003. For a brief but very useful critical biography of Williams, see Hazlewood, "Notes on a Life," 14–15.
54. H. M. El Amin, Esq., secretary for cultural affairs at the Sudanese embassy, Nigeria, opened the exhibition on November 15, 1963. It closed on December 9. In an interview with me (at Mushin, Lagos, August 7, 2002), Bruce Onobrakpeya confirmed the enduring impact of Salahi's work on his own painting.

55. Beier, "Ibrahim Salahi," 48.
56. Beier, "Ibrahim Salahi," 48.
57. In later years, Salahi noted that in his effort at formal deconstruction of the Arabic calligraphic form, he was inspired by Picasso's analytical cubism. See Beier, "Right to Claim the World," 28.
58. Beier, "Ibrahim Salahi," 49.
59. See Williams, "Ibrahim Es [*sic*] Salahi," 44.
60. Earlier in 1961, in fact, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies had organized a modest exhibition of Kofi's smaller sculptures.
61. Beier, "Vincent Akweti Kofi," 35.
62. Beier, "Vincent Akweti Kofi," 36.
63. Beier, "Vincent Akweti Kofi," 36.
64. Beier, "Vincent Akweti Kofi," 36.
65. Writing about the creative process in 1964, Kofi states that "inspiration commands its form, whilst the technique, submitting to the discipline of wood or stone, must be swift as the favourite adze that expresses so well the spontaneous eruption of Ghanaian inspiration." Cited in Watts, "Kofi," 26.
66. Oku Ampofo, a pioneer Ghanaian modern sculptor, closely studied sculptures from Ghana and other parts of West Africa and adapted some of those forms for his own work.
67. See Delange and Fry, "Introduction," 7.
68. Moore, "Tiberío," 62. In 1966 Tiberío returned to Africa, visiting Senegal with his friend, the South African artist and fellow Paris resident, Gerard Sekoto, whose work also remained steadfastly realistic and focused on black South African themes in spite of his years of exile. Invited by Léopold Sédar Senghor to participate in the First International Congress of Black Writers and Artists (Paris, 1956), they stayed, traveled, and worked in Senegal for several months. See Spiro, *Gerard Sekoto*, 60.
69. Moore, "Tiberío," 62.
70. In *The Return of Shango*, Beier discusses the beginnings of Ladipo's Popular Bar, on Station Road, Osogbo, which became the site for Mbari-Mbayo. The phrase *mbari-mbayo* is a Yoruba expression that means "When I see, I will be happy." Said to be a statement made by many Osogbo inhabitants in response to the programs of the club, *Mbari-Mbayo* also was an ingenious domestication of the Igbo word and idea *mbari*. See Beier, *Return of Shango*, 14–15.
71. The Nigerian poet Christopher Okigbo, e.g., was known to have been adamantly opposed to the idea of encouraging illiterate (i.e., nonart school) types to make art.
72. Beinart has been a professor of architecture at MIT since 1974.
73. See Beier's introductory essay for the gallery brochure *Exhibition of Paintings by Malangatana* in the Ulli and Georgina Beier Archive, Migila House, Sydney, Australia. The exhibition opened June 25, 1962.
74. Beinart, "Malangatana," 22.
75. Beinart, "Malangatana," 22.

76. Beinart, "Malangatana," 27.
77. Responding to this aspect of his criticism, Beier reaffirmed his distrust of the impact of formal art training on artistic originality but also stated that great artists sometimes emerge despite art school training. In most cases, though, such artists, he says, have to free themselves from the art school influence: "If Picasso had gone to an art school run by an impressionist painter, he would have failed!" Beier, letter to the author, by facsimile, January 3, 2003.
78. See Heller, *Brücke*, 8.
79. See the brochure for the Schmidt-Rottluff exhibition of woodcuts by Karl Schmidt-Rottluff at Mbari Ibadan. Original copies of all the Mbari exhibition brochures referred to in this study can be found in the Ulli and Georgina Beier Archive, Migila House, Sydney, Australia.
80. See Heller, *Brücke*, 4.
81. Williams, "Schmidt-Rottluff," 17.
82. Beier took Langston Hughes on a tour of Osogbo, where they visited the Sango shrine.
83. The exhibition was first held in Lagos at the AMSAC premises before it traveled to Ibadan.
84. See Jacob Lawrence exhibition invitation in the Ulli and Georgina Beier Archive, Migila House, Sydney, Australia.
85. Beier, "Two American Negro Painters," 25.
86. Beier, "Two American Negro Painters," 26; Beier's emphasis.
87. Nesbitt and DuBois, *Over the Line*, 182.
88. Nesbitt and DuBois, *Over the Line*, 46.
89. See Hills, "Jacob Lawrence's Paintings," 182–183.
90. Yusuf Grillo, former Art Society member and the founding president of the newly established Society of Nigerian Artists, opened the exhibition on October 19, 1964.
91. See the invitation card to the exhibition in the Ulli and Georgina Beier Archive, Migila House, Sydney, Australia.
92. See, e.g., Barnitz, "In the Galleries," 66. Other exhibitions of the work of African American artists followed Lawrence's. In early 1961 Beier requested assistance from the Harmon Foundation, New York, in organizing an exhibition of William Johnson's work. Eventually, the foundation sent sixteen screen prints and five block prints, exhibited at Mbari in 1965, by which time the original Mbari Ibadan members had more or less dispersed. Beier's attempts to locate and exhibit the sculptor (later poet and novelist) Barbara Chase-Riboud (b. 1939) and the painter and designer Irene Clark (1927–1984) at Mbari failed; his enduring wish to introduce more black American artists to Nigeria ultimately fell short. See Beier's correspondence with the Harmon Foundation's Evelyn Brown in box no. 102, African Artists, Harmon Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
93. Williams, "Shibrain—Mbari, Ibadan," 45.
94. Williams, "Shibrain—Mbari, Ibadan," 45.

95. Williams, "Shibrain—Mbari, Ibadan," 45.
96. Williams, "A Sudanese Calligraphy," 19–20.
97. Acheson, "The Nourishers," 2.
98. See the invitation brochure to the exhibition *Skunder* in the Ulli and Georgina Beier Archive, Migila House, Sydney, Australia.
99. Deressa, "Skunder in Context," 80–85.
100. The South African painter Gerard Sekoto and his Brazilian friend Wilson Tiberío introduced Boghossian to Lam in 1959. Boghossian has himself spoken of the "bodily shock" that the work of Lam and Matta gave him when he first saw it in a Paris art gallery. Referring to that encounter, he stated that the "effect of all this was confusion about my work, but eventually that confusion became a suggestion." See Mount, *African Art*, 114.

CHAPTER 5: AFTER ZARIA

1. Okeke's diary entry, October 28, 1961.
2. Duerden, "'Mbari' Ibadan's Arts Club," 41.
3. See Udechukwu, "Lyrical Symbolism," 94. *Isinwaoji* is a motif abstracted from the spaces between the three or four lobes of the kola nut (*cola acuminata*). It usually has four points (indicating a four-lobed kola nut), but when it has only three points (three-lobed), the motif is called *okala isinwaoji*—that is, half *isinwaoji*; *oloma* is "orange" and *onwa* is "moon"; *agwolagwo* is an onomatopoeic term for "spiral." A variant of this motif, *odu eke* (python's tail), has the outer end of the spiral stretched to a short line. For further studies on Igbo Uli, see Udechukwu, "Ogwugwa Aja Iyiazi," 55–60; Okeke, "Igbo Drawing and Painting," 106–115; Cole and Aniakor, *Igbo Arts*; Willis, "Uli Painting," 62–67, 104; Willis, "Lexicon of Igbo Uli Motifs," 91–120.
4. To achieve a blue color, some artists used an imported laundry powder that contained a blue pigment.
5. See Okeke, "Igbo Drawing and Painting." He narrates the anecdotal story of *Nne Ijele* (mother of *Ijele*), an elderly woman who leads the majestic *Ijele* masquerade with song and measured dance. She had unsuccessfully tried to become a singer, but soon after dedicating herself to making Uli, she received the gift of song. To Okeke, this story reinforces the formal connection between Uli and song/dance.
6. See her essay "In the Name of Picasso," in Krauss, *Originality of the Avant-Garde*, 23–40.
7. Bois, "Semiology of Cubism," 180.
8. See Aniakor, "What Is Uli?," unpaginated.
9. Cole and Aniakor, *Igbo Arts*, 46.
10. Krauss, *Originality of the Avant-Garde*, 43–85.
11. Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*, 46.
12. For a report on Nwoko's activities in France, see Beier, "Nigerian Stage Designer," 77. According to El Salahi, the owner of Galerie Lambert, a progressive gallery located in Saint-Louis en l'Île, was Mr. Romarovich, a Pole. The gallery adjoined a bookshop specializing in Polish literature, which was also run by

Romarovich. Ulli Beier was apparently the contact person between the gallery and the artists; he had helped to arrange for two shows of El Salahi's work at the same gallery in 1963 and 1967. Ibrahim El Salahi, conversation with the author, Oxford, England, June 20, 2003.

13. After 1968, Nwoko devoted much of his professional life to architecture and furniture design but also publishing and politics. At that point, he moved away, as it were, from painting and sculpture as a means of creative expression.
14. Williams, "Revival of Terra-Cotta," 4–13.
15. Omoighe, "Interview with Yusuf Grillo," 64.
16. See Schwarz, *Nigeria*, 52.
17. Coleman, *Backgrounds to Nigerian Nationalism*, 319–331.
18. Obafemi Awolowo, a foremost nationalist and champion of ethnic nationalism, had famously argued: "So long as every person in Nigeria is made to feel that he is a Nigerian first and a Yoruba or Ibo or Hausa next, each will be justified to poke his nose into the domestic issues of the other." See Schwarz, *Nigeria*, 254.
19. See Ekwensi, *An African Night's Entertainment*.
20. Mount, *African Art*, 135.
21. Okeke, "Peep into the Vistas II," 9.
22. Excerpt from Simon Okeke's 1959 artist statement, published in Okeke, *Art in Development*, 21–22.
23. Okeke, "Peep into the Vistas II," 11.
24. Kennedy, *New Currents, Ancient Rivers*, 46.
25. Akolo is a Muslim from the Yoruba-speaking town of Kabba, in northern Nigeria.
26. See a review of Akolo's Ibadan exhibition, titled "Tradition and Individuality," by an unnamed author in *Daily Express* [Lagos], September 26, 1962, 3.
27. Head and Desta, "Conversation with Gebre Kristos Desta," 25.

CHAPTER 6: CONTESTING THE MODERN

1. Some of Nigeria's most renowned artists, including Ben Enwonwu, Aina Onabolu, and Felix Idubor had studios in Lagos, as had several Zaria graduates—e.g., Yusuf Grillo, Simon Okeke, and Bruce Onobrakpeya. Of the writers, Cyprian Ekwensi, Onuora Nzekwu, J. P. Clark, and Chinua Achebe were Lagos residents.
2. Omogbai, "Man Loves What Is 'Sweet' and Obvious," 80.
3. Cummings, *The Pied Piper*, 177.
4. At an AMSAC-organized conference on pan-Africanism in Lagos in 1960, John A. Davis noted that AMSAC's goal was to rechannel the motivating force of pan-Africanism toward the defense of neutralism, in other words toward fending off any communist invasion on the continent through its intellectuals, artists, and writers. See Davis, "Preface," v–vii.
5. Ulli Beier, S. O. Biobaku, Alioune Diop, Kofi Antubam, Wole Soyinka, Langston Hughes, and other visiting African American writers took part in this program.
6. Eze, "Art and Atmosphere," 80. The scene Eze described could have been any other exhibition space in Lagos, given that only the Exhibition Centre had a properly outfitted, custom-designed gallery space in the city.

7. Mission statement, as quoted in an editor's note in response to a reader's letter; *Nigeria* 88 (March 1966), 3.
8. Other members of the council board were Aina Onabolu, Ben Enwonwu, the composers T. K. E. Phillips and Fela Sowande, and Cyprian Ekwensi, a pioneer of the Nigerian novel. Other members were Nora Majekodunmi, Ulli Beier, and Kenneth C. Murray. Theresa Ogunbiyi, Mary Umolu, Hubert Ogunde, Akinola Lasekan, and Onuora Nzekwu later joined the board.
9. Letter from Uche Okeke to Evelyn Brown, July 27, 1961. Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Manuscripts Division, Harmon Foundation Collection, African Artists, box no. 94, Uche Okeke.
10. Letter from Simon Okeke to Evelyn Brown, December 4, 1961. Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Manuscripts Division, Harmon Foundation Collection, African Artists, Box no. 94, Simon Okeke.
11. Afi Ekong served as secretary of the Lagos branch of the NCAAC between 1961 and 1967 and as national secretary from 1964 to 1966. The *New York Times Magazine* feature on "Women of the New Africa" (1963) included Ekong for her work as manager of Gallery Labac. See Bernheim and Bernheim, "New Kind of African Woman," 14.
12. See the letter from Simon Okeke to the Harmon Foundation, December 4, 1961, cited above. Concerning the [Lagos branch] of the arts council Okeke wrote: "Now it will be very easy for you to get craft work from the arts council, but very difficult to get any really good work of art by an Artist done recently through that Council." Enwonwu's criticism of the gallery's poor quality of work and bad display is mentioned in the minutes of the National Committee of the Nigerian Arts Council meeting, May 31, 1963.
13. Ben Enwonwu, "Professional Body / Nigerian Council for the Advancement of Art and Culture," appendix C, minutes of 14th meeting of the Lagos branch of the Nigerian Arts Council, December 8, 1960. "Nigerian Arts Council Minutes" folder, Kenneth Murray Archives, National Museum, Lagos.
14. Aduke Moore, the famous Lagos lawyer, was also a member of FSAH, as was Akintola Williams, a pioneer Nigerian accountant, and others. Chief Eke was the society's president.
15. Statement by Yusuf Grillo in a taped interview with the author, July 24, 2002, Ikeja, Lagos. Besides Grillo, artists in the FSAH collection include Ben Enwonwu, Uche Okeke, Simon Okeke, Demas Nwoko, Bruce Onobrakpeya, Richard Wolford, Erhabor Emokpae, Afi Ekong, John Kamen, Jimo Akolo, R. B. (Rufus Boye) Fatuyi, R. O. Ojo, Israel Ala, and Jimoh Buraimoh.
16. The FSAH collection is now housed in the University of Lagos Library.
17. Letter from T. A. (Timothy Adebajo) Fasuyi to Harmon Foundation, Inc., February 28, 1964. Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Harmon Foundation Collection, African Artists, Box no. 102, Society of Nigerian Artists.
18. See "Society of Nigerian Artists: Six Months Progress Report," in Society of Nigerian Artists file, Box no. 102, African Artists, Harmon Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

19. The Academy of Art was to be located in Lagos. The institute's primary functions were the establishment of study commissions, research fellowships, summer schools, lecture tours, and bursaries for international travel.
20. Enwonwu's speech is quoted in a review titled "Exhibitions," by a contributor identified simply as "Artist." See Artist, "Exhibitions," 69, 72.
21. Emphasis in original. See Enwonwu, "Into the Abstract Jungle," 25. Admitting the essay's polemical nature, Enwonwu stated that Nigerian art needed such debates, for "it is the privilege of the Nigerian intellectual or artist or writer to determine the course of his cultural future" (29).
22. Enwonwu, "Into the Abstract Jungle," 25.
23. Enwonwu, "Into the Abstract Jungle," 26.
24. Mazrui, "Meaning versus Imagery," 153.
25. Chinweizu, "Prodigals, Come Home!" 1–12.
26. Chinweizu, Onwuchekwa, and Madubuike, *Toward the Decolonization*, 173. The phrase "Hopkins Disease" as used by the critics, describes the influence of the nineteenth-century British poet Gerard Manley Hopkins on some supposedly alienated, "undecolonized" Nigerian and African writers.
27. Enwonwu, "Into the Abstract Jungle," 26.
28. See Lasekan, "Problems of the Contemporary African Artists," 31–32.
29. Rothenstein, "Whither Painting?," 1077–1080, 1115.
30. Enwonwu "Comments," 349–352.
31. Some Enwonwu scholars have stressed the ritual potentialities of his work, going so far as to claim that he successfully "deployed" his famous portrait of Queen Elizabeth II (1957)—because he invested it with ritual power—"to prod the Crown into granting independence to its subjects." See Nzegwu, "The Africanized Queen."
32. Beier and Crowder had no doubts about, indeed often emphasized, Enwonwu's virtuosity, particularly as a wood sculptor. Recalling the reasons for his criticism of Enwonwu, Beier described him as "a great wood carver and potentially a very great artist!" However, Beier says, Enwonwu's major problem was his lack of consistency: "Well, Picasso went through innumerable phases, but each phase represented a new period of exploration. Ben's different styles meant that he was catering for different public tastes. I went to visit him often in his Lagos studio. He usually would say things like this: 'Don't look at that—this is not my *real* work. I am just doing this for the nuns. Or 'I just have to do this portrait of such and such minister's little daughter. My *real* work is here.' And then he led me to the back room where he would be working on a fascinating wood carving. I feel that he dissipated his energies" [Beier's emphasis]. See Ulli Beier, letter to the author, October 9, 2003. For Crowder's critique of Enwonwu's work, see Crowder, "Nigeria's Artists Emerge," 30.
33. See Jegede, "Essential Emokpae," 199.
34. Crowder, "Nigeria's Artists Emerge," 36.
35. Emokpae's reflections on the philosophical basis of his work, as told to Odia Ero-mosele Oniha in 1973. See Jegede, "Essential Emokpae," 199.

36. One reader, Shane Carthy, responding to Emokpae's earlier claim that Christians promote cannibalism when they ritually eat and drink the body and blood of their deity, questioned the basis of what Carthy called Emokpae's new theology. See Carthy, "Cannibalistic Christianity," 79. In a later issue of the magazine, Emokpae also took issue with what he called the arrogance of the Christian religion. He returned to the question of the "Christian God" and the origin of good and evil: "This may be a long way from 'The Last Supper' but they are part of the thoughts that went into its creation. In it, I said the exercise of the Eucharist is cannibalistic and I stand by it, this does not mean that Christians are cannibals, so I should not be misunderstood." See Emokpae, "Cannibalistic Christianity," 167. Carthy's final response to this debate is intriguing: "Christianity without Christ, as a cultural situation, is pretty thin, and as a theme for a painting could easily drive an artist to abstractionism, a style which might not suit his genius." Carthy, "Cannibalistic Christianity," 316.
37. See Zaki, "Towards an Art Revolution," 235, 304. This painting is 6' × 12'.
38. Ekwensi, "High Price of Nigerian Art," 36.
39. Quoted in Ekwensi, "High Price of Nigerian Art," 40.
40. Enwonwu, quoted in Ekwensi, "High Price of Nigerian Art," 40.
41. Ekwensi, "One Step Beyond," 299.
42. See invitation brochure to Colette Omogbai's exhibition of paintings at the Mbari Ibadan (August 3, 1963), in the Ulli and Georgina Beier Archive, Sydney, Australia.
43. Lawal, "Without a Feminine Touch," 303.
44. See Omogbai, "Man Loves What Is 'Sweet' and Obvious," 80.
45. Omogbai, "Man Loves What Is 'Sweet' and Obvious," 80.
46. Omogbai, "Man Loves What Is 'Sweet' and Obvious," 80.
47. *Nigeria* magazine originated with *Nigerian Teacher*, established in 1933 as a general-interest magazine.
48. The expatriate readership did not fail to respond to the political implications of this editorial shift. Carey P. Cox, writing from Ibadan, complained that the late arrival of his copy of the magazine was "in fact a sad reflection on the policy of Nigerianisation" signaled by Nzekwu's editorship. On the other hand, though, Kenneth Murray praised the editor for introducing the literary supplement, for "getting the new outlook among writers before the public." See "Pats and Slaps," *Nigeria* 76 (1963): 3.
49. See "Our Authors and Performing Artists," part 1, 57–64; part 2, 133–140.
50. After fleeing Lagos in the wake of mass killings of the Igbo people in parts of Nigeria, Onuora Nzekwu later joined the Biafran cultural workshops directed by the Nigerian poet and novelist Gabriel Okara.

CHAPTER 7: CRISIS IN THE POSTCOLONY

1. Falola, *History of Nigeria*, 103–107.
2. The war, also known as the Biafran War, began after the breakaway eastern region, as the Republic of Biafra (named after the eastern Nigerian Bight of Biafra),

asserted its independence from the Federal Republic, in response to the 1966 massacres of the Igbo in the northern region. The war ended with the surrender of Biafra in January 1970.

3. The Mbari Club network consisted of the Eastern Nigeria Theatre Group (ENTG), a young drama group originally called the Ogui Players, founded by Ekwere; the Lawrence Emeka-led Enugu Musical Society; Gabriel Okara's Writers' Club; and the British Council's Art Club, directed by Uche Okeke.
4. See Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography," 83–119.
5. Thomas, "Shadows of Prophecy," 342.
6. Okigbo commenced work on the collection in October 1960, just days after political independence. See Nwakanma, *Christopher Okigbo*, 202.
7. Obumselu, "Cambridge House, Ibadan," 3.
8. Okafor, *Dance of Death*, 214.
9. Okigbo, "Come Thunder," 66.
10. Soyinka, "Harvest of Hate," *Idanre and Other Poems*, 50.
11. I do not argue that Okigbo's poetry is essentially more prophetic than Soyinka's, esp. given that Soyinka's 1960 drama *A Dance of the Forests* is a prognostic warning about the possibility of failure of the sovereign postcolonial state.
12. Uche Okeke, diary note, March 18, 1963, Asele Institute, Nimo.
13. Azaro, the protagonist and *abiku* in Ben Okri's novel *The Famished Road*, explains why the *abiku* desired to return to the land of the unborn rather than tarry on the earthly plane with their human parents: "We disliked the rigours of existence, the unfulfilled longings, the enshrined injustices of the world, the labyrinths of love, the ignorance of parents, the fact of dying, and the amazing indifference of the living in the midst of the simple beauties of the universe." See Okri, *The Famished Road*, 1.
14. See Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*. Chapter 9 deals particularly with the ritual of breaking Ezinma's bond with the world of the *ogbanje*. See also J. P. Clark[-Bekederemo] and Wole Soyinka's "Abiku" poems, first published in *Black Orpheus* 10 (1961/62). They were also later published in their respective individual collections: Clark, *A Reed in the Tide*; Soyinka, *Idanre and Other Poems*.
15. In *Things Fall Apart* (191), Achebe describes the suspension of a young female convert by Reverend James Smith, the zealous new priest. She had apparently "allowed her heathen husband to mutilate her dead child," believed to be an *ogbanje*. Although both Christian converts and animists alike believed in the existence of *ogbanje*, the Reverend Smith saw anyone with such residual paganism as "unworthy of the Lord's table."
16. The ambiguously drawn figure of the *ogbanje* suggests that it could also be a male.
17. Okigbo, "Elegy for Alto," *Labyrinths*, 72.
18. Soliman, "From Past to Present and Future," 151.
19. Okri, *Famished Road*, 478.
20. Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*, 215.
21. See the African Writers Series edition of Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*.

22. Okigbo, "Lament of the Silent Sisters," *Labyrinths*, 43.
23. The Igbo term for the event is *Ogu Umunwanyi* ("women's revolt," or "women's war"). "Aba Riots" is a double misnomer: the core event did not happen in the city of Aba, nor was it a riot. See, e.g., Van Allen, "Aba Riots," 59–85, 287–290.
24. Van Allen, "Aba Riots," 59–85, 287–290.
25. While Biafra included other ethnic nationalities in the eastern region, including the Ibibio, Annang, and Efik, the Igbo were demographically and politically predominant.
26. Reports of the official commission of inquiry and oral traditions do not indicate that nakedness was used as a weapon against the native authorities or the British officials during the Women's War of 1929. See Falola and Paddock, *Women's War of 1929*.
27. See Cole and Morell, *Beauty and the Beast*.
28. Cole and Aniakor, *Igbo Arts*, 131.
29. Though an Igbo, Nwoko is a native of Idumuje-Ugboko, a western Igbo town in the then midwest region.
30. This book is not concerned with Nwoko's important work as an architect and designer. For a recent study, however, see Godwin and Hopwood, *Architecture of Demas Nwoko*.
31. Soyinka, "Civilian and Soldier," *Idanre and Other Poems*, 53.
32. Nwoko more recently changed the title of the *Combatant* paintings to *Soldier in Ambush*. As he told me, the title of any of his works could change depending on how he felt about particular works at any given time.
33. Hubert Ogunde (1916–1990) was a pioneer practitioner in the so-called modern folk operatic theater. His *Bread and Bullet* (1949) was a strident critique of the colonial government's brutal crackdown on a coal miners' strike in Enugu, eastern Nigeria. *Yoruba Ronu* (Yorubas, Think!), on the other hand, satirized the early 1960s western regional government of Ladoke Akintola. Both plays were banned by the British colonial government and the postindependence western Nigerian government.
34. See Achebe, "African Literature," 110.
35. Achebe, "African Literature," 111.