Chapter 3
Creole Pioneers in the Nigerian Provincial Press

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This is the story of the life and career of a provincial creole printman, James Vivian Clinton, who edited the *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, in Calabar, South Eastern Nigeria, from 1935 to 1951.[1] It investigates his position in the politics of race, nation, and empire in the lead-up to the Second World War, taking one year, 1937 as its focus. The episode intersects with the central historical lens on the relationship between print and nation by addressing the significance of race and identity, both local and transcontinental, in the imaginings of African nationalism.

In conceiving the form of emerging "national" communities Benedict Anderson argued that "pilgrim Creole functionaries and provincial Creole printmen played the decisive historic role."[2] It is a point that often seems overlooked and therefore merits reiteration. Anderson did not just argue that the circulation and shared consumption of print served to forge national identities, a thesis that has become well established. As he famously said, the newspaper quite naturally, and even apolitically, created an imagined community among a specific assemblage of fellow readers who read the same commercial, administrative, and society news in the early gazettes. He also argued that broad contextual factors such as shared economic interest or political ideology did not create in themselves the shape of these new national communities. Rather, Anderson showed how "Creole states" were formed and led by people who shared a common language and common descent with those against whom they fought.[3] And in accomplishing *this* specific task, he said, pilgrim creole functionaries and provincial creole printmen played the decisive historic role.

This creole elite, who constituted simultaneously a colonial community and an upper class, bridged a political paradox: they were economically and politically

subjected, but also essential to the stability of the empire.[4] For Anderson it was this bridge, the collective historical experience, that connected creole pioneers with the "modular" American and European forms of national society. This has proved a contentious point in the comparative analysis of anticolonialism and nationalism. As Patterjee observed, it was not modular European forms of national society that were propagated within anticolonial nationalism but a whole range of regional and racial forms that were imagined.[5] Indeed in developing this critique Newell has shown how Anderson's definition of print nationalism is anachronistic in the context of the heterogeneous "national" identities that appeared in the West African press in the early twentieth century.[6] A single newspaper issue, for instance, could contain ideas of the "nation" that would include "local ethno-regional 'nations' like the Fante or the Igbo, and/or the colonial British West African 'nation' stretching from Nigeria up to the Gambia, and/or the global pan-African 'nation,' reaching from West Africa to the Caribbean, London and North America, and/or loyalty to the British Crown."[7] The press embraced this eclectic array of identities, and as a result was less politically coherent than the standard theories of nationalism assume. As the following story illustrates, however, while papers could contain these apparently contradictory views of the nation, they did not do so without consequences and casualties.

This chapter, then, concerns the very specific role of creole pioneers and printmen in the politics of nationalism in Nigeria and assesses how their role might be seen to be decisive. For Anderson creole in Mexico meant someone of European descent born in the Americas, while in the West African context these creole pioneers were the descendants of freed African American, West Indian, and liberated African slaves who settled in Sierra Leone and Liberia from the 1780s to the 1880s. Anderson's theory would suggest that the creole printmen were critical in shaping popular consciousness of West African nationalism. And indeed the foundations of this political ideology were laid out by a series of prominent early West African newspaper proprietor-editors, Edward Blyden, J. E. Casely Hayford, Herbert Macaulay, and Isaac Theophilus Wallace-Johnson, who were all creole printmen.

What this story narrates, however, is the moment at which and the reasons why their critical vantage point is lost; the point at which the coastal creole intelligentsia's

model of nationalism was superseded. Clinton's story illustrates the significance of this moment precisely because he is a provincial and largely peripheral figure. What this analysis of his newspaper in 1937 shows is an editor's attempt to make sense of this fast-moving cultural and political dynamic being played simultaneously across local and international terrain. The news in 1937 was of the rise of fascism, the politics of appeasement, U.S. race politics, anticolonial economic protest, and provincial political representation. These "stories" were interrelated. How one was reported determined the editorial stance on another. And the reporting of these stories shaped the nationalist project. During this period the transatlantic interconnections between coastal West African journalists and their African American counterparts intensified to bring race and identity into focus as a key interpretative lens on imperialism. Views on race and empire were worked out in relation to events near and far that connected global circuits of print media. The political ground shifted quickly in the lead-up to the Second World War, and at this moment a creole coastal intelligentsia's vision of national politics collides with a Nigerian one. For some this "news" was not just reported, but became their political agenda. For others, like Clinton, this was a moment when momentum was lost, when they were excluded from new networks, and when they became the foil, not the forefront, of nationalist politics.

To focus largely on a single year, 1937, is to disrupt the typical linear narrative of press culture and nationalism. The year 1937 enables us to examine not a progression but proximate, contingent factors. In this respect we avoid both Jameson's synchronic problems of historical analysis (of identifying a uniform period) as well as the diachronic problem of historical construction (as a succession of stages).[8] In terms of nationalism this selective approach enables us to avoid a teleology that would equate the "progressives" of the 1930s to the postwar "political class," since as Peel reminds us, "There was . . . a certain disjunction as well as a linkage between 'nationalism,' *qua* the national anticolonial movement, and the local political tendencies related to it."[9]

To analyze these disjunctions, disconnections, and disarticulations we need to examine the very provinciality of these creole newspapers. The historian of the Lagos-based newspapers Fred Omu wrote that provincial newspapers were of little importance in the political evolution of Nigeria. He argued that they contributed to inculcating the

habit of reading and "general enlightenment" but "did not make any noteworthy contributions to the advancement of political ideas or to the resolution of political controversies."[10] Yet, by focusing on the provincial press, as this case attests, enables us to enhance our understanding of the contingent entanglements of class, capital, and colonialism. This perspective illustrates not only that news media structure relationships between journalists and officials, and between colonial state and society, but that the nature of these relationships produces a set of strategic texts for imagining the nation. Looking at the social history of colonial-era press from this provincial perspective signals the importance of the West African coastal intelligentsia and their intellectual values to the formation of print cultures, but alerts us to the ways in which anticolonial critique shifted contingently and historically.

Creole Pioneers

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As with many West African newspapers published from the 1850s onward, the *Nigerian Eastern Mail*'s origins lay in the wanderings of a cosmopolitan coastal intelligentsia and the professional acumen of a Sierra Leonean diaspora in law and journalism. J. V. Clinton, editor of the *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, was the product of two extraordinary creole families—the Clintons and the M'Carthys. His grandfathers, on his maternal and paternal sides, were friends, and had married sisters, daughters of the one of the most famous figures in Sierra Leoneon history. The interconnection of these families is best illustrated in the society wedding held in St George's Cathedral, Freetown on 16 March 1892. The marriage was of Miss Emma Charlotte Davies, eldest daughter of Surgeon-Major William Broughton Davies[11] to Mr. James Clinton of Axim, Gold Coast. The best man was Hon. James A. M'Carthy, and the bridesmaids included the bride's sister Alice Maud Davies, whom M'Carthy would marry in the same cathedral two years later.

The bridegroom in 1892, Mr. James C. Clinton, was from Sierra Leone but had settled in Axim, Gold Coast, where he had established the mahogany trade and had founded the firm of J. & C. Clinton & Co, which he ran with his brother Charles.[12] Axim was a major port for the export of timber products at this time, and the firm was reported to have traded on as large a scale as any European firm.[13] James invested the profits of

his trade in the education of his son Charles Warner Clinton in the law. C. W. Clinton was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1905 and spent his early career practicing law in Accra and Sekondi.[14] During the 1910s he practiced in southern Nigeria, and from 1919 settled in Calabar, where he would become leader of the Eastern Bar and the Legislative Council member for the city.

Like the Clintons, the M'Carthys also invested their commercial dividends into their children's legal training, and also traversed Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. James A. M'Carthy's father was a wealthy shopkeeper on Wilberforce Street in Freetown and was regarded as "one of the most prominent and active citizens in the country and participated largely in the affairs of the country."[15] James was sent to England, where he won a scholarship at the Inner Temple and was called to the bar in 1879. Fyfe reports that he was shortly afterward married at a fashionable London church to "Lillie" Vivian, daughter of a Hull town councillor, who returned with him to Freetown but who died in 1889.[16] The following year James A. M'Carthy was appointed queen's advocate, the senior Crown law officer at that period and a post that carried with it a seat on the Executive and Legislative Councils. He became the first mayor of Freetown Municipality in 1894, but was sent to the Gold Coast later that year, where he would serve as the solicitor general and at times as the acting attorney general based in Accra.

Hon. J. A. M'Carthy's eldest son, Leslie Ernest Vivian M'Carthy, was born in Freetown in 1885 and was educated at Clapham School, before reading law at Keble College, Oxford. In 1918 L. E. V. M'Carthy was selected as a Sierra Leonean representative to the British West African Conference,[17] and in 1920 became joint secretary for Sierra Leone of Casely Hayford's National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA). He was appointed a Crown counsel in 1928 and was promoted to the position his father had filled, attorney general, in 1933. The circumstances of the promotion reflected changes. In part it was to shore up political relations at a moment in the early 1930s when Africans, who had been perceived as important partners in the spread of mission education and colonial administration, were being relegated to more junior positions.[18]

James M'Carthy also had a daughter from his first marriage, Muriel Eunice, and in 1901 she married James Clinton's son, Charles Warner, in Sekondi, Gold Coast. The

following year Charles and Muriel had a son, James Vivian, who was born in Axim. J. V. Clinton was educated at Taunton School and Downing College, Cambridge. He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1924. Originally intending to qualify for a government surveyor's license, he subsequently entered the family profession and established his own legal practice in Port Harcourt, Nigeria, where in 1927 an undiagnosed illness robbed him of his hearing. Despite five years of treatment in England and on the continent, he became completely deaf, and though he lip-read well, his career in law was cut short and he turned to journalism. J. V. Clinton worked on the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* from December 1932 to April 1935, then left for Nigeria, where he edited the *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, which was owned by his father, from August 1935 to October 1951.[19]

These biographies serve to confirm the image of successful creole families and their careers straddling commerce, law, administration, and journalism along the West African coast during the early twentieth century. Their cosmopolitan circuits also produced an intellectual tradition, a political stand on issues of race, empire, and nation. Clinton's family history was intimately tied to a progressive, Pan-African intellectual tradition. By 1937, however, this established, transnational elite's grip on these positions and traditions began to loosen. As Zachernuck has outlined in his analysis of the Nigerian elite under colonial rule:

> The intelligentsia of the interwar years had shifted their centre of gravity from the Atlantic toward the Nigerian interior. . . . The lines of division among the elite became increasingly complex, shaped by personality, political choices, and ethnicity.[20]

By focusing on Clinton's editorial record in 1937 we may begin to identify these lines of personality, politics, and identity in their historical complexity.

The Politics of Improvement

Clinton's editorial stance in the *Nigerian Eastern Mail*—the self-styled "voice of the East"—set a progressive and patriotic public tone. It was practical, conservative, and reformist and reflected its editors' concern with the "politics of improvement" that was strongly inflected with the intellectual tradition suggested by his family's biography. In his preface to a collection of speeches by Casely Hayford published in 1949, L. E. V.

M'Carthy summed up the National Congress's approach to reform in education, local government, and social welfare as "constructive and practical" while not always advancing as rapidly to suit all tastes.[21] His nephew, J. V. Clinton, positioned himself firmly within this tradition. The pillars of this philosophy stretched back via Casely Hayford to Blyden. African development in this framing rested with "cultured" West Africans familiar with local politics. It was elite-driven, concerned with maintaining good relations with Britain and was based on a regional loyalty rather than an ethnic notion of West African nationality.

At the heart of this reformist agenda was agitation for elective representation. Lord Hailey's observations of West African nationalism in 1937 confirmed the point. The local political class, he wrote, "has not proceeded beyond the ideals of early Victorian radicalism; its ambition is a larger representation in the legislature, and a greater share in government employ; it seems to make little appeal to the uneducated or rural element."[22] The political tradition of the creole coastal intelligentsia to whom Clinton was related therefore sought reforms of the colonial system rather than its overthrow, and was premised on an ethos of self-improvement, not self-determination.

The progressive reputation of the *Mail* and its editor was a widely acknowledged. In the second-anniversary issue of 28 August 1937 the U.S.-trained politician and founder of the Nigerian Youth Movement, Eyo Ita, wrote:

> The Nigerian Eastern Mail stands for a deep principle. It has been animated by the "Service of the People." . . . It serves alike the European and the African. Its news and messages are for all-Ibo, Yoruba, Efik, Ibibio, Hausa, British, French, Spaniard, all! But best of all it seeks to raise in the heart of the African negro people a racial and national self-respect. By teaching and by examples it has sought diligently to point the way and pave the way for the race up-climbing and national self-respect. Think of the supreme and practical interest which it has taken in our economic and political problems, in our great educational enterprise, the National Institute Project, in our League Movement and the Women's Congress, in the National Congress and in other matters which affect the entire West Africa and its aspiration to nationhood. The Eastern Mail has done well in the very difficult art of achieving an identity and yet remaining quite cosmopolitan. It is not easy to stand for something and still be friendly to all.[23]

Just as it was lauded by key political figures like Ita, the *Mail*'s conservative but independent editorial stance was also highly regarded in colonial circles. The resident of Calabar Province commented, for instance, that it was "remarkable for its tone of moderation and intelligent criticism.[24] Yet Ita's observations were both precise and

prescient—it was not easy to retain an identity and keep one's friends. Clinton and the *Mail* sought to bridge local and cosmopolitan identities, but in so doing its political position was precarious.

The paper was produced by and for an educated literate class—self-defined as the "reading public," and in common with Nigerian newspapers of this interwar period the *Mail*'s identity was inextricably linked to the concerns of these "progressive" products of the mission schools. These were the "A-Lights" (a play on "elites") of their generation—the lawyers, teachers, educated merchants, clerks of the expanding colonial and mercantile bureaucracy. Most were also members of the local associations that had grown up in the expanding towns and cities—these were the so-called improvement or patriotic unions. The relationship between the *Nigerian Eastern Mail* and the various improvement unions like the Ibibio Union and the Calabar Youth League Movement in Calabar Province was close. Local agents, press representatives upon whom the papers were heavily dependent both to collect news and to sell copies, were leading members of the Ibibio Union. S. E. Hezekiah was the *Mail*'s representative in Uyo and then Port Harcourt before taking up an appointment with the Ibibio Union's National Secretariat as a field secretary.[25] News about improvement unions dominated the pages of the mail. Letter writers bemoaned the fact that there were too many. Accounts of their meetings were published routinely along with news of send-offs and marriages of union members.

During the interwar years these unions and newspapers like the *Nigerian Eastern Mail* cultivated a "civic" ethos, tempering critique of the colonial state with constructive engagement in a "politics of petitioning."[26] Editorials and columns set out criticisms of chiefs abusing their privileges, of European companies making profits at the expense of local producers, and of traditional customs, brideprice for instance, which young men struggled to raise in order to marry. Yet within the same edition the pages of the *Mail* were also brimming with the civic engagement typical of the 1930s politics of improvement. Each year, for instance, Clinton went on tour around the province to report on progress and to review developments. His journalists also toured their respective districts, where they inspected institutions and facilities—canteen cleanliness, the size of staff accommodation, the availability of police services, and the inconvenience of ferry services—in each instance calling on district officers to intervene. In the context of an

initiative to clear "slum markets" in Calabar in October 1937, Clinton's editorial neatly captures this ethos of social progress premised on cooperation and loyalty:

> We must especially congratulate His Honour the Resident on the willing ear he has always lent to the voice of responsible public opinion as expressed through the press and through representative bodies such as the Calabar Youth League Movement. We look forward to a new era of social progress in which the public will cooperate loyally and intelligently with the authorities, and the authorities with a true democratic spirit, will lend a willing and considerate ear to the views and aspirations of the people.[27]

Clinton's conception of these popular aspirations focused on education projects. Fund-raising subscriptions for schools was a prominent feature of society life in Calabar and appeared prominently in the pages of the *Mail*. In January 1937, for instance, the paper reported on a football match held for the West African Students Union Day Celebration and the donation of over £6 for WASU's African Hostel in London. Inspired by the fund-raising success of a public subscription for the coronation celebrations for King George VI in May, Clinton also sought to apply this "lesson" to more local plans for the Calabar National School. In July he took the "practical" ethos further and reported that "the editor and the entire staff of the Nigerian Eastern Mail put down their pens and helped clear the site for the Calabar National Institute."[28] In these endeavors he was warmly spurred on by his readers. In "Our Mail bag" letters arrived encouraging Clinton's mass education initiatives and commended him: "You have a destiny and an important part to play in the fight against superstition and ignorance."[29]

In terms of educational developments newspapers like the *Mail* mapped the "rising aspirations of the educated west African 'scholar,' their clubs and societies and the 'para-colonial networks' they formed."[30] The Opobo Literary Society, for instance, celebrated its fifth anniversary in 1937 and was seeking affiliation with the "Great Thoughts Literary Circle in London." These self-styled "ambitious youths" reviewed a year of debates, speeches, and "general reading." Their lectures had been on diverse topics including religion, bribery, civic pride, and African marriage, and a debate had been held titled "Africans are not yet fit for self-government."[31]

Clinton's nationalism and his own views on the self-government debates of the time were inherited from his coastal creole family, and inflected by a Pan-African "progressive" politics. In the anniversary edition of 28 August 1937 Clinton's comments

highlight a deep ambivalence toward the political trends that were engulfing him in that moment: “The words national and nationalism assault the ear on all sides. These are words that we hold in some fear and suspicion, yet we note with joy and gladness the very evident spirit of social cohesion and community mindedness that is moving through the land.”[32] While he persists with his progressive civic-minded politics—it is evident that the very class of educated scholars that Clinton sought to promote was now beginning to contest the political space he occupied.

Whereas Ayandele presents the coastal creole elite as “victims” of their acculturation caught “betwixt and between” the European and African worlds,[33] Zachernuk casts this intelligentsia’s medial position as caught in a malaise of the 1930s, when it was hard to maintain the initiative. Their position was not easy to hold, he argues, since increasing access to education brought an indigenous elite to assume the legacy of a largely foreign one: “If they were victims in the sense of being colonial subjects, they were also part of an established colonial middle class with vested interests to defend. . . . they were actively building their own world, struggling to meet their needs in a location surrounded by diverse African societies and awash in Atlantic currents.”[34] The events of 1937 would being these currents into focus.

1937

The *Nigerian Eastern Mail* celebrated its second anniversary in 1937, and the scale of its business belied its provincial profile. The *Mail* claimed to have the largest circulation for any weekly paper in Nigeria; the paper claimed that its “estimated reader circulation” was over fifteen thousand (based on a print run of 3,150).[35] At the end of January a new press with brass rather than iron rollers was installed and page size increased. “Even though the increase in size of sheet has added over 50 per cent column space to the Nigerian Eastern Mail,” Clinton noted, “we still find a superfluity of documents on our hands and still gravely deliberate on what to print and what to leave out.[36] More than one hundred agents distributed the paper across the region. In the 27 February edition Clinton reported, “Owing to pressure of space we are no longer able to publish regularly the list of towns and villages in which our agents sell the Nigerian Eastern Mail.”[37]

Circulation was up, distribution was expanding, copy was flowing in, and

advertising revenue, reflecting a revitalized local economy, was healthy. The front page of each issue contained the usual shipping news, listing arriving and departing first-class passengers, and the all-important palm produce prices—oil on its way to English soap factories and kernels for margarine. Market prices overall were improving in 1936–37, but the returns to farmers were not, a discrepancy blamed on the "combine," the price-fixing monopoly of British trading firms who were allocated 60 percent of the available capacity on Elder Dempster ships. Clinton's editorials chastised the monopoly, while an undercurrent of discontent brewed in the letters pages about the source of the *Mail*'s advertising revenue. Adverts for the United Africa Company in the combine, for example, appeared alongside those for firms from Liverpool like Herschell & Co., who announced that they supplied all classes of goods direct to traders and individuals all over West Africa and were, in capital letters—"IN NO COMBINE."

The international news throughout 1937 focused on the rise of fascism and on the events of interrelated global conflicts: the Spanish Civil War, the Abyssinian war, and the Sino-Japanese War. In Ethiopia during February there were fatal reprisals for an attempted assassination of the Italian viceroy. In Spain Guernica was bombed in April, and by August Japan had occupied Beijing. The conflicts would be fused in November when Italy joined the Nazi-led Anti-Comintern Pact that had been established between Germany and Japan the previous year. The headline of the *Mail*'s 2 January edition captured the insecurities wrought by these global developments. The "Word from the Father of Indirect Rule" reproduced Lord Lugard's speech on "Colonial Problems" made at the Royal Empire Society in London, which was copied or "culled" from the *Gold Coast Independent*. Referring to Germany's demand to reacquire control of former colonies, Lugard sought to reassure readers in the colonies: "To hand over on demand, as though they were slaves or cattle, peoples to whom we have pledged our protection, is neither consistent with our national honour nor, in the long run would such a surrender make for peace."[38]

Writing from the perspective of the United States, Von Eschen has shown that the global dynamics generated by the Second World War brought a common history of all peoples of African descent to the forefront of black American politics. From the watershed of the Italian invasion in 1935, she argued that "African American political

discourse was keenly informed by and deeply responsive to events in Africa . . . and throughout the colonized world."[39] As a result, a cast of activists, journalists, and editors clustered in black American newspapers—the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Crisis*, and the *New York Amsterdam News*—formed a dense nexus, with journalists and publishers from London to Lagos and Johannesburg marshalling the resources of important middle-class and entrepreneurial institutions to create an international anticolonial discourse. Print journalism therefore provided the vehicle for the creation of this imagined diaspora and unified intellectuals, activists, and agendas across the globe. And while the U.S. black press began to see racial politics through anticolonial eyes, the reverse was also true, and the West African press saw its anticolonial politics through more explicitly racial lenses.

During 1937 the tensions concerning race and empire increased as the restoration of German colonies appeared to become a very real alternative to appeasement. With the former German colony of Cameroon as an immediate neighbor, and the Spanish island of Fernando Po just off the coast, the geopolitical implications for observers in Calabar were acutely felt:

> For ourselves we have not the least doubt that the natives of British mandated territories would regard the return of their German masters as nothing less than unmitigated tragedy. The German Colonials (in South Africa, East Africa and elsewhere) are quite frank in their opinion that the Black Man is a lower order of creation and that any attempts at racial equality are not to be tolerated.[40]

Indeed, the international news of military assaults became fused with important discourses of race and antifascism. Clinton wrote of a fear that Germany would draw a color line across West Africa, rendering a complete separation of black and white peoples:

> When German pilots . . . can bomb defenceless Spanish towns . . . the variety of non-intervention that satisfies the British and French Governments is a source of wonder and indignant astonishment. . . . If Franco wins, . . . we may have Hitler as our next door neighbour in Fernando Po, and more Africans will be victims of the Fascist ideas of the subject races' place in the scheme of things.[41]

By October fears circulated that Britain and France would accept Italian sovereignty of Abyssinia in return for Italy withdrawing "volunteers" from Spain, and in December Hitler had told a party of foreign journalists in Nuremberg that "Europe will never be

able to settle down and have peace until the former German colonies in Africa now under British and French control are returned to Germany."[42] "Colonial appeasement," as it was termed, was indeed discussed extensively by Chamberlain's government, though it was never approved either as direct cession or as a revision of League of Nation mandates. Opposition from African populations was significant in the debates, which questioned Hitler's assertion of a "moral right" to repartition, though it was his apparently overblown claims of raw material starvation that decided the matter, since oil, iron, and coal were not found in great quantities in the former German territories.[43] What was seen in London as Germany's economic and political expansion was seen in Calabar in predominantly racial terms.

Clinton's main concern, nevertheless, was to hold the European powers to the promises set out by Lugard, and to provide the protection given Calabar's precarious provincial setting. His tone was of pleading and resignation. In a December editorial he wrote of Germany's colonial demands, "Bad as are the signs of the times we can only persevere in the hope that Britain and France will resist the temptation to commit this last treachery."[44] But black nationalists elsewhere were not so resigned and had viewed the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia on a broader scale entirely, and as a major watershed in a race war of European colonial expansion.[45] There was tension then between interpretations of the Ethiopian conflict, between antifascist and anticolonial views and those who perceived the fascist attack in primarily racial rather than geopolitical terms. The international reporting on the rise of fascism and on U.S. racial politics is elided, and as Von Eschen notes, the architects of the African nationalist diaspora would successfully "bridge and transform these two world views by arguing that anticolonialism and antiracism were necessary pre-conditions for democracy everywhere."[46]

This bridging and the deft slippage of political and geographical registers—from the provincial to the international, and from the antifascist to the anticolonial—was never quite achieved in the pages of the *Mail*. Clinton's editorial voice on the anticolonial continued to echo the familiar logic of paternal protection of Lugard's speech. And while his editorials against German racism were explicit, his stance toward questions of race itself was curiously more muted. In his reporting on race in the *Nigerian Eastern Mail* of 1937 it is striking to note a series of articles and reports "culled" from the *Chicago*

Defender and the *Afro-American* that report on extraordinary incidents of skin color transformation. In the 23 January issue of the *Mail* a headline appeared that "Lew Leslie wants his actors black." The American vaudeville producer Lew Leslie had brought his "Blackbirds" dance troupe on tour to London during 1936, and it was reported that the showman claimed that the artists he brought from America had changed several shades lighter after being in London for a few months: "But Leslie wants them good and coloured. When his performers start bleaching out or making up lighter they are inclined to forsake their 'native' style in entertainment also and model themselves on white stars, he declared."[47]

The February issues of the paper also recounted sensational stories of skin color transformations from across the Atlantic. On 13 February 1937 under the headline "It's an Act of God" the strange case of William Pickens White was culled from the *Afro-American*. Having woken up to discover that his skin had turned white, he was reported as saying, "Now that I'm white I'd rather stay that way." The report continued that some of his "white inquisitors have suggested that he pass as white and enjoy the privilege of the white man."[48] Two weeks later, the 27 February 1937 issue contained a similar headline: "Pastor Once Negro turns White." While holding a revival the reverend minister A. H. Madison from Whitesberg, Kentucky, claimed that this "freak of nature" was due to his "fervent prayers asking God to make him white so he could preach to members of the race and the Whites also."[49] And in May the case of Pauline Cockburn, wife of a Harlem real estate dealer, was reported in which her eviction from an exclusive white housing estate was heard at the New York State Supreme Court, a case for which the anthropologist Franz Boas, teaching at Columbia University, provided a technical definition of a "negro." She was so light skinned, it was reported, that for three years she had attracted no attention.[50]

These stories were culled from the U.S. press and reprinted for the readers of provincial Calabar without commentary or interpretation. Perhaps they should be read simply as part of the reporting on U.S. race politics that they appear alongside: accounts of discrimination and lynchings in Mississippi, and of pen-profiles celebrating "heroes of the race" such as Booker T. Washington and accounts of Paul Robeson's latest movies. But perhaps Clinton's own silence on these stories, in that they were "culled" without

making capital from them, should also be read in relation to Clinton's own creole identity and to the ambivalence he expressed toward the ways in which race and antifascism were being articulated with a more radical domestic political agenda of anticolonialism.

It is telling to note that the articles in the *Mail* that most directly address the racial dimensions of the expanding global conflict were not in Clinton's own words then, but in his reprinting of speeches by famous international commentators. In reproducing speeches by Nehru and Langston Hughes, for instance, Clinton was able to connect, to "articulate" in Newell's terms, to supplement local perspectives from those from further afield. Much of this news came from the *Chicago Defender*, which had become the most influential black weekly newspaper in the United States by the beginning of the First World War, and from the left-leaning *Daily Herald*, which had the largest international daily circulation of any newspaper in the 1930s.[51] But while editorial "culling" from across the Atlantic enabled some editors to "ventriloquise challenges to existing hierarchies,"[52] this was not the case for Clinton.

Various speeches concerning the Ethiopian crisis were reprinted from other publications in the *Mail*. The speech "Too Much of Race" by the poet Langston Hughes was reprinted in a special exclusive:

> I come from a land whose democracy from the very beginning has been tainted with race prejudice born of slavery . . . we see in the tragedy of Spain how far the world oppressors will go to retain their power. Those who have already practised bombing the little villages of Ethiopia now bomb Guernica and Madrid. The same Fascist beasts who forced Italian peasants to fight in Africa now force African moors to fight in Europe. They do not care about colour when they can use you for profits or for war.[53]

Hughes's internationalist poetry, as Dawahare observes, aimed to transcend the categories of "race" and "nation" in order to overcome the fragmentation of global working-class struggles.[54] "Race means nothing when it can be turned to Fascist use," Hughes concluded. While the editor and the poet shared an abhorrence of fascist intervention in Ethiopia, Hughes's championing of authentic African aesthetics and working-class interests sits uneasily with Clinton's own political tradition. The act of "culling," or "ventriloquism," was effective where the editor's perspectives were delivered by proxy, but the clippings from radical figures like Hughes in the *Mail* did not convey Clinton's voice and did not reflect his own identity and historical experience.

There is an absence of comment articulating or bridging between these debates over appeasement, class, race, imperialism, and democracy in the *Mail*. For Clinton these debates are focused through his provincial and progressive editorial stance—his hopes for "social cohesion and community mindedness," not nationalism, his fears of a West African color bar, and his pleadings to the imperial powers to protect African peoples. The Ethiopian crisis could not form part of a class-based or anti-imperial political platform for him. Clinton's perspective seems not only provincial but increasingly peripheral to the emergence of an Afro-American public sphere. And to cite Hughes is indicative and especially incongruous in the context of emerging rivalries since Hughes shared a "pan-African brotherhood"[55] with Nnamdi Azikiwe.

The Repute of a Rural Paper

In January 1937 Nnamdi Azikiwe had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment as a result of the famous Gold Coast sedition trial with I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson. It is not clear whether the connection ever spurred their personal rivalry, but as acting attorney general, Clinton's uncle, L. E. V. M'Carthy, had initially led the prosecution team in the sedition case.[56] By October "Professor" Azikiwe was traveling widely in Nigeria and in Kano gave a five-hour lecture to a four-thousand-strong audience on the subject of the "Crucifixion of Ethiopia." The message that European aggression on the African continent was the result of imperialist ambitions was being popularized across Nigeria in person and in print. Azikiwe's *Renascent Africa*, published that year and distributed free with subscriptions at the launch of the *West African Pilot*, spoke openly about the "grip of imperialism," again bridging the international and the nationalist anticolonial agendas. The 8 January 1938 edition of the *Mail* reported that Zik's *Pilot* was selling well and that there were very few copies left for the provinces.

In his history of the Nigerian press Omu observed that "by the mid-1930s no newspaper existed to crystallize and canalise the growing nationalist influences of the inter-war years."[57] The *West African Pilot*, launched in November 1937, became the central outlet of a nationalist consciousness that had been awaiting this stimulus. The *Pilot*, like the *African Morning Post* Azikiwe had edited in the Gold Coast, set out to address a mass audience with simple, hard-hitting, and often scurrilous language,

designed to be read aloud by literates to illiterates. Circulation was the key to its financial as well as political success, and while the *Mail*'s circulation had increased to 3,150 in 1937, the *Pilot*'s initial circulation was 9,200.[58] Historically, then, this moment also represented a vital stage in the transformation of elite nationalism from an agenda of political representation into a political movement.[59]

Within a few months, questions over the *Mail*'s political credentials began to appear in the *Pilot*. It was not the war or race, however, that would be pivotal as the register of political discourse shifted. It was the economy, and specifically the imperial grip on price controls. Criticism focused on the fact that Clinton and the *Mail* accepted advertising revenue from "combine" firms at a time when these firms were withholding better producer prices even though wholesale prices were soaring.[60] A reader wrote in to say that one of the *Mail*'s own correspondents was quoted in the *Pilot* as having said, "If the Mail were to champion the people's cause [on the combine question] and oppose the United Africa Company they might loose [*sic*] their advertisements."[61] Clinton was clearly taken aback by this development. He had been writing against the combine in his editorials throughout 1937, but the accusation of complicity by taking advertising money from UAC struck at the heart of Clinton's progressive position. He was incredulous in his editorial, and wrote: "We cannot seriously suppose that an editor of Zik's calibre would deliberately stoop to such a stunt in an attempt to advertise his own paper and damage the repute of a rural paper."[62]

In this moment Clinton's political legitimacy ebbs. He is increasingly disconnected from the African American public sphere and out of touch with local public opinion. Commentators had warned him of this trend. "Once or twice," Asuquo Nyong, a teacher at Duke Town School and general secretary of the Calabar Youth League Movement, wrote in August, "conclusions have been reached and comments made which were not the result of mature consideration of all issues involved, with the result that there was a deadly clash with public opinion. My advice is that the Editor should not rush his views to print, particularly in vital matters affecting the welfare of the masses, before he has the opportunity of understanding the feelings and views of the people."[63] Working within the enclave of the educated elite "reading public," Clinton was not adept at gleaning the opinions of this "new" public, conceived as mass and popular.

Not only were his views out of touch with populist sentiment, but emerging identity politics in Calabar also shifted the basis of his political legitimacy. The progressive unions that had been so closely aligned to the "improvement politics" Clinton championed were beginning to be accused of fomenting interethnic tension.[64] The particular target for agitation among the progressive union membership in Calabar was the domination of access to political positions by the Atlantic intelligentsia, and in this case the Clintons. A decade earlier, in 1928, J. V. Clinton's father, C. W. Clinton, was returned unopposed as Calabar's representative to the Legislative Council (though two Efik barristers also had their names in the election list). The question of whether he should continue to represent Calabar came to a head in May 1938. Clinton's editorial of 7 May, "Last Week's Election Meeting in Calabar," bemoaned an emerging sentiment of 'tribal' prejudice around the Legislative Council seat, especially with slogans of "No Foreign Representative for Calabar." Almost imperceptibly the Clintons, pillars of local Calabar society, had become "outsiders." It was at this moment, then, that "concern with racial—and even West African—uplift became specifically Nigerian."[65] And of course Nigerian was precisely what Clinton could not claim to be.

Within a few years it became impossible for the creole elite to stand for political office in Calabar Province. In March 1944 the nomination of Gage O'Dwyer, as the representative of Ibibio Division to the Legislative Council, was met with stinging opposition on the grounds that he was a Sierra Leonean and as such was "ignorant of the life and thought of the Ibibio people."[66] Despite these developments Clinton's own political ambitions were far-reaching and undiminished. He launched his political manifesto for the People's Party of South-Eastern Nigeria just a few months later.[67] It was a radical agenda and included proposals to abolish chiefs, codify customary law, fund mass education, encourage stronger consumer cooperative societies, establish women's representative bodies, and defend freedom of speech. A month after its launch, however, Clinton reported that nobody had signed up for his party. He did not recruit a single member, "nobody but ourselves."[68] In cosmopolitan Lagos it mattered less that political careers were launched by newspaper owners who were Sierra Leonean descendants. In the provinces it had begun to matter a great deal.

By 1944 the scope of debates concerning political representation had moved on,

and the identity of Legislative Council members was quickly supplanted by questions over an agenda focused on Nigeria's future. The former National Congress agenda of legislative representation that had remained contentious through the 1930s was rejected as political demands leaped ahead on the road to self-government.[69] The Nigerian Youth Movement's political charter, adopted in 1937, was for "complete autonomy,"[70] an agenda championed and defended by its political successor, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). Azikiwe's comments on the initial stages of this debate are illustrative of how his relationship with Clinton had developed since 1937:

> In the early years of the N.C.N.C., Mr J. V. Clinton, O.B.E., then Editor of the now defunct Nigerian Eastern Mail, used to gun for nationalists who demanded self-government. He claimed that Nigeria was too backward either to appreciate it or to be worthy of this political honour.[71]

Matters came to a head in light of the stand for self-government adopted by the West African Students Union in London. As a result, Reginald Sorensen, MP, advocated that Britain should indicate a time limit of ten to fifteen years to enable British West Africa to be self-governing. Zik reported that Sorensen's plea was played down by the British press and suppressed by the Public Relations Department of Nigeria. It was left, he argued, to the *West African Pilot* and the *Daily Service* to publicize and support Sorensen's statement, and local reaction, he said, was "electrifying." A public debate was held in Calabar, chaired by C. W. Clinton, the *Mail*'s proprietor and J. V. Clinton's father. Those proposing self-government, Dr. Ma Majekodunmi and Mr. Asuquo Nyong, won the debate by acclamation. Zik would later write, "This did not satisfy Mr J.V. Clinton, who did not hesitate to use the columns of his newspaper to mis-educate and confuse the public on this issue. There was widespread opposition to the effort of his press to stultify the aspirations of Nigerians and subsequently his newspaper became defunct."[72]

The basis of political legitimacy had changed. Education was now privileged above wealth, family background, or affiliation with the 'civilizing mission', and membership of the intelligentsia was increasingly Nigerian as opposed to "native foreigner."[73] Most important of all, perhaps, was that the content of the political agenda had shifted. Clinton's brand of pan–West Africanism, like the National Congress his uncle helped found, had proved to have only a temporary currency as Africans were forced "to turn inwards"[74] to narrower, ethnic definitions of nationality during the

Depression. And in the unfolding political rivalries beyond the editorials and headlines, personality counted and the contrasts were stark. Clinton was educated at Cambridge, Zik at Howard; Clinton lip-read and was conservative, Zik was charismatic and addressed crowds of thousands; Zik had been imprisoned for sedition, Clinton was awarded the Order of the British Empire for "services to the field of journalism" in 1949.

Conclusion

The year 1937 was an important watershed. It marked divergent and complex trajectories among a transatlantic diaspora in which a shared racial discourse became embedded in print culture because of both events in the United States and the territorial expansions of Germany, Italy, and Japan. The interconnections between coastal West African journalists and their African American counterparts were significant, but not so simple that race politics in the United States was cast in an anticolonial light in Africa while African anticolonialism was framed in a racial light. These new political dynamics were modulated through existing editorial frameworks, and Clinton's *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, remaining steadfast in its progressive heritage, retained a discourse of loyalty to the Crown. Clinton's curious silence on the U.S. press, his defensiveness in relation to the combine, and his trust in the British protection meant he was unable to make political capital from the rapidly unfolding trends of 1937.

What had been lauded as an editorial stance that appealed to Africans and Europeans alike became hard to balance during 1937, losing momentum in the more radical, racialized discourse that was inflected in anticolonial protest. The *Mail* reflected but did not project this trend. Its pages document the shifting coordinates of this network, and the changing tone of this discourse. But Clinton could not direct it. As a creole pioneer, Clinton played a role pivotal in imagining the self-governing nation of Nigeria—not because it was his vision, but precisely because it was not. Clinton's position had become a foil to the nationalists. The new nationalist project was played out simultaneously across different terrains—anticolonialism was about the combine's control of palm oil prices in Calabar Province, just as much as it was about imperial designs across the continent in Ethiopia as well as racial discrimination across the Atlantic in the United States. Clinton's attempts to internationalize and articulate with

these debates was constrained by his own politics of loyalism and progress, and by his own identity.

Indeed, when the government faced increasingly robust populist attacks from the overtly nationalist "Zik Press" during the Second World War itself, it had even more reason to welcome Clinton's conservative editorial policy. The resident wrote:

> The comparatively healthy tone of public opinion in the Province is due in no small degree to the influence of Mr JV Clinton, Editor of the "Nigerian Eastern Mail." In refusing to be coerced into the parrot-like repetition of empty slogans, and in attempting always balanced, reasoned and progressive comment on matters of public interest, Mr Clinton has continued to render most valuable public service.[75]

Just after the war an unofficial survey was conducted among the reading public of the southeast that showed that the government papers, the *Gazette* and the *Nigeria Review*, were popular among civil servants and because of their coverage of Nigerian troops serving overseas. Among the newspaper-reading public, 15 percent took the *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, and did so for the accuracy of its reporting and the balance of its views expressed in Clinton's editorials. But significantly, almost 30 percent of the sample read Nnamdi Azikiwe's *Nigerian Eastern Guardian*, readers for whom the charismatic editor's syndicated column "Inside Stuff" was a particular attraction. In 1949 Azikiwe's publishing enterprise sought to launch a direct competitor to Clinton's provincial paper.[76]

The eclectically plural nationalisms that appeared in the Nigerian press had consequences and casualties. Room for maneuver for intermediary figures like Clinton could run out, and having entered into a consortium to move the *Nigerian Eastern Mail* to the regional hub of Enugu and increase circulation in 1951, Clinton watched the paper fold.[77] After several government positions through the 1950s and early 1960s (including in the Ministry of Information) Clinton fell back upon his writing, specifically fiction writing. He was engaged in a correspondence college course and sought to place with popular magazines short story manuscripts deriving from his exercises. Indeed, in his later years Clinton wrote for many women's magazines, sometimes using a woman's pseudonym in an effort to make a living during what appeared to have been increasingly hard times. In 1971 he published *The Rescue of Charlie Kalu* with the Heinemann Secondary Readers series for schoolchildren.[78]

Models of local and global articulation and networks are clearly significant to this

story; as Lester illustrates, “Colonial and metropolitan sites articulated materially, but also discursively … and produced the communicative circuits of empire.”[79] But it is equally important to recall the disarticulations and dislocations that these dynamics generated. Each different site within these imperial networks had “its own possibilities and conditions of knowledge.”[80] Widening local participation in politics and economic tensions created by the Depression combined to nudge the coastal intelligentsia, the creole elite, out of their dominant position in provincial centers like Calabar along the West African coast. And in this context the intellectual histories of those provincial printmen meant that sometimes the very people able to bridge coastal cultures were not able to bridge transcontinental ones.

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Notes

1. My thanks to Stephanie Newell for her encouragement with this research, and to Andrea Grant for her archival research assistance in 2011.

2. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983), 65.
3. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 47.
4. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 58.
5. Partha Chatterjee, "Whose Imagined Community?," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20, no. 3 (1991): 521–25.
6. Stephanie Newell, "Articulating Empire: Newspaper Readerships in Colonial West Africa," *New Formations* 73 (2011): 26–42.
7. Newell, "Articulating Empire," 26.
8. Fredric Jameson, "Periodizing the 60s," *Social Text* 9–10 (1984): 178–209.
9. J. D. Y. Peel, *Ijeshas and Nigerians: The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom, 1880s-1970s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 179.
10. F. I. A. Omu, *Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880–1937* (London: Longman, 1978), 27.
11. William Broughton Davies was selected, along with James Africanus Beale Horton and Samuel Campbell, to train as a doctor in London and Edinburgh before taking up a commission in the army; see Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 294.
12. *Gold Coast Nation*, 19 December 1912.
13. *Gold Coast Leader*, 16 November 1918.
14. Lincoln's Inn, *Black Books*, V, 1905: 434.
15. *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 25 June 1910. See also Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 451, 469, 493.
16. Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 424. He remarried, to Alice Maud Davies, in 1894.
17. *Lagos Weekly Record*, 15 and 22 June 1918.
18. Stanley Shaloff, "The Africanization Controversy in the Gold Coast, 1926–1946," *African Studies Review* 17, no. 3 (1974): 493–504. M'Carthy went on to write the laws of the Gold Coast and was knighted in 1949.
19. The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* was established by Reverend Joseph May with assistance from Joseph Blyden in 1884.
20. Philip S. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 94.
21. Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford, *West African Leadership . . . Public Speeches Delivered by the*

Honourable J. E. Casely Hayford, Etc. (Ilfracombe: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1951).

22. Lord Hailey, "Nationalism in Africa," *Journal of the African Society* 36 (1937): 140–41.
23. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 28 August 1937.
24. MSS Afr. S. 1505.1, Annual Report, Calabar Province (1946).
25. During 1948–49 the newspaper had a regular "Ibibio Union" column.
26. Mac Dixon-Fyle, "The Saro in the Political Life of Early Port Harcourt, 1913–49," *Journal of African History* 30, no. 1 (1989): 127.
27. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 2 October 1937.
28. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 3 July 1937.
29. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 19 January 1937.
30. Stephanie Newell, "'Paracolonial' Networks: Some Speculations on Local Readerships in Colonial West Africa," *Interventions: International Journal of Post-colonial studies* 3, no. 3 (2001): 336–54.
31. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 6 February 1937.
32. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 28 August 1937.
33. Emmanuel A. Ayandele, *The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1974).
34. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*, 71.
35. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 16 January 1937.
36. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 30 January 1937.
37. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 27 February 1937.
38. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 2 January 1937.
39. Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 8.
40. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 5 June 1937.
41. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 19 June 1937.
42. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 4 December 1937.
43. Andrew D. Stedman, *Alternatives to Appeasement: Neville Chamberlain and Hitler's Germany* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011), 72–73.
44. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 4 December 1937.
45. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 11.
46. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 11.
47. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 23 January 1937.

48. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 13 February 1937. Pickens White suffered from vitiligo, a skin-depigmentation condition.
49. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 27 February 1937.
50. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 1 May 1937.
51. One source of these reports was a new mail order service established during 1937 by Nyomibidi Bros and Co., importers of newspapers, periodicals, magazines, books, and stationery.
52. Newell, "Articulating Empire," 35.
53. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 2 October 1937, originally published in *Crisis Magazine*, September 1937.
54. Anthony Dawahare, "Langston Hughes's Radical Poetry and the 'End of Race,'" *MELUS* 23, no. 3 (1998): 21–41.
55. OBIWU, "The Pan-African Brotherhood of Langston Hughes and Nnamdi Azikiwe," *Dialectical Anthropology* 31 (2007): 143–65. Both were alumni of Lincoln, protégés of Alain Locke at Howard, and wrote poetry for and of one another.
56. Stanley Shaloff, "Press Controls and Sedition Proceedings in the Gold Coast, 1933–39," *African Affairs* 71, no. 284 (1972): 241–63.
57. Omu, *Press and Politics*, 68.
58. Omu, *Press and Politics*, 264.
59. John E. Flint, "'Managing Nationalism': The Colonial Office and Nnamdi Azikiwe, 1932–43," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 27, no. 2 (1999): 146.
60. Criticism of the *Mail* had begun in July and coincided with a "mass meeting" of the Calabar Youth League Movement, which protested against the "soaring prices."
61. An article in the 16 April 1938 issue of the *Mail*, "A Libel on the Eastern Mail. Letter from A. Reader from Zaria," recounted a piece in the Owerri news section of the *West African Pilot* of 29 March in which Mr. Abbey, the *Mail*'s own touring correspondent, alleged the *Mail* had been silent on "pool" (combine) issues until the *Pilot* had raised the alarm.
62. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 16 April 1938. The protests about low producer and high wholesale prices was widespread, and in early 1938 the National Youth Movement in Lagos, which Azikiwe had joined on his return to Nigeria, also protested (successfully) against the price-fixing monopoly of the European cocoa pool.

63. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 28 August 1937.
64. In a commentary defending the organizations, Asuquo Nyong captured this tension: "It is in the nature of things that there should be such more or less tribal organisations as the Ibo Tribe Union, Ibibio Welfare Union, Calabar Youth League. . . . The mere existences of these organisations is not necessarily an evidence of tribal prejudice as some people appear to think. It is their modus operandi that will intensify or diminish tribal prejudice" (*Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 30 April 1938).
65. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*, 112. Agitation over nominations for a legislative seat in Lagos during 1941 also split the NYM into factions along ethnic lines (Flint, "Managing Nationalism," 150 n. 25).
66. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 11 March 1944.
67. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 9 December 1944.
68. *Nigerian Eastern Mail*, 23 December 1944.
69. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*, 112.
70. Nnamdi Azikiwe, *The Development of Political Parties in Nigeria: An Address Delivered on June 11th, at Rhodes House, Oxford* (London, 1957).
71. Azikiwe, *Development of Political Parties*, 12. Azikiwe was scornful of a series of political ideas emanating from Calabar. While acknowledging the foundational role of the Nigerian Youth League Movement, he would later recall Eyo Ita's ideas as "partly utopian and partly parochial."
72. Azikiwe, *Development of Political Parties*, 12.
73. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects*, 112.
74. Samuel K. B. Asante, *Pan-African Protest: West Africa and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis, 1934–1941* (London: Longman, 1977), 22.
75. Annual Report, Calabar Province (1947), Rhodes House, Oxford: MSS Afr. S. 1505.2.
76. Nnamdi Azikiwe to The Secretary, Native Authority, Calabar, 8 July 1948, National Archive Calabar: CADIST 3.3.133.
77. As the epilogue to Omu's *Press and Politics* indicates, the early 1950s were a heady time of newspaper buyouts and mergers, including with international print consortia.
78. "Correspondence relating to the publication of Rescue of Charlie Kalu by J.V. Clinton," 1968–1972, University of Reading Archives, Special Collections (HEB

67/02).

79. Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 6.

80. Edward W Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 60.