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**<ct>Grave Reservations: Nigerian Literature and Histories of “European Reservations”
during Decolonization</ct>**

<au>Tim Livsey</au>

<affil>Northumbria University</affil>

<pf>This article explores the evidence offered by literary representations of urban space for histories of decolonization in Nigeria. It focuses in particular on spaces known as “European reservations.” Constructed in Nigeria, and elsewhere in colonized Africa, from the later nineteenth century as widespread colonial rule was established, reservations housed colonial administrators and other white expatriates.¹ They were separated from indigenous cities: partly in an effort to protect Europeans from tropical diseases, and partly to uphold the racialized hierarchies of colonial rule. The reservation, like the colonial state itself, was a racialized institution, with full access restricted to white Europeans. Reservations comprised large bungalows built to standardized plans, arranged in low-density layouts, and often surrounded by gardens and sports grounds.**</pf>**

<normal>The years from the later 1930s until independence in 1960 saw Nigeria reshaped by a distinctive period of late colonialism. The colonial state grew, employing more people to carry out British colonialism’s newly adopted developmental mission, and more Nigerians took up senior positions in the colonial civil service.² These prestigious posts were associated with subsidized housing on European reservations, which were renamed “Government Residential Areas” in 1938.³ Educational facilities were also improved in preparation for a transfer of power that still, after the Second World War, seemed many years away. Nigeria’s first

university opened outside the city of Ibadan in 1948. Its campus, like those of later Nigerian universities, had many of the characteristics of reservations, including large bungalows for senior staff.⁴

We have not sufficiently appreciated the extent to which Nigerians experienced these late colonial changes through the built environment. Nor did decolonization conclude with independence. Nigerians continued to face the challenge of negotiating colonialism's impact on cities, and society in general. Reservations were not abandoned with independence: they continued to shape Nigerian experiences of politics and space for decades afterwards.

The end of empire represented a triumph for an emerging Nigerian elite of civil servants, lecturers, and students, but in some ways theirs was an ambiguous achievement. It seemed to some that this elite took on too many characteristics of the departing British, not least by living in reservations. Many scholars have suggested that spaces may have structuring effects on their users. The sociologist Nirmal Puwar, for example, has argued that “when those bodies not expected to occupy certain places do so,” they encounter apparently authoritative conventions. In these places, Puwar wrote, “gestures, movements and speech patterns belong to whiteness and masculinity.”⁵ Nigerians taking up residence in reservations encountered standards of behavior originally established by white British colonial officials. Buildings were among the colonial-era state structures that, political scientist Crawford Young argued, helped to embed certain “mentalities, habits, quotidian practices, and operational norms” in Africa, which informed a “bureaucratic authoritarian” postcolonial legacy.⁶ Yet the historiography of European reservations has focused on the genealogy of these distinctive built environments, rather than considering how Nigerians experienced the political changes of decolonization through these spaces.⁷

Nigerian literature offers a valuable, underemployed source of historical evidence about reservations and decolonization more broadly. Despite historians' increased willingness to draw on literary sources since the "new cultural history" of the 1980s, they can still be wary of novels' value as evidence.⁸ The distinguished historian of Russia Sheila Fitzpatrick, for example, recently commented of the historical profession, "our conventions generally prevent us from using literary works as sources."⁹ Fitzpatrick was cautious about being influenced by novelists' representations of the period that she researches. Yet there are good reasons for using literature as evidence about reservations and decolonization. As the scholar of literature and cultural historian Stephanie Newell argued, we "should approach African literatures for biased and intimate and thus ideologically significant visions of local cultures at particular moments in time."¹⁰ This article heeds her call, drawing primarily on novels. An exceptional and unprecedented group of Nigerian writers emerged during decolonization, that included T. M. Aluko (1918–2010), Chinua Achebe (1930–2013), Chukwuemeka Ike (1931–2020), and Wole Soyinka (1934–). This article considers how these writers represented reservations during the late colonial and postcolonial years, drawing in addition on song lyrics by Fela Kuti (1938–1997) and the novels of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (1977–).

I argue that literary representations of space are important both as a rich source of historical evidence about elite culture, and because they shaped the way relationships between the built environment and decolonization were understood. These literary works, first, offer evidence of the Nigerian elite culture to which their writers belonged. As members of an educated elite that often benefitted from decolonization, these writers had an intimate knowledge of reservations, and the reservation-like spaces of Nigerian universities. Achebe, Ike, and Soyinka all attended University College Ibadan; and Aluko, Achebe, and Soyinka lived on

reservations. These writers' work, despite often taking the form of fiction, was informed by their personal experience of these spaces. It offers evidence of Nigerian experiences of reservations that is unlikely to be afforded by state archives or architects' papers. This article draws on the methods of cultural history to draw inferences from literature about the meanings invested in reservations, and how they fluctuated in relation to political change.

Second, these widely consumed writings helped to shape culture, by influencing their readers' perceptions of reservations and decolonization. Literature contributes to making meaning around spaces. As Henri Lefebvre has argued, the meanings of spaces are produced not only by the intentions of planners and lived experience, but also by their socially constructed associations.¹¹ These writers were among the most prominent social commentators of their time. Their work was widely read in Nigeria, in particular by the educated elite. Achebe, Aluko, and Soyinka's novels were made available as inexpensive paperbacks as part of the Heinemann African Writers Series (AWS).¹² Achebe's 1960 novel *No Longer at Ease* was published in an AWS edition in 1963, which was reprinted eleven times between 1963 and 1973.¹³ Less celebrated novels were still widely read. T. M. Aluko's *Kinsman and Foreman*, first published in 1966, was printed three times in its AWS edition between 1968 and 1970, and Wole Soyinka's *The Interpreters* of 1965 went through three AWS editions between 1970 and 1974.¹⁴ Ike's novels were not published in the AWS, but were nevertheless widely read by the Nigeria intelligentsia. The prominent historian E. A. Ayandele, giving the Ibadan University Lecture in 1973, observed that Ike's "exposure of the other side of the undergraduate in *Toads for Supper* and of the don in *The Naked Gods* is vivid in the minds of many in this audience."¹⁵ These novels were extensively reviewed, and formed a major part of the Nigerian cultural scene. These literary representations should not be seen as separate from lived experiences of space, but as

part of how reservations were experienced. Indeed, scholars have increasingly seen literature as a valuable source of evidence for the cultural associations of built environments.¹⁶ The historical study of how reservations were represented in literature thus offers new insights into how colonial-era institutions were reinvested with meaning during decolonization.

Overall, then, this article outlines how literature can form an “alternative archive” for urban and cultural histories of decolonization.¹⁷ It focuses on reservations’ changing meanings among Nigerian educated elites, a relatively small but important group that took up senior state posts during decolonization.¹⁸ The article considers first how reservations formed part of a longer history of Nigerian encounters with built environments influenced by foreign models. It then explores debates about reservations, their representation in literature during the 1950s and 1960s, and addresses how novels portrayed the reservation-like spaces of universities. Finally, the article considers Adichie’s work to assess how representations of reservations have shifted in more recent literature.

Reservations about Western Buildings

Nigerians imported and inhabited building types with roots in the Western world long before the advent of reservations. Nigerian writers of the decolonization generation often represented these buildings ambivalently. The “Brazilian house” exemplifies this lengthy Nigerian engagement with foreign building types. The anthropologist John M. Vlach has shown how, before the British annexation of Lagos in 1861, formerly enslaved Africans returned from Latin America with a distinctive domestic architecture. They constructed these houses, often of two stories with a stucco façade, in Lagos from the 1850s, and later elsewhere in Southern Nigeria. The houses provided a setting for monogamous, Christian family life, and helped some

Nigerians to assert claims to modernity and social status through their contrast with single-story compounds where polygamous families lived.¹⁹

This association between building types and claimed civilizational hierarchies helps to explain why writers who came of age during decolonization were cautious about these Nigerian experiments with foreign architectures. In Chinua Achebe's 1996 essay, "My Dad and Me," for example, he remembered a dream recounted by his father Isaiah, a Christian catechist and teacher: "His uncle, like a traveler from afar, had broken a long journey for a brief moment with him, to inquire how things were and to admire his nephew's 'modern' house of whitewashed mud walls and corrugated iron roof."²⁰ This metal-roofed building symbolized the progressive, Christian lifestyle adopted by Achebe's parents and others of their generation. For Achebe, the building was an ambivalent symbol of a modernity that he carefully confined within scare quotes. "The answer my father found in the Christian faith solved many problems, but by no means all," Achebe reflected.²¹ He grew up in the "modern" house, attended church, and received a Western education.²² Elsewhere, Achebe suggested that "my whole artistic career was probably sparked by this tension between the Christian religion of my parents, which we followed in our home, and the retreating, older religion of my ancestors, which fortunately for me was still active outside my home."²³ Achebe's home, and his house, represented a way of life that was still a relatively recent, unsettling arrival in the southeast Nigeria of his youth.

Wole Soyinka was, like Achebe, the son of Christian parents. In the first pages of his 1981 memoir *Aké: The Years of Childhood*, Soyinka remembered his childhood home, the parsonage compound in the southwest Nigerian town of Abeokuta. It encompassed a church, a mission bookseller, and a primary school as well as houses for Soyinka's family (his father was a headmaster and minister) and the canon. Soyinka wrote that: "The Canon's square, white

building was a bulwark against the menace and the siege of the wood spirits. Its rear wall demarcated their territory, stopped them from taking liberties with the world of humans. . . . Fenced by rough plastered walls, by the windowless rear walls of its houses, by tumuli of rocks which the giant trees tried vainly to obscure, Aké parsonage with its corrugated roofs gave off an air of fortifications.”²⁴ Looming over the “pious station” were “the profane heights of Itókò,” the sacred rock that towers over Abeokuta.²⁵ Soyinka represented these buildings as at once an aggressive and defensive presence in the landscape. They were powerful, described with the vocabulary of the fortress, but vulnerable, besieged by indigenous spirits and overlooked (the bane of any fortification) by an enemy-held peak. The parsonage was in Nigeria and occupied by Nigerians, but not entirely of Nigeria.

In these accounts, whitewashed, metal-roofed buildings represented progressive, Christian enlightenment, but both writers warn us to treat these claims with caution. These buildings, and the ideas they embodied, are shown as at once intrusive yet tentative intercessions in an older African world. For many of the decolonization generation, their parents’ adoption of buildings, ideas, and lifestyles with roots in the West was viewed with unease.

The European Reservation

European reservations were constructed from around 1900, and were thus a relatively late intervention in this history of Nigerian interactions with foreign building types. Like earlier buildings with roots in the Western world, reservations in Nigeria represented an authority that was contested. Even colonial officials struggled to agree what reservations meant, and they soon became a focus for Nigerian protests calling for the reform of colonial rule.

When Europeans started to live on Lagos Island during the mid-nineteenth century, they built houses on its southern side, on the outskirts of the existing town.²⁶ Europeans and Nigerians

lived in close proximity. William MacGregor, governor of Lagos Colony from 1899 to 1904 and a doctor of medicine, rejected proposals intended to protect Europeans from malaria by creating a *cordon sanitaire* through the demolition of Nigerians' houses. He favored instead the use of quinine and the screening of houses against mosquitoes. An attempt in 1907 to convert the land around the racecourse into an exclusive European settlement failed because of African opposition.²⁷ Soon afterwards, a Lagos water rate instituted in 1908 proved controversial because it was levied on Nigerians but was felt to benefit primarily white Europeans.²⁸ Europeans' privileged access to differentiated forms of urban space was keenly observed and contested in colonial Lagos.

The British adopted an alternative approach in Ibadan, the large city eighty miles inland from Lagos. After its annexation in 1893, the British established European reservations separated from the African city by a zone in which Africans were forbidden from building. By 1909, Ibadan was adjoined by two such reservations.²⁹ The 1917 Townships Ordinance, promulgated with the personal interest of the governor-general of Nigeria, Sir Frederick (later Lord) Lugard, belatedly sought to establish reservations' legal status. The Ordinance stated that European reservations should be outside of the jurisdiction of so-called "Native Authorities" and separated from indigenous settlements by a building free zone of 440 yards, believed to be the flying range of mosquitoes. The construction of a large reservation in Lagos, at Ikoyi, commenced soon afterwards in 1919, and provoked further protests from the Lagosian educated elite.³⁰

Colonial officials, and subsequent historians, have debated the extent to which the Townships Ordinance was actually implemented. The historian John Cell argued that segregation in Nigeria was merely a "fad."³¹ Nevertheless, given the creation of large reservations in Lagos, Ibadan, and elsewhere, Cell may have underestimated the importance of segregationist ideas.

Colonial officials debated these principles throughout the interwar years, with medical and administrative officials struggling to reach agreement. In Ibadan, for example, medical officials complained in the later 1930s that some African and European residences were too close together. Norman Turnbull, the senior health officer for Southern Nigeria, argued in March 1939 that “it must be the continued policy of the department to establish adequate Building Free Zones wherever possible,” to separate the houses of Nigerians and Europeans.³² Many administrative officials saw these proposals as unrealistic. The senior district officer of Ibadan complained in October 1940 that the medical officials’ plans would “cost hundreds, if not thousands, of pounds in compensation” and cause “dislocation to a large native community to benefit one, or possibly two, [European] households.”³³ In 1943, the acting secretary of the Western Provinces opposed the colonial government’s acquisition of land in Ibadan unless “necessary for practical purposes, i.e., other than for the purpose of extending the Building Free Zone to an optimum width.”³⁴ Colonial officials continued to debate segregation. In some respects, it proved remarkably long-lived: as we will see, building free zones were still being laid out in the 1950s.

Reservations formed powerful symbols of exclusion to many Nigerians. Local organizations such as the Ibadan Progressive Union campaigned for civic improvements during the 1930s, such as the provision of piped water and electricity, which were associated with reservations.³⁵ These protests became more determined with the emergence of mass nationalism during the Second World War, and the Bristol Hotel incident focused concerns about racialized urban space. In 1947, Ivor Cummins, a black British Colonial Office official, was denied a room at the Bristol Hotel in Lagos by its European manager, sparking an outcry. The Nigerian nationalist leader Nnamdi Azikiwe denounced Cummins’s treatment and segregated institutions, including reservations, at a Lagos protest meeting. In the wake of this incident, the colonial

government banned racial restrictions on access to public institutions. A small but growing number of Nigerian senior civil servants lived at reservations, by now formally renamed “Government Residential Areas.”³⁶

The nationalist press continued to highlight the reservation issue, comparing their rapid improvement with the imperceptible pace of development programs elsewhere in Nigeria. A 1949 *West African Pilot* editorial entitled “Imperialist Treasure House,” which was reprinted in the *Southern Nigeria Defender*, complained that “at Ikoyi where Britons and their friends live, the Development Plans working like magic [sic]. But outside that ‘blessed’ abode of the ‘chosen,’ the plan has meant nothing to the country at large.”³⁷ Nigerian nationalists challenged reservations, which had become deeply associated with the racialized inequalities of colonial rule.

Reservations and Decolonization

These challenges opened the way for more Nigerians to live on reservations during the postwar years. Some went on to write about reservations in ways that captured decolonization’s opportunities and dislocations. The later 1940s saw more determined efforts to “Africanize” the colonial civil service. A 1948 government commission, which included Nnamdi Azikiwe, approved prioritizing Nigerian candidates for senior civil service appointments, and instituted a scholarship program to train Nigerians for these posts. Africanization was slow, but gathered pace in the 1950s. In 1938 there were only twenty-six Nigerians in senior civil service posts, a figure which had increased to 172 by 1948 (almost 8 percent of senior civil servants), and 685 by 1952 (almost 23 percent).³⁸

Nigerian civil servants were now routinely allocated housing on reservations.³⁹ Reservations actually *expanded* during late colonialism to house the growing civil service. T. M.

Aluko, an engineer as well as a novelist, found this when he was appointed assistant regional town planning officer in 1950. “Much of my work involved the preparation of extensions to existing Government Reservations in the major towns in the Western Region or the siting of new buildings in existing plots in these reservations,” he noted in his 2006 memoir.⁴⁰ In the city of Ibadan, the number of reservations increased from two to five.⁴¹ Aluko criticized “the concentration of our meagre resources” on reservations given “the great volume of unplanned development going on in the towns,” and noted the continuing practice “of keeping a quarter of a mile wide building free zone” between reservations and the city: a testimony to the enduring legacy of the 1917 Townships Ordinance.⁴² Nigerian nationalist leaders also criticized the excesses of the late colonial state’s building policies, but once in power found it harder to escape from a repertoire of built environments that had become powerfully symbolic of modernity.⁴³

Reservations featured prominently in novels written during decolonization. In Chinua Achebe’s *No Longer at Ease* of 1960, the young Nigerian civil servant Obi Okonkwo lives in the Government Residential Area at Ikoyi (as did Achebe himself when he worked for the Nigerian Broadcasting Service).⁴⁴ Achebe represented Ikoyi as an eerie space, in a passage that is worth quoting at length:

<bq>Going from the Lagos mainland to Ikoyi on a Saturday night was like going from a bazaar to a funeral. And the vast Lagos cemetery which separated the two places helped to deepen this feeling. For all its luxurious bungalows and flats and its extensive greenery, Ikoyi was like a graveyard. It had no corporate life—at any rate for those Africans who lived there. They had not always lived there, of course. It was once a European reserve. But things had changed, and Africans in “European posts” had been given houses in Ikoyi. Obi Okonkwo, for example,

lived there, and as he drove from Lagos to his flat he was struck again by these two cities in one. It always reminded him of twin kernels separated by a thin wall in a palm-nut shell. Sometimes one kernel was shiny-black and alive, the other powdery-white and dead.⁴⁵

Achebe depicted Ikoyi as separated from the bustling city of Lagos by a cemetery. Outwardly opulent, the reservation was associated with deadness. Although Africans live there, they were isolated, excluded from the “corporate life” of what had until recently been a “European reserve.” Achebe sees late colonial Lagos as “two cities in one,” bifurcated between one half that was “shiny-black and alive” and the other, “powdery-white and dead.” This passage anticipated Frantz Fanon’s vision of the dual nature of the colonial city, divided on racialized lines, in *The Wretched of the Earth* (first published in 1961).⁴⁶ Achebe’s account highlights the strange position of the new Nigerian elite, living in high status space, but detached from Nigerian society.

In the novel, Obi lives in a block of flats with five other civil servants: “He knew none of them by name, and only some by sight. They were all Europeans. He spoke about once a month with one of them.” Even this contact was not social: “This man was in charge of the common garden and collected ten and sixpence every month from each occupant to pay the garden boy.” Obi “also knew one of those upstairs who regularly brought an African prostitute home on Saturday nights.”⁴⁷ At Ikoyi, Obi was represented as surrounded by Europeans with whom he barely interacts, and whose relationships with Nigerians were superficial.

Ikoyi is a place of disorientation for Nigerians in the novel. When Obi has an unexpected caller he assumes it is someone who has lost their way: “Non-residents of Ikoyi always got lost among its identical flats.”⁴⁸ Nigerian visitors are uncertain how to behave there. When Obi’s

mother dies, a group from his home village visits him: “The President of the Umuofia Progressive Union asked whether it was permissible to sing hymns in Ikoyi. He asked because Ikoyi was a European reservation. Obi said he would rather they did not sing.”⁴⁹ The president is unsure about the correct codes of behavior. It is telling that Ikoyi is still referred to as a European reservation, long after that nomenclature had been formally abandoned. Although Nigerians lived in Ikoyi, it was represented as a space where permissible behavior was still defined by European officials. Achebe used this location to dramatize the novel’s central theme, described by the reviewer J. Chunwike Ene as: “Conflicts stemming from the moral, political and socio-economic pressures of *new* ebullient Africa of the cities on sedate *old* Africa of the bush villages.”⁵⁰ The strains of life at Ikoyi were understood in terms of the side effects of “modernization.”⁵¹

Few writers have been able to resist comparing the Ikoyi reservation to the neighboring graveyard. In Wole Soyinka’s 1965 novel *The Interpreters*, the protagonist Sagoe attends a funeral at the cemetery. The narrator comments: “among the dead Sagoe included the suburban settlements of Ikoyi where both the white remnants and the new black oyinbos lived in colonial vacuity.”⁵² For Soyinka, Ikoyi was home to a misdirected, even deracinated, class of Nigerians who had taken on the characteristics of the *oyinbos* (white people).⁵³

Novels portrayed a similar experience at other reservations. Like Titus, the main character of his 1966 novel *Kinsman and Foreman*, T. M. Aluko was an engineer educated in Britain who worked for the government and lived on a reservation. Indeed, as the reviewer Elizabeth Akinsola commented, “the reader is tempted to think this is the author’s story of his experience because of the similarity in background” to his protagonist.⁵⁴ As with Obi in *No Longer at Ease*, Titus finds on taking up his post that he has entered a world of white men: “All

the names were non-Nigerian: Johnson, Beattie, McBain, Graham-Jones, Owen, and so on, not one Nigerian. For he, Titus Oti, was the first professionally qualified Nigerian civil engineer to join the Service.”⁵⁵ The tone in Aluko’s novel is at times more celebratory than Achebe’s *No Longer at Ease*. Titus’s job is seen in racial terms by other Nigerians, but in a way that highlights his success. “This child that has come back to us from the country of the white man is going to hold the post of a white man in Government work. There is no other African who knows the work as well as he does. That is why he is going to be given the post of a white man,” comments Joel, an old man from Titus’s village.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, Aluko depicted life on a reservation as engendering physical and generational distance between Titus and his family, as seen in an argument Titus has with his mother on the reservation:

<bq>“How many times will I tell you that if you want to come and see me you should send someone to tell me. I’ll come to fetch you in my car. Do you have to walk from one end of the town to the other to get to me here at the Government Reservation? And now you are soaking wet.”

His mother in her turn was cross with him. “Whenever I come to you you scold me as if I’m a little child of yesterday. I’m not. If it was not important for me to come I would not have come. And do I complain to you that I’m tired of walking? It’s my feet and not yours that I use—why do you have to complain?”⁵⁷</bq>

<normal>Titus’s residence on the reservation creates remoteness between mother and son. It produces a physical distance between them, reflected in his mother’s long walk to the reservation, which was invariably located at the city’s edge. The reservation is also associated

with generational distance. Titus is among the first Nigerians who could live on a reservation and own a car, a defining status symbol in decolonization-era Nigeria. (We also saw Obi drive to Ikoyi in *No Longer at Ease*.) Titus's mother, though, walks in the rain. The reservation symbolizes the separation between the generation that could embrace the opportunities of decolonization and their parents' generation, at once proud of, and bewildered by, their children's achievements. Nigerian reviewers saw the novel as a convincing portrayal of these tensions. Praising *Kinsman and Foreman* as "true to life," Elizabeth Akinsola noted that Aluko "shows the common difficulty that confronts a young educated man with western influence."⁵⁸

In these novels, Nigerians' residence on reservations was symbolically freighted. It marked their entry into an elite space, and powerfully represented the new opportunities of the late colonial era. But the novels also associated reservations with generational tensions, and the isolation of young Nigerians in a lifeless place designed for, a still largely inhabited by, white expatriates. The potential of these fictionalized accounts as historical evidence is endorsed by Achebe and Aluko's residence at reservations during decolonization, and by their reviews, which suggest that other elite Nigerians recognized these portrayals. Their writing affords a valuable Nigerian perspective on how decolonization politics was experienced through perceptions of urban space.

<h1>Reservations and Universities</h1>

<normal>University campuses did not have the formal status of reservations, but shared many of their characteristics. The inauguration of University College Ibadan in January 1948 coincided with growing numbers of Nigerian civil servants taking up residence at reservations. These innovations reflected the late colonial transformation of the state, which increasingly admitted Nigerians to elite positions in order to prepare for an eventual transfer of power. The

university, like the reservations, was a large compound with a low-density arrangement of buildings situated at the city's edge.⁵⁹ It included bungalows and flats for lecturers, student residences, and teaching buildings. Also like reservations, universities were associated with elite status and codes of behavior influenced by white expatriates. University College Ibadan, or an institution closely modeled on it, frequently appeared in decolonization-era Nigerian fiction. Achebe, Soyinka, and Ike had attended the university, as had some of the characters in their novels.

When Chukwuemeka Ike graduated from Ibadan, he went into a career in university administration. He worked initially at Ibadan and later at Nigeria's second university, the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, which opened in 1960. Ike's first two novels, *Toads for Supper* (1965) and *The Naked Gods* (1970) were set, and widely read, in the university world that he knew so well. In *The Naked Gods*, Ike emphasized the elite living conditions at universities, comparing them with those of a paramount chief: "All the senior staff (academic and administrative) were now housed in reasonable comfort, several hundred per cent greater comfort than any person within thirty miles of Onuku enjoyed, with the exception of His Royal Highness, Ezeonuku III of Onuku."⁶⁰ Like reservations, universities were associated with luxury.

Later in *The Naked Gods*, Ike used a visit to the Nigerian academic Dr. Okoro by a distant relative called Eze to explore the relationship between the political changes of decolonization and the spaces inhabited by the new Nigerian elite.

<bq>"Tell me, brother, does all this house belong to you?" . . .

"Yes," Okoro replied with pride.

"What do you do inside such a large house, all alone?"

"I occupy it."

“Thanks be to God, that a son of Ugiri and my own brother can be among those to live in such a house. Who could have dreamt of such a thing happening two or three years ago? If I had entered a house like this then a dog would have been sent after me. . . . It is now that I know that the black man is ruling.”⁶¹

As with representations of reservations, the incident evokes both the high status and the isolation of the new Nigerian elite. Ike offset Okoro’s “pride” in his house with an emptiness implied by his vague, directionless explanation “I occupy it.” Eze goes on to ask that Okoro intercede in favor of a friend’s job application, the novel evoking the awkward relationship between the world of the university and older networks of reciprocal kinship obligations.

Like Ike, Wole Soyinka knew Nigerian universities well, having attended Ibadan as a student and held research posts at the universities of Ibadan and Ife early in his career. Soyinka’s novel *The Interpreters* offered a coruscating account of Nigerians who stepped into university posts, houses, and manners associated with the departing British. It was praised by the reviewer Donatus Nwoga for containing “some of the most sophisticated satirical and humorous sketches that have so far been written in Africa.”⁶² In the novel, the rebellious Sagoe, who seems to have some of the qualities of Soyinka himself, and his friend Bandele attend a newly promoted Nigerian professor’s dinner party. Sagoe is disconcerted by the room’s decoration. “What on earth does anyone in the country want with plastic fruits,” he asked.⁶³ The passage continues: “From the ceiling hung citrous clusters on invisible wires. A glaze for the warmth of life and succulence told the story. . . . There were fancy beach-hat flowerpots on the wall, ivy clung from these along a picture rail, all plastic, and the ceiling was covered in plastic lichen. Sagoe had passed, he now noticed, under a special exhibition group of one orange, two pears, and a fan of

bananas straight from European wax-works.”⁶⁴ This extraordinary display of artificial fruit warns the reader of the party’s affectation. By explicitly locating the factory that manufactured the fruit in Europe, Soyinka drew attention to the adoption by some Nigerians of the colonizers’ most unproductive customs and commodities.

Europeans exchange abhorrent repartee (“Nephritites simply cannot stand Africans. She’s such a sensitive cat”) unchallenged by a nearby Nigerian, prompting Sagoe to ask his friend: “But who is the black fool listening so sympathetically. Who is the bell-boy in the tuxedo?” Bandele replies: “Don’t talk so loud. That is the new Professor. It’s his party.”⁶⁵ The scene represents Soyinka’s disgust with the way the new educated elite seemed to be stepping into roles defined by the British. The décor is one of several signifiers of the professor and his wife’s pretention, which also include their dress (the professor’s tuxedo and his wife’s gloves), the professor’s accent (“Oh der, end the ledies are wetting for her”), and manners (“From the marionette pages of Victoriana, the Professor bowed”).⁶⁶

The rejection of this world by Sagoe, and Soyinka, is expressed by Sagoe impulsively throwing pieces of plastic fruit out of a window until he is challenged by the professor’s wife.

<bq>“Just tell me who you are and why you have been throwing the decorations through the window.”

“But I told you, madam, I am the UNESCO expert on architectural planning.”

“Frivolity,” and she gave the dead stare, “does not amuse me. . . .”

“To what department do you belong sir?”

“Architecture.”

Very sharply she retorted, “There is no department of architecture in the university.”

“I am hardly surprised madam. Just look at the buildings, enh? Work of amateurs!”⁶⁷

Universities, like reservations, were associated in literature with late colonial opportunities for social advancement and their attendant perils, expressed in part through representations of space. Like reservations, universities offered opportunities for elite Nigerians to live in relative luxury, but in spaces detached from the rest of Nigerian society, where white expatriates still largely defined standards of behavior. These novels form evidence of a world about which their writers had a deep, personal knowledge.

Continuing Reservations

After independence in 1960, reservations continued to house senior Nigerian civil servants. From around 1962, domestic politics was wracked by increasingly bitter rivalries that culminated in the military coups of 1966 and the ensuing civil war. These crises were chronicled, in part, by changing literary representations of reservations that often emphasized the mismanagement of the postcolonial state.

Wole Soyinka’s *Ibadan: The Penkelemes Years. A Memoir: 1946–1965*, first published in 1994, recalled these years. Soyinka described the book as a work of “faction, that much abused genre which attempts to fictionalise facts and events, the proportion of fact to fiction being totally at the *discretion* of the author.”⁶⁸ According to his portrayal of reservations in the 1960s, Western Region Ministry of Housing officials “were daily obliged to allocate and furnish government housing to mistresses, relations and thugs of the NNDP [Nigerian National Democratic Party] Government, even ordered to arrange regular catering for their occupants from government resources.”⁶⁹ What had been seen as the site of an artificial, detached

Europeanized lifestyle was now represented as a state resource misappropriated as part of an increasingly clientelist style of government.

Indeed, Soyinka confesses that his alter-ego Maren, via “the process of manipulating a loophole in the bureaucracy,” came to reside in a “one-bedroom bungalow in Agodi,” the most prestigious reservation in Ibadan.⁷⁰ Maren lives next door to a house that would be empty for days. “Then would come a series of vehicles driving in, discharging boisterous passengers, who set about stirring up the compound as if to make up for its long period of neglect. The sounds that came from what must have been the kitchen and catering department suggested that an army had been billeted there, ever-hungry, and ever-thirsty. . . . There was no question about it: these were party thugs, and they could only belong to Akintola’s Government party, the NNDP.”⁷¹ The reservation became a threatening location, harboring the government’s unpredictable messengers, and associated with the growing violence of Nigerian politics.

In Ike’s 1980 novel *Expo ’77*, Ikoyi too is associated with the ruling elite’s “corruption”.⁷² Comfort is the young mistress of “[t]he Alhaji”: “He had rented a flat for her . . . in expensive Ikoyi. Everything in the Ikoyi flat was air-conditioned, including the kitchen. Every bit of furniture had been flown in from Europe, including the wall-to-wall carpet which felt softer than foam rubber. He employed a cook and a steward for the flat, and on Comfort’s twenty-first birthday in 1976 he handed her the keys of a Mercedes Benz sports car.”⁷³

Western goods were still consumed in Ikoyi, but it was now even more lavish than during the colonial era, and featured new amenities including air conditioning and extensive carpeting. Residence in Ikoyi was no longer limited to government employees: the Alhaji rents the flat for Comfort rather than simply appropriating state property as in Soyinka’s account of the Ibadan reservation. Ikoyi was associated with a moneyed Nigerian elite, and the uncertain provenance of

the Alhaji's extraordinary wealth hints at the spectacular corruption associated with the 1970s Nigerian oil boom.

The potent symbolism of Ikoyi was also deployed by Fela Kuti, the legendary Afrobeat musician and unconventional political activist.⁷⁴ Kuti was acutely aware of the imaginative geographies of postcolonial Nigeria. His track "Ikoyi Mentality versus Mushin Mentality," from the 1971 album "Why Black Man Dey Suffer," compared the lifestyle and mindset of Ikoyi with that of Mushin, a poor Lagos neighborhood. The title of the track itself is telling, showing how Ikoyi was associated with attitudes that exemplified the injustices of postcolonial Nigeria. For Kuti: "Ikoyi man dey travel/ Him travel all over the world/ Him bring civilization for us/ Him civilisation we no understanding. . . . Ikoyi man dey talk/ Him go talk him big big english/ Him go wan talk like oyinbo man." Ikoyi is associated with Nigerians who travel, adopt Western culture, and talk like whites. In contrast: "Mushin man dey for house/ Him never travel any where at all/ Him understand him people language/ The language of Africa."⁷⁵ Kuti focused not on Ikoyi as a site of corruption, but drew on the earlier narratives that associated Ikoyi with an imitative elite culture of questionable relevance to Nigeria. For Kuti, the reservation is not primarily a built environment (he did not sing about buildings) but a *mentality* that perpetuated colonial-era inequalities. There are similarities here with Achebe's vision, from eleven years earlier, of Lagos as akin to twin palm nut kernels.

Despite reservations' negative connotations, they have proved an enduring Nigerian institution. In Achebe's last novel, *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987), the reservation and its distinct codes of behavior remain a lingering presence, as revealed in the thoughts of Beatrice, a civil servant: "She heard far away the crowing of a cock. Strange. She had not before heard a cock crow in this Government Reserved Area. Surely nobody here has been reduced to keeping

poultry like common villagers. . . . The British when they were here would not have stood for it. They had totally and completely ruled out the keeping of domestic animals in their reservation. Except dogs, of course.”⁷⁶ There is a sense here of the passing of time, represented by the departure of the British, but also of expectations that have remained similar. Beatrice expected quiet on the reservation and regulations about what could be built and kept there, which were perhaps less rigorously enforced but still lingered in the consciousness of Nigerians. The reservation was still recognized as a special type of space.

These lingering associations continue even today, as Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie has shown in her 2013 novel *Americanah*. Adichie’s protagonist Ifemelu, having returned to Nigeria after study in the United States, wants to rent a house in Ikoyi: “Growing up, Ikoyi had reeked of gentility, a faraway gentility that she could not touch: the people who lived in Ikoyi had faces free of pimples and drivers designated ‘the children’s driver.’”⁷⁷ Ikoyi’s associations for Ifemelu are not with the colonial period, but an aspirational model of a wealthy Nigerian elite: the kind of family that employs multiple drivers. And yet there is still something disconcerting about Ikoyi: “The first day she saw the flat, she stood on the verandah and looked across at the compound next door, a grand colonial house, now yellowed from decay, the grounds swallowed in foliage, grass and shrubs climbing atop one another. . . . The estate agent told her that an army officer had lived there during General Abacha’s regime; now the house was tied up in court. And she imagined the people who had lived there fifteen years ago while she, in a little flat on the crowded mainland, longed for their spacious, serene lives.”⁷⁸ Adichie’s passage evokes the historical layers of Ikoyi: the Europeans who ordered the construction of the “grand colonial house,” and the Nigerian military family that had lived there during the 1990s dictatorship of General Sani Abacha. Ifemelu imagines their “spacious, serene lives,” but the moldering,

overgrown house also hints at their sudden departure amid an unspecified trauma. As the novel suggests, Ikoyi has remained an elite district with persistent colonial associations, although it is no longer chiefly characterized by colonial-era bungalows. Many have been demolished and replaced with housing that meets more recent elite expectations.

Although the larger, grander edifices of the neoliberal age have proliferated in Ikoyi, the reservation-like spaces of universities assumed a different trajectory. Adichie's 2004 novel *Purple Hibiscus* is set in part at the University of Nigeria (where she grew up), which was planned during the last years of colonial rule. On campus, many of the buildings would have been recognized by Chukwuemeka Ike forty years before, but have since suffered from neglect. Adichie's narrator, the teenager Kambili, observes that: "We were in a residential area, driving past bungalows in wide compounds with rose bushes and faded lawns and fruit trees. The street gradually lost its tarred smoothness and its cultivated hedges, and the houses became low and narrow, their front doors so close together that you could stand at one, stretch out, and touch the next door. There was no pretense at hedges here, no pretense at separation or privacy."⁷⁹

The built environment maintained a hierarchy that was established in the colonial era, which separated "senior" academic staff in bungalows from "junior" support staff in their "low and narrow" houses. Nevertheless, the state's attenuated finances and military rulers' neglect have left the university in disrepair. Even at the bungalows there are "faded lawns." When Kambili finds an earthworm in the bathtub at the flat of her Auntie Ifeoma, a lecturer, she learns that: "The pipes were old. . . . Auntie Ifeoma had written the works department about the pipes, but, of course, it would take ages before anybody did anything about them."⁸⁰ Years of poor maintenance saw the reservation-like spaces of universities become dilapidated.

Reservations themselves came to symbolize postcolonial corruption, or, at least, privilege. They have been seen as appropriated by an unethical elite to house thugs and mistresses. At the same time, perceptions of reservations as sites of vacuously derivative culture continued, as in Fela Kuti's lyrics. Even as colonial rule receded into the past, reservations have remained places where different codes of behavior were expected, where the crowing of cockerels came as a surprise. Nevertheless, the association between reservations and the state has diminished. Residence in Ikoyi today requires only wealth, not government employment, and colonial-era bungalows are now unusual. It remains an elite area, though, with broad, quiet streets lined by large, widely spaced houses and apartment blocks inhabited by wealthy Nigerians and expatriates in the employ of consulates and businesses. University campuses have also remained distinct built environments, but, conversely, many universities' continuing reliance on state funding has meant that they were dilapidated until recent years, reflecting the troubled finances and perhaps the circumscribed ambitions of the postcolonial state.

Conclusion

Reservations, and reservation-like university compounds, were highly freighted spaces through which Nigerians experienced the opportunities and pitfalls of decolonization. Nigerian writers documented the attraction and repulsion exerted by reservations, and their changing meanings. Achebe and Soyinka depicted their parents' generation as associating Western building types with progress, although the writers themselves viewed these connotations with caution. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Nigerian elites criticized their exclusion from reservations. When Nigerians started to live on reservations during the late colonial years, novelists represented this experience as a strange mix of triumph and disorientation. Nigerians' campaigns for access to these racialized forms of space was successful.

Once the new Nigerian elite occupied these spaces, though, writers depicted luxurious but lifeless enclaves still dominated by white expatriates. By the 1970s, reservations were still associated with artificiality, and increasingly with corruption. These changing resonances suggest that conventions of behavior at reservations helped to structure Nigerians' behavior during decolonization, as the work of Nirmal Puwar and Crawford Young suggests, but also that over time Nigerians' actions contributed to remaking reservations' sociocultural associations. Reservations, and reservation-like university compounds, were represented as intrusive, foreign spaces, but in recent decades they have been shown as increasingly domesticated to Nigeria, and invested with meanings reflecting the complexities of postcolonial Nigerian statehood. These writers' work shows how reservations remade Nigerians during decolonization, and Nigerians remade reservations.

Thus, literature is an important historical source for exploring how Nigerians experienced reservations, and decolonization more broadly. These writers' depictions of reservations were rooted in deep personal experience. Their work documents these subjectivities in ways that are unlikely to be accessible through the documents of conventional archives. Novels published during decolonization are especially important, as they helped to shape, as well as reflect, understandings of the end of empire. Literary sources offer historians a perspective on how the profound ambivalences of decolonization were interwoven with experiences of the built environment. For Nigerians to win access to housing at reservations was a great victory, but the continuing use of these colonial-era spaces also testified to the incompleteness of decolonization. Thus, novels offer irreplaceable historical evidence of the subjective experience of decolonization and its spatial dimensions.

<h1>Notes</h1>

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¹ For the sake of simplicity I refer to “Nigeria” and “Nigerians” throughout this article, although the colonial territory of Northern Nigeria was formed in 1897, Southern Nigeria in 1900, and they were amalgamated in 1914.

² G. O. Olusanya, *The Evolution of the Nigerian Civil Service 1861–1960: The Problems of Nigerianization* (Yaba, Nigeria: University of Lagos Press, 1975).

³ Governor of Nigeria to Secretary of State for the Colonies, January 26, 1938, CO583/233/10, The National Archives London. For more on this transition, see Tim Livsey, “State, Urban Space, Race: Late Colonialism and Segregation at the Ikoyi Reservation in Lagos, Nigeria,” *Journal of African History* (forthcoming).

⁴ Tim Livsey, *Nigeria’s University Age: Reframing Development and Decolonisation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 80–82.

⁵ Nirmal Puwar, *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 1, 147, and 31–54. Also see Thomas F. Gieryn, “What Buildings Do,” *Theory and Society* 31 (2002): 35–41.

⁶ Crawford Young, *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence, 1960–2010* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 119, 121. Also see Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 284.

⁷ Examples include Philip D. Curtin, “Medical Knowledge and Urban Planning in Tropical Africa,” *American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (1985): 594–613; John W. Cell, “Anglo-Indian Medical Theory and the Origins of Segregation in West Africa,” *American Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (1986): 307–35; Carl H. Nightingale, *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Robert Home and Anthony King, “Urbanism and Master Planning: Configuring the Colonial City,” in *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire*, ed. G. A. Bremer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 75–82. Accounts that have more to say about reservations’ changing uses include Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 193–223; Liora Bigon, *A History of Urban Planning in Two West African Colonial Capitals: Residential Segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar (1850–1930)* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009), 145–85.

⁸ For an overview of the emergence of the “new cultural history” see Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2019), 32–77.

⁹ Sheila Fitzpatrick, “Zanchevsky, Zakrevsky or Zakovsky?,” review of *The Noise of Time* by Julian Barnes, *London Review of Books* 38, no. 4 (2016): 23. Also see Philip Stewart, “This Is Not a Book Review: On Historical Uses of Literature,” *Journal of Modern History* 66, no. 3 (1994): 521–38.

¹⁰ Stephanie Newell, “African Literary Histories and History in African Literatures,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern African History*, ed. John Parker and Richard Reid (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 475.

¹¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991), 33–46.

¹² Achebe edited the series. Ezenwa-Ohaeto, *Chinua Achebe: A Biography* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997), 92.

¹³ Chinua Achebe, *No Longer at Ease* (London: Penguin, 2010). For the publication history see the 1973 AWS reprint.

¹⁴ T. M. Aluko, *Kinsman and Foreman* (London: Heinemann, 1966); Wole Soyinka, *The Interpreters* (London: Heinemann, 1970). See the 1973 AWS reprint of *Kinsman and Foreman* and the 1974 reprint of *The Interpreters* for publication history details.

¹⁵ E. A. Ayandele, *The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1974), 1. Also see Chukwuemeka Ike, *Toads for Supper* (London: Fontana, 1965); Chukwuemeka Ike, *The Naked Gods* (London: Fontana, 1971).

¹⁶ See, for example, the Stanford Literary Lab project “Mapping emotions in Victorian London,” <http://www.historypin.org/en/explore/victorian-london/> (accessed April 12, 2016).

¹⁷ For the concept of the “alternative archive,” see Jean Allman, “Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress,” in *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress*, ed. Jean Allman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 4.

¹⁸ Philip Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 128–39.

¹⁹ John M. Vlach, “The Brazilian House in Nigeria: the Emergence of a 20th-Century Vernacular House Type,” *Journal of American Folklore* 97, no. 383 (1984): 3–23.

²⁰ Chinua Achebe, *The Education of a British-Protected Child: Essays* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 36.

²¹ Achebe, *Education of a British-Protected Child*, 37.

²² Ezenwa-Ohaeto, *Chinua Achebe*, 7–20.

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- ²³ Chinua Achebe, *There Was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra* (London: Penguin, 2013), 11.
- ²⁴ Wole Soyinka, *Aké: The Years of Childhood* (London: Methuen, 2000), 2.
- ²⁵ Soyinka, *Aké*, 1.
- ²⁶ Bigon, *History of Urban Planning*, 56.
- ²⁷ Curtin, “Medical Knowledge and Urban Planning,” 603.
- ²⁸ Patrick Cole, *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 98–99.
- ²⁹ *Plan of Town of Ibadan and Its Environs* (n.p.: Ordnance Survey, 1909).
- ³⁰ Bigon, *History of Urban Planning*, 152–59.
- ³¹ Cell, “Anglo-Indian Medical Theory,” 332. For an alternative interpretation see Bigon, *History of Urban Planning*, 158–59.
- ³² Norman S. Turnbull to Medical Officer of Health, Oyo Province, March 9, 1939, Oyoprof 1 2080, National Archives Ibadan.
- ³³ Senior District Officer, Ibadan to Senior Resident, Oyo, October 7, 1940, Oyoprof 1 2080, National Archives Ibadan.
- ³⁴ Acting Secretary, Western Provinces to Commissioner of Lands, Lagos, March 17, 1943, Oyoprof 1 2080, National Archives Ibadan.
- ³⁵ Ruth Watson, “*Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan*”: *Chieftaincy and Civic Culture in a Yoruba City* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), 127–29.
- ³⁶ John Flint, “Scandal at the Bristol Hotel: Some Thoughts on Racial Discrimination in Britain and West Africa and Its Relationship to the Planning of Decolonisation, 1939–47,” *Journal of*

Imperial and Commonwealth History 12, no. 1 (1983): 86–88. For further details, see Livsey, “State, Urban Space, Race”.

³⁷ *Southern Nigeria Defender*, February 22, 1949.

³⁸ Olusanya, *Evolution of the Nigerian Civil Service*, 28–29, 38.

³⁹ Colonial Office, *Report of the Commission on the Civil Services of British West Africa 1945–46*. Colonial No. 209 (Accra, Ghana, 1947), 23.

⁴⁰ T. M. Aluko, *The Story of My Life* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Heinemann, 2006), 120.

⁴¹ Akin L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (London: University of London Press, 1968), 231–32.

⁴² Aluko, *Story of My Life*, 122.

⁴³ A point considered in relation to universities in Livsey, *Nigeria’s University Age*, 83–87.

⁴⁴ Achebe lived in Ikoyi from around 1954 to 1958, and from 1961 to 1966. Ezenwa-Ohaeto, *Chinua Achebe*, 57–58, 85, 112, 117–18.

⁴⁵ Achebe, *No Longer at Ease*, 14.

⁴⁶ Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. C. Farrington (London: Penguin, 2001), 29–31.

⁴⁷ Achebe, *No Longer at Ease*, 71.

⁴⁸ Achebe, *No Longer at Ease*, 134.

⁴⁹ Achebe, *No Longer at Ease*, 129.

⁵⁰ J. Chunwike Ene, review of *No Longer at Ease* by Chinua Achebe, *Ibadan* 11 (1961): 43.

⁵¹ On the importance of treating this concept with caution, see Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 113–49.

⁵² Soyinka, *The Interpreters*, 111.

⁵³ Even the British former colonial official Sylvia Leith-Ross described Ikoyi in her memoir, written in the early 1970s, in these terms: “as lifeless as the large cemetery one could not avoid passing four times a day on the way to or from the offices.” Sylvia Leith-Ross, *Stepping-Stones: Memoirs of Colonial Nigeria 1907–1960* (London: Peter Owen, 1983), 83.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Akinsola, review of *Kinsman and Foreman* by T. M. Aluko, *Nigeria Magazine* 92 (1967): 84.

⁵⁵ Aluko, *Kinsman and Foreman*, 11.

⁵⁶ Aluko, *Kinsman and Foreman*, 4.

⁵⁷ Aluko, *Kinsman and Foreman*, 32.

⁵⁸ Akinsola, review of *Kinsman and Foreman* by T. M. Aluko, 84.

⁵⁹ On the planning of University College Ibadan, see Livsey, *Nigeria's University Age*, 65–80.

⁶⁰ Ike, *The Naked Gods*, 58.

⁶¹ Ike, *The Naked Gods*, 73.

⁶² Donatus Nwoga, review of *The Interpreters* by Wole Soyinka, *Ibadan* 22 (1966): 63.

⁶³ Soyinka, *The Interpreters*, 140.

⁶⁴ Soyinka, *The Interpreters*, 140.

⁶⁵ Soyinka, *The Interpreters*, 140.

⁶⁶ Soyinka, *The Interpreters*, 141–42.

⁶⁷ Soyinka, *The Interpreters*, 150.

⁶⁸ Wole Soyinka, *Ibadan: The Penkeleles Years. A Memoir: 1946–65* (London: Methuen, 1994), ix.

⁶⁹ Soyinka, *Ibadan*, 208.

⁷⁰ Soyinka, *Ibadan*, 208.

⁷¹ Soyinka, *Ibadan*, 208–9.

⁷² On the complexities of “corruption”, see Steven Pierce, *Moral Economies of Corruption: State Formation and Political Culture in Nigeria* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

⁷³ Chukwuemeka Ike, *Expo '77* (Glasgow, UK: Fontana, 1980), 24.

⁷⁴ See Tejumola Olaniyan, *Arrest the Music! Fela and His Rebel Art and Politics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).

⁷⁵ Fela Kuti, “Ikoyi Mentality versus Mushin Mentality,” from “Why Black Man Dey Suffer,” African Songs Limited (1971).

⁷⁶ Chinua Achebe, *Anthills of the Savannah* (London: Penguin, 2001), 102. The novel is revealing about how reservations were perceived, although during the colonial era too reservations’ European residents sometimes complained about the keeping of chickens, including by white colonial officials. For example, see: President, Lagos Town Council to Chief Secretary, April 7, 1936, CSO26 11136, National Archives Ibadan.

⁷⁷ Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, *Americanah* (London: Fourth Estate, 2014), 394.

⁷⁸ Adichie, *Americanah*, 394.

⁷⁹ Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, *Purple Hibiscus* (London: Fourth Estate, 2016), 130.

⁸⁰ Adichie, *Purple Hibiscus*, 232.</notes>

<au-info>Tim Livsey is vice-chancellor’s research fellow in history at Northumbria University. A historian of West Africa, his research focuses on culture, cities, and archives to offer new perspectives on decolonisation. He is the author of *Nigeria’s University Age: Reframing Decolonisation and Development*, published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2017.</au-info>