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# Of Gender, Race, and Class

*The Politics of Prostitution in Lagos, Nigeria, 1923–1954*

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I cannot subscribe to the view that in Nigeria women police between the ages of 40 and 50 will be better able than the existing policemen to prevent prostitution. . . . I cannot visualise them dealing with the screaming and swearing prostitutes, drunken merchants, seamen of all nationalities, pimps, boma boys, touts and the rest of the unsavoury fraternities.

Commissioner of Police W. C. C. King to the  
Chief Secretary to the Government, December 1, 1944<sup>1</sup>

The chief aim of this bye-law [Unlicensed Guide (Prohibition) Ordinance] is to protect foreigners from being molested by Boma boys [juvenile public criminals] or potential prostitutes; but this has been carried too far and people of unquestionable character have been arrested without necessary caution. It is therefore suggested that unless in cases of questionable character and known prostitutes and “Boma boys,” intending arrests should be carefully undertaken.

Nigerian Women’s Party, December 18, 1944<sup>2</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

The first epigraph summarily captures the position of Police Commissioner W. C. C. King on the proposal that government should enroll women in the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), while the second best represents Lagos elite women’s stance on the criminalization of prostitution. The proposal for enlisting women in the NPF, which was first broached by the Lagos Ladies League (later the Lagos Women’s League, or LWL) in a petition to the governor of Nigeria in 1923, was officially rekindled by the Lagos Women’s Party (later the Nigerian Women’s Party, or NWP) in 1944. The women believed that female offenders, especially prostitutes, were safer in the hands of women police as

against the traditional male police, who were accused of exploiting and assaulting them. But more important, they thought that women police could best help in policing the influx of women of “bad” character who polluted the moral atmosphere of Lagos and lured underage girls (mostly females under age thirteen) into “houses of ill fame,” as brothels were colloquially called. The history of women police in Nigeria is therefore closely connected to the history of prostitution.

Lagos’s educated elite women were members of prominent Christian families of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Nigeria. Representative personalities like Charlotte Olajumoke Obasa, Oyinkan Abayomi, and Kofoworola Ademola, among others, received a Western education in disciplines ranging from music, law, and social science, to education, nursing, and journalism, in both Nigeria and the United Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> They broke notable barriers and taboos characteristic of the Victorian and post-Victorian era. For instance, Ademola was the first African woman to attend and receive a degree from the University of Oxford, in 1933.<sup>4</sup> Five years later the Lagos press gave wide publicity to the achievement of Dr. Elizabeth Akerele, “the first full-blooded Nigerian lady” to qualify as a medical doctor and surgeon.<sup>5</sup> Not all the women were born or raised in Nigeria. Henrietta Millicent Douglas, a black woman, journalist, and pan-Africanist from Grenada who relocated to Nigeria in 1939, played a significant role in Lagos sexual politics in the 1940s as the secretary of the Women’s Welfare Council (WWC), the umbrella body of elite women’s associations.<sup>6</sup> Elite Lagos women organized themselves into voluntary associations such as the LWL, the WWC, and the NWP, founded in 1901, 1942, and 1944 respectively. They campaigned vigorously against the British colonialists’ lack of interest in girls’ education.<sup>7</sup> For them education was the pathway to the social and economic advancement of African women.<sup>8</sup> Their agitation paved the way for the establishment of Queen’s College, the first government girls’ secondary (high) school, in 1927.<sup>9</sup> The LWL clamored for the enrollment of women in the colonial service, condemned the practice of giving European women (mostly wives of colonial administrators) jobs that African women could successfully undertake, and demanded equal pay for men and women.<sup>10</sup>

A careful reading of the archives produced by the LWL, the WWC, and the NWP aid interpretation of how social and educational status influenced attitudes toward casual sex work. First, the elite women viewed prostitution as a profession of uneducated, poor, and criminally minded women from the provinces.<sup>11</sup> Although they decried the government’s ineptitude regarding female education and worked to improve women’s literacy by holding informal classes, they thought poverty should not motivate women to practice prostitution. Hence they separated morality from social and economic circum-

stances. Second, they moralized about multiple sexual behaviors, using categories like “immoral,” “unethical,” and “dangerous” to stimulate authorities to criminalize prostitution.<sup>12</sup> Explicitly, Christianity and monogamous marriage, which the elite women practiced, supplied the moral and ethical vocabulary for condemning sexual practices outside holy matrimony.<sup>13</sup>

This article addresses the following major questions: What role did the LWL, the WWC, and the NWP play in the politics of sexual regulation? What was their pattern of political negotiation, and how they did mobilize to achieve their goals? Did the imported Eurocentric notion of female inferiority influence the political alignment of the period? How does the established knowledge of colonialism as a masculine project fit into the contestation between colonial masters and elite women over sexuality? The timeline of this article reaches from 1923, when the LWL petitioned Lagos authorities to prohibit the influx of women and girls of “bad” character into Lagos, to 1954, when women were enrolled into the NPF. My sources come principally from two genres of archives, namely records of elite women’s associations (LWL, NWP, and WWC) and nationalist newspaper coverage of their activities; and official government documents from such institutions as the court, the military, the Colony Welfare Office (CWO), and the NPF.<sup>14</sup> To be sure, historians of Nigeria have yet to use these materials to reconstruct the history of sexuality in the country. I checked the elite women’s sources against the colonialists’ in order to identify convergence and divergence in each group’s politics of the period. The body of this study is divided into four thematic sections. In the proceeding section I situate this article within the literature on gender and the regulation of sexuality. The remaining three sections uncover the social context of casual sex work, the elite women’s campaign for the criminalization of prostitution, and controversy over the rehabilitation of child prostitutes.

#### INTEGRATING SEXUALITY INTO AFRICA’S PAST: THE MISSING LINES

Historians of women and gender in Africa have devoted considerable attention to exploring how a combination of political, economic, and medical factors paved the way for regimes that regulated women’s productive and reproductive capabilities. As seen in the works of Luise White, Nakanyinke Musisi, and Lynette Jackson, among others, the colonialists and their African male collaborators believed that unrestricted movement of women into the cities and other sites of colonial power like the mines and military bases would reduce the rural agricultural population and undermine the productivity of men, whom the colonial state considered the most important group for sus-

taining imperialism.<sup>15</sup> For African men (especially the rural chiefs or senior men) the new economic opportunities that colonialism offered realigned and threatened established gender hierarchies as women, like men, began to acquire resources that increased their power and status. Policing women's bodies through migration and traditional laws was therefore connected to the larger imperial project of maintaining a coercive capitalist culture.

Prostitutes were definitely the most outlawed group of African women in that their profession—while it created significant social and sexual mobility and balance within the male-dominated cities, mines, and military bases—was moralized and ethicized. The moralization of prostitution in the British Empire, as Philippa Levine has shown, was imported from Britain, where women, not men, were criminalized for spreading venereal disease (VD) and promoting public immorality.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the racialized sexuality and security concerns that informed the passing of the notorious contagious disease legislation in Britain and India also influenced the adoption of such legislation in some British African colonies, including Nigeria, in 1943—decades after it was repealed in the metropole. The African version of these laws had a more coercive and wider application than in their metropolitan source.

A major shortcoming in the present literature on sexuality regulation is the dearth of discourse on the involvement of African elite women. The impression one gets is that only men (both colonial masters and Africans) monopolized the debate or worked to tame the productive and reproductive power of women who practiced prostitution. The story of Lagos seems unique because of the presence of a small but highly influential group of Western-educated African women who campaigned against illicit sexuality as part of their larger project of improving the social and economic condition of women and girls. The following historiographical issues make the study of elite women's sexuality politics important for understanding the gendered character of African colonial experience: First (as earlier mentioned), by writing African elite women into the history of prostitution, we can begin to see that it was not only men who launched repressive attacks on African women's sexuality and existence; elite Lagos women were actually at the forefront of this project.<sup>17</sup> Second, sexuality politics in colonial Lagos presents another window for viewing the relationship between social class and the regulation of prostitution. The members of the LWL, the NWP, and the WWC felt that prostitutes, due to their social "aberration," did not qualify for political protection. This notion is currently missing in the historiographies of elite African women, which fail to recognize that nationalists were selective in their mobilization against the colonial state's poor attitude toward female empowerment. The elite women's con-

struction of “badness” for prostitutes fitted into the colonialists’ practice of organizing individuals and groups in accordance with their importance and their perceived threat to established ideals. Last, in terms of comparative gender politics, one could identify and contextualize the difference between elite women’s sexual politics in Nigeria and their sexual politics in Western Europe and North America. While elite women in Europe and North America were divided over the prejudiced implementation of prostitution and VD laws, as seen in the movement against the contagious disease acts in Britain and its empire, elite Lagos women throughout the first half of the twentieth century spoke with one voice.<sup>18</sup>

#### THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF PROSTITUTION IN COLONIAL LAGOS

Lagos became the first part of modern Nigeria to be placed under colonial rule when Britain, in 1861, bombarded it under the pretext of stamping out the infamous trans-Atlantic slave trade.<sup>19</sup> As in most colonial African domains the imposition of colonialism in Lagos created enormous social and economic consequences. The city witnessed radical demographic and structural changes in the areas of ethnic heterogeneity, population, and employment opportunity. Lagos was also a pioneer in all sorts of amenities, ranging from a seaport, electricity, and tarred roads, to pipe-borne water and educational institutions.<sup>20</sup> These amenities attracted a pool of men and women who moved to the city to partake in the new opportunities. Prostitution became the most ubiquitous form of illicit sexuality, as new waves of sexual networking emerged in response to colonial urbanism. The cash economy introduced by the British colonial government facilitated the purchase and consumption of affordable goods and services, including sex. The commoditization of sex seemed inevitable as it guaranteed sexual freedom, financial security, and the social and sexual anonymity that urban men and women sought. It is hard to say in concrete terms when prostitution became a dominant feature of colonial urban Lagos. However, sources including newspaper reports suggest that it became an urban staple from the 1910s.<sup>21</sup> This period coincides with the emergence of Lagos as the capital of colonial Nigeria; the complete “pacification” of the hinterland; and the imposition of the Pax Britannica, which swelled its population.<sup>22</sup>

In Nigeria as elsewhere in colonial Africa prostitutes were stereotyped as the vessels of VD and facilitators of public criminality. So popular was this notion that one singer, Tijani Omoyele, titled his 1932 album *Asewo/Omo jaguda* (Prostitutes/criminals).<sup>23</sup> Prostitution-related activities, such as brothel

keeping, public solicitation, and “living on immoral earnings,” were illegal, at least from the 1940s. However, public brothels of varying sizes dotted both the mainland and the island. Most of these brothels had beer parlors and between eight and ten rooms.<sup>24</sup> While some landlords leased out rooms to prostitutes on a monthly basis, operators of the famous Round-Up Hotel and Havana Inn offered hourly lodging.<sup>25</sup> Most Lagos prostitutes operated from their rented rooms (which were legally brothels) but solicited in popular nightclubs; bars; and cinemas such as the Coliseum, the Seven Seas Hotel, and the Crystal Garden Club.<sup>26</sup> The presence of military barracks in Ikeja boosted the sex market in that part of the city.<sup>27</sup> Not all women who practiced prostitution were Nigerian nationals—some were from the neighboring countries of the Gold Coast (modern Ghana) and Dahomey (the modern Republic of Benin). However, this group was numerically insignificant, as gleaned from oral history.<sup>28</sup> Unlike South Africa, where white women practiced prostitution, I have not come across any information pointing to the presence of white prostitutes in Lagos.<sup>29</sup> This is not surprising, given that Lagos, unlike South Africa, was not a settler colony. The very few European women in Nigeria, as Helen Callaway has shown, were either the wives of colonial administrators or expatriates or both.<sup>30</sup>

According to records produced by the NPF, the CWO, and various ethnic associations, most of Lagos’s prostitutes were from Southern Nigeria.<sup>31</sup> Isoko, Warri, and Calabar women were particularly identified as the leaders of the Lagos prostitution network, which also extended to the Gold Coast.<sup>32</sup> However, this conclusion failed to account for the hundreds of Northern Nigerian Hausa prostitutes, locally called *Karuwai*, who practiced prostitution (*karuwanci*) in the Sabon gari (strangers’ quarter or “new town”).<sup>33</sup> Broadly taken, the Hausa form of prostitution was different from the “regular” or “conventional” type practiced by other Nigerian ethnicities in terms of patronage, methods of solicitation, legality, and acceptability or normalization. While Hausa prostitutes were largely patronized by Hausa residents of Sabon gari, non-Hausa prostitutes served diverse groups of Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike. While Hausa prostitutes solicited mainly in the Sabon gari, waiting for men inside or in front of their rooms, non-Hausa prostitutes engaged in streetwalking and solicited in nightclubs and hotels.<sup>34</sup> The method of solicitation determined not only the income, risk level, and ethnicity of customers but also the criminal perception regarding casual sex work. *Karuwanci* did not attract the kind of criminality associated with the conventional form of prostitution practiced by other Nigerian ethnic groups and went unnoticed by administrators because of its geographical confinement to the Sabon gari.

Regardless of prostitutes' ethnicity and method of solicitation, the public and colonial administrators perceived prostitutes as poor, uneducated, and criminally minded woman. Although Lagos newspapers published informative stories under such headings as "Save the Future Mothers," which highlighted the "moral pestilence" of prostitution,<sup>35</sup> it was elite women like Obasa and her LWL who brought the issue to the attention of the authorities and pressed for institutional reform. The earliest LWL petition I have seen, addressed to Governor Hugh Clifford of Nigeria, was dated October 24, 1923. Signatories to the petition, who identified themselves as "Women of Lagos" represented by Obasa, asked the government to look into "the vulgar and obscene language on the streets of Lagos, and the lewd songs, pernicious newspaper literature, indecent behavior, and the want of action to discourage prostitutes from other parts of Nigeria openly making this town their headquarters, [which] have nothing but an effect for much evil on growing children, which ends in making them become criminals."<sup>36</sup>

In his response to this "moral crusade" the governor, through Secretary Donald Cameron, did not deny the increasing presence of prostitutes in Lagos. However, he claimed that "every effort is being made by the Colony police to keep them within bounds."<sup>37</sup> He asserted further that "any prostitute who becomes a nuisance to the general public is recommended to the Town Council for deportation forthwith."<sup>38</sup> The governor's response firmly established the prevailing official policy of tolerating prostitution as long as it did not create considerable public disorder. Unsatisfied with the government's policy of accommodation, the LWL reaffirmed its position in 1924 and 1926 follow-up petitions, which asked the government to initiate measures "to repatriate those [prostitutes] already in town to their homes and to prevent others from coming in, as their example is a source of danger."<sup>39</sup> The elite women were able to maintain their stance on criminalization of prostitution from the 1920s to 1940s, partly because most of them were members of the influential LWL under the leadership of Obasa.<sup>40</sup> Even the creation of the WWC and the NWP, in 1942 and 1944 respectively, did not polarize the women's antiprostitution agenda. As vociferous as the LWL's antiprostitution mobilization was, colonial authorities did not begin to police casual sex work until the 1940s. As we shall see shortly, the new prohibitory regime was informed predominantly by the security of the colony, not by the elite women's moral and ethical crusade.

One could also see elements of nativism in the women's desire to protect the moral environment of Lagos from what they considered immoral behav-

ior being brought in by “foreign” women. They did not petition for the stamping out of sex work in the provinces but instead demanded that Lagos should not be made the haven of prostitutes, especially the northern ones who were frequently repatriated by the emirs, Muslim indigenous rulers who viewed sex work as a dent on Islam. In terms of the politics of place belonging, the elite women identified themselves first as Lagosians and British subjects of Nigeria. Most of them had been born in Lagos during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Nigerian state had yet to be founded and Lagos had yet to become its capital. The rapid urbanization and social change wrought by the choice of Lagos as the capital of Nigeria in 1914, the Great Depression, and the world wars created a backlash of social ills that the women responded to in their petitions. But elite women were not the only group that detested the activities of non-Yoruba provincial Nigerians. Indeed, the nativist politics of Herbert Macaulay, the so-called founding father of Nigerian nationalism, were reflected in agitation for policing non-Lagosians, frequently designated as “foreigners.” Macaulay’s *Lagos Daily News*, with headlines like “The Unemployed Warri Men and Women in Lagos—A Menace: Round Up Their Dens and Ship Them Home,” established anti-immigration sentiments by stigmatizing Warri women as prostitutes and their men as criminals.<sup>41</sup>

Aside from the overt politics of moral sanitization, the fundamental question that dictated the pattern of interlocking politics between the LWL and the colonial authorities was: should prostitution be prohibited or regulated? Before the outbreak of World War II British colonialists sought to tolerate prostitution because crime, VD, and other activities known to be associated with it did not pose a recognizable threat to imperialism. This “policy of toleration” was also informed by the institutionalized principle of colonial policing. Imperial police in Nigeria, as elsewhere in Africa, were established to protect not the colonized, but the symbols and infrastructure of imperialism such as the ports, railways, mines, and colonial administration.<sup>42</sup> The official policy of regulation or toleration changed to one of prohibition from 1940, when military authorities feared that the increasing incidence of VD among the African rank-and-file of the colonial army (known as the West African Frontier Force, or WAFF, later the Royal West African Frontier Force, or RWAFF) was attributable to their promiscuous sexual affairs with prostitutes. The Nigerian story of military prostitution is not totally different from what obtained in Europe or other parts of the British Empire. However, the fact that Nigeria did not have any institutionalized arrangement for combating VD among civilians, and that VD was treated essentially as a military problem until 1943, when the Venereal Disease Ordinance (VDO) was passed, makes the country’s story different from documented histories in places like Britain, South Africa, Ke-

nya, Uganda, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania.<sup>43</sup> In 1942 the yearly percentage of incidence of VD among the Nigerian Regiment of the WAFF was estimated at 43.2 percent, a figure higher than for other common ailments, such as malaria.<sup>44</sup> In the same year the West African Conference of Governors released a report affirming that nearly half of the force had at one time or another been rendered unfit for active service on account of VD.<sup>45</sup>

Rumors about the connection between VD and heart disease also created a formidable fear among civil and military authorities. Confirming the popularity of this rumor, Colonel Bingham (the assistant director of medical services—military) insisted that medical authorities should not dismiss the assumption that the African type of gonorrhea was more deadly than the Western type because it caused “a cold in the heart.”<sup>46</sup> Nigeria, surrounded by about a dozen Francophone West African colonies, became more apprehensive about the medical fitness of its army after the defeat of France by Nazi Germany early in the war, in June 1940.<sup>47</sup> A militarily unfit army, according to military authorities, was not only a financial burden (the military in the month of May 1941 alone spent 125 pounds to purchase M. & B. 693, a gonorrhea drug) but a danger to the independence of Britain and its worldwide colonies.<sup>48</sup> Aside from completely overhauling existing antiprostitution laws (prostitution generally classified as an offense against morality), new legislation, namely the Unlicensed Guide (Prohibition) Ordinance (UGPO), passed in 1941, and VDO, passed in 1943, mirrored the panic of the period. The Anti-Vice Squad, a new law-enforcement outfit known among taxi drivers as *oun lotinrin* (from a Yorubanized word for loitering), was formed in 1941, specifically for policing prostitutes and criminals.<sup>49</sup> In addition, four of the five antiprostitution laws enacted in a century of colonial presence in Lagos were passed between 1941 and 1943.<sup>50</sup>

Contemporaneously, government-commissioned reports on juvenile delinquency from 1940 revealed that the criminal *jaguda* and *boma* boys, and child prostitutes, constituted a future and an immediate danger to urban security and by extension to colonial hegemony.<sup>51</sup> The notion, as earlier stated, was that prostitution and crime were bedfellows and that in order to get rid of prostitutes, the *boma* and *jaguda* boys had to go, and vice versa. *Jaguda* and *boma* boys, in correction officers’ prediction, would become hardened adult criminals, while child prostitutes would take the almost certain route of becoming adult prostitutes and criminally minded madams who recruited young girls into prostitution. This explains why the British authorities established the CWO in 1942 for rehabilitating delinquent boys and girls and, in 1943, passed the Children and Young Persons Ordinance (CYPO), an elaborate body of law aimed at preventing and treating juvenile delinquency among

boys and girls. Summarily, policing prostitution suddenly became an integral component of the win-the-war efforts and upholding the imperial status quo.

While the colonial policy on prostitution was paternalist and changed from regulation to prohibition between the 1920s and the 1940s, the LWL, the WWC, and the NWP maintained a maternalist agenda throughout. And while the British from the early 1940s saw juvenile delinquency as a threat to colonial security, elite women viewed it as threat to their project of modern African womanhood. The modern African womanhood project involved increasing women's access to Western education and removing all African and British sociocultural obstacles to the advancement of the African woman. The elite women eloquently espoused this idea in several of their communications. One of the most elaborate pronouncements is Ademola's 1937 lecture on the emancipation of African women, published in a series in the *West African Pilot*, the flagship of Nnamdi Azikiwe's press empire.<sup>52</sup> Elite women envisioned political independence and believed that women would play important roles in the life of the newly independent state of Nigeria.<sup>53</sup>

The LWL, the WWC, and the NWP viewed social ills and deviance among women and girls as obstacles to the actualization of their modern African womanhood project. Adult prostitutes were classified as "undesirable" women, procurers and madams who lured underage girls—the future generation of African mothers—into the sex trade. The constructed difference between underage and adult sexuality principally informed the elite women's position on criminalization. Thus, while elite women viewed adult prostitutes as inherently irredeemable, they believed girls in moral danger could still be repossessed from the streets and brothels and rehabilitated for the good of the society.<sup>54</sup> While they demanded that the government criminalize prostitution, establish hostels where delinquent girls could be rehabilitated, and increase funding for girls' education, they neither worked to rehabilitate adult prostitutes convicted of breaking antiprostitution statutes nor believed that repatriating the women to the provinces would create any problems. Whereas they protested against VD and the virginity screening of underage girls, they did not contest such sexist laws as the VDO, an adaptation of the notorious contagious disease laws that sparked a major feminist movement in Britain and its empire from the 1860s to the 1890s.<sup>55</sup> The Nigerian VDO, like its parent contagious disease legislation, empowered "qualified medical practitioners" to subject women suspected to be harboring VD to compulsory medical screening and to detain them in hospitals.<sup>56</sup> Whereas opinion among middle-class men, as expressed in the newspapers, was divided over the decriminalization and legalization of prostitution, elite women were united about criminalization—not only because it was unpopular among elite men, like the *Daily Service*

editor S. L. Akintola, who would later become the premier of Western Region, but also because they thought that institutionalizing or normalizing casual sex work would worsen the conditions of the girls, who were in moral danger.<sup>57</sup> The elite women did not protest against the gender-biased nature of anti-prostitution laws, which prosecuted prostitutes but excluded the “big guns,” as the European seamen and soldier customers of prostitutes were known.<sup>58</sup> Government’s discriminatory prosecution for prostitution prompted F. R. A. Williams, one of colonial Nigeria’s most revered lawyers, to ask, “Is Every Body Equal before the Law?”<sup>59</sup>

Although the elite women and the British had varied understandings of why prostitution should be policed, both groups wanted young girls to be protected. While the colonial authorities thought along the lines of public order and safety, elite women, in addition to holding concerns over the security of “innocent” citizens, injected moral and cultural tones that reflected largely on the future of women, as respectable wives, mothers, politicians, administrators, and law-abiding members of society. In summary the colonialists’ paternalism contrasted with elite women’s maternalist posture.

REHABILITATING GIRLS IN MORAL DANGER:  
ELITE LAGOS WOMEN, THE COLONY WELFARE OFFICE,  
AND THE GIRLS’ HOSTEL CONTROVERSY

Another source of tension between elite women and the British came when the latter in 1942 decided to establish a hostel where child prostitutes and other girls removed from exploitative relationships would be rehabilitated.<sup>60</sup> The girls’-hostel saga fully brings to the fore the division between the elite women and the government over which institution should be responsible for regulating prostitution and added a new dimension to the long-standing heated politics of race and the question of the employment of African women in government service. The controversy over the girls’ hostel therefore became a new site of contestation over the unresolved conflict arising from the notion of the inferiority of African women, popular among British colonial administrators. As it turned out, the elite women were not only fighting to establish their ability to help stop the trafficking in girls but repositioning themselves within the racist and sexist colonial structure that sidelined them.

After initially promising the members of the WWC that they would be in charge of the proposed girls’ hostel, Donald Faulkner, the colony welfare officer, changed his mind, refused to communicate with them regarding their official status, and went behind their backs to approve Marble Hall as the girls’ hostel.<sup>61</sup> This decision angered the WWC and the NWP. They began to criti-

cize virtually all the procedures of the CWO.<sup>62</sup> Two of the CWO's major decisions, namely the choice of Marble Hall as the girls' hostel and the proposal to appoint a European woman as a lady welfare officer, came under attack. Regarding the first the WWC pointed out that Marble Hall was located between a three-story and a two-story building. To them this location would be a distressing environment for the girls, who needed a serene environment for effective learning.<sup>63</sup> What is more, a hostel located opposite the notorious Grand Hotel, where people of shady character congregated, was not suitable for rehabilitating girls in moral danger, according to the WWC. The women felt that "the language of crowd and taxi drivers who congregate in the street will be edifying to the children."<sup>64</sup> They regarded the Grand Hotel as "a den of iniquity."<sup>65</sup>

If the location of the hostel did not go over well with the WWC, the proposal made by Gladys Plummer, the European lady education officer, that a European lady should be employed as the lady welfare officer "because she knows of no woman of the African race who is competent" introduced racial prejudice into the existing tension.<sup>66</sup> To be sure, elite women had long protested against the practice whereby European women, the majority of whom were expatriates and wives of colonial officers, were absorbed into government service in lieu of qualified African women. The WWC disagreed with Plummer that a European lady must be appointed as lady welfare officer and that sending an African woman to the UK for training would not be possible because of war conditions.<sup>67</sup> They mentioned Aduke Alakija, who "is actually taking a course in Social Work" in the UK, as a likely candidate for the position.<sup>68</sup> The letter's conclusion intimated that the government was not prepared to hire an African for the job: "In the meantime," the WWC asserted, "if government needs an experienced Social Worker of the African race, the Council would like it to be known that there is a member of This Body who can safely be recommended for such an appointment."<sup>69</sup> The government, later in 1946, would appoint a European lady, Alison Izzett, as the first lady welfare officer.

Authorities were not apologetic about their choice of the girls' hostel. In correspondence that seems to have put the hostel into permanent controversy and the appointment of a lady welfare officer to rest, the commissioner of the colony, G. B. Williams, defended Faulkner's choice, arguing that the WWC must have misunderstood his officer, since it was never the government's intention that the WWC be in charge of the girls' hostel.<sup>70</sup> He went on to state that he did not agree with the women that the location was unsuitable and that the government was not ready to employ a paid lady welfare officer "in the near future."<sup>71</sup> Sensing that the women would not be satisfied with his ex-

planation, he closed the correspondence by saying that he would like to meet with them for further clarification. When the WWC demanded that the governor of Nigeria appoint and officially recognize them as a visiting committee to the girls' hostel, Williams and Faulkner quickly recognized the women's intent to constitute themselves as a watchdog of the reformatory activities of the hostel.<sup>72</sup> In a confidential handwritten memo to Williams, Faulkner lamented that "these people [the elite women] can be very troublesome" and expressed his opinion that they do not have "any clear motive for visiting the hostel."<sup>73</sup> Directed by Williams, Faulkner responded to the WWC by noting that the government appreciated their desire to help the Nigerian girls and that their request was under consideration.<sup>74</sup> However, this request was never granted. Instead all attempts were made to ensure that the women did not have any supervisory or advisory role in the activities of the girls' hostel.

Another twist came when the CYPO, the most comprehensive body of legislation aimed at protecting and rehabilitating delinquent juveniles, which had been passed in 1943 but could not be fully implemented due to World War II budgetary constraints, came into effect on July 1, 1946. Although the law made elaborate provisions for the establishment of juvenile courts, remand homes, and modern institutions for addressing juvenile delinquency, some sections were deemed unacceptable by the WWC and the NWP.<sup>75</sup> The WWC and the NWP in a joint petition intensely criticized section 25, which criminalized street trading by boys and girls under the age of fourteen and by any girl between ages fourteen and sixteen, "unless she is employed by her father or her mother or by the guardian appointed by a court."<sup>76</sup> They held that girls contributed to the household economy through the proceeds from hawking. The women also condemned the practice of performing virginity and VD tests without the consent of girls' parents or legal guardians.<sup>77</sup>

The CWO's reaction to this petition is partially reflected in a sketchy handwritten memo composed by Izzett and addressed to Faulkner. This brief memo vividly portrays the CWO's perception of the women's politics and personalities and the extent of what appeared to be an irreconcilable difference. "Unless forced to answer," Izzett wrote to Faulkner, "I think the best plan is to ignore it or one starts an acrimonious discussion in the press with all the corresponding publicity."<sup>78</sup> She continued, "The Women's Party are alone at the back of it and they have no sympathy with ill used children."<sup>79</sup> Izzett could not successfully persuade her boss not to make her respond to the women's petition. Williams and Faulkner probably thought that silence would cause more harm than good. Unsurprisingly, Izzett's response included all the points raised in her memo. She defended the CWO's VD and virginity screening, claiming that it conducted tests only when girls were removed from

a “house of ill fame” and if the court and police required evidence of child prostitution for prosecuting procurers.<sup>80</sup>

Thus far, we have not discussed the reason why the CWO decided not to enlist elite women in the running of the girls’ hostel and the activities of the CWO. I contend that two closely related factors, namely the politics of sexuality and colonial security and the politics of gender and race, best explain why the women were sidelined. The politics of sexuality and colonial security is explicable in terms of the ideological disparity between the colonialists and the women about the impact of illicit sexuality on colonial society. The women wanted to be in charge of girls’ reformatory activities because they felt they understood the problems of African girl children more than the British could. Their claim was supported by their voluntary activities and activism, which dated back to the first decade of the twentieth century, as well as by their biological gender and their cultural identity as African women. They deployed such language as “practical women of the world” to highlight their qualifications for running the girls’ hostel.<sup>81</sup> The women felt that their project of promoting modern African women would be reinforced through government-funded institutions like the CWO. They also believed that the understaffed CWO would need their help in running the establishment. Before 1946, when Izzett was hired, Faulkner was principally responsible for nearly all the policies of the CWO.

For the colonial authorities (from the 1940s) juvenile delinquency was a security issue that could not be entrusted to voluntary associations. This position was popular among high-ranking administrators and superiors of Faulkner, like Colonel Victor L. Mabb, the director of prisons, who asserted, during the planning of the CWO, that “it would be a great mistake to commence work on the problem with a voluntary organization.”<sup>82</sup> He contended that treatment of juvenile delinquency, “from whatever source it springs, is essentially a function of Government which should be directed and controlled by the Government.”<sup>83</sup> The problem, Mabb wrote convincingly, “is far too difficult and serious to be left to the spasmodic efforts of voluntary workers who at the best can only devote their spare time to the work.”<sup>84</sup>

The second factor—the politics of gender and race—cannot be divorced from the first because it also bordered on issues of colonial security. As a masculine-centered edifice colonial service rarely appointed European women into positions that commanded power, let alone African women. Available evidence of mismanagement of funds by male administrators did not help matters. For instance, the government accused the Salvation Army, managed by both African and European men, of mismanaging the £16,000 subvention given to it for rehabilitating delinquent boys between 1925 and 1941.<sup>85</sup> “When

I think of what could have been accomplished with £16,000 under practical and common-sense management,” Mabb regretted, “I grudge them over every penny of it.”<sup>86</sup> If the colonialists felt that men were bad administrators, they held that African women, who were traditionally considered less educated and less “civilized,” were certainly not a capable hand. For the British putting these elite women in charge of the girls’ hostel would be like repeating their mistake with the Salvation Army.

Although the CWO painted the elite women as “trouble-makers” and “selfish,” the women’s interest in salvaging girls in moral danger and future generations of African womanhood was altruistic and emphasized the genuine interest of the African girl. There is limited concrete evidence that other African groups, not even the male nationalists and politicians who represented Lagos both in the Legislative Council and the Lagos Town Council, placed the protection of girls in moral danger at the forefront of their agitation.

#### CONCLUSION

Two main issues of the debate over sexuality in colonial Lagos are worth re-emphasizing as I bring this article to a close: What is the impact of prostitution on the colonial society? And who should be responsible for regulating it? The elite women who believed prostitution posed a danger to their primary project of modern African womanhood were also consistent in their criminalization agenda throughout the colonial period; the British saw prostitution as a danger to colonial security and did not begin to police it until the outbreak of World War II. Thus, these opposing agencies understood the impact of prostitution from two irreconcilable perspectives and pictured the future of Nigeria differently. While the elite women envisioned independence and believed that women would play significant roles in the politics of the new state, the colonialists worked toward a future Nigeria purged of criminals who had the power to undermine imperialism. On the issue of who should be responsible for regulating prostitution, the elite women knew they could not arrogate the government’s primary function of securing public order. Thus they called on the government to police prostitution and recommended the enlistment of women into the NPF. For the British colonial authorities who sought refuge under the doctrine of muscular masculinity and male chauvinism, women did not have the intellectual and physical capability to police the violent red-light districts of Lagos. Authorities kept the elite women out of the girls’ reformatory institution because they felt that juvenile delinquency was a security problem that only the state could manage.

The story of sexual politics in colonial Lagos provides a new perspective

on established knowledge about colonialism as a male-centered institution, adding another compelling layer of interpretation to the narrative. The policies of not enrolling women into the NPF until 1954 and of preventing elite women from running the girls' hostel were informed by the Victorian practice of limiting or trimming women's political influence, especially in domains reserved for men. In another vein the presence of an influential body of educated women, which could rarely be found in most parts of colonial Africa, facilitates a new site of inquiry into how social class informed the condemnation of sex work. If the story of Lagos differs from other imperial sites and situations, it is because colonial Africa's experience of gender and sexuality varied from region to region, shaped by both local and global politics. This difference is attributable (in part) to the uneven impact of imperialism and the diverse social structures of various African colonial societies. In the case of Lagos prevailing local conditions, as much as the imperial culture of domination, shaped the politics of the period.

#### NOTES

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1. "Commissioner of Police to The Secretary to the Government," Dec. 1, 1944, Comcol 1, 43399, National Archives Ibadan (NAI hereafter).

2. "Representative of Women's Party Interview L.T.C. [Lagos Town Council] Secretary," *Daily Service*, Dec. 18, 1944.

3. For biographies of some of these elite women see, among others, Bolanle Awe, ed., *Nigerian Women in Historical Perspective* (Lagos: Sankore Publishers, 1992); Nina Mba and Cheryl Johnson-Odim, *For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Nina Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900-1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1982); Folarin Coker, *A Lady: A Biography of Lady Oyinkan Abayomi* (Ibadan: Evans Brothers, 1987); and Gbemi Rosiji, *Lady Ademola: Portrait of a Pioneer* (Lagos: EnClair Publishers, 1996).

4. Rosiji, *Lady Ademola*, vi. I found Ademola's account of her Oxford experience interesting in its focus on her multiple identities as a woman and a black, educated, British subject. See Kofoworola Aina Moore, "The Story of Kofoworola Aina Moore of

the Yoruba Tribe, Nigeria,” in *Ten Africans*, ed. Margery Perham (London: Faber and Faber, 1936), 323–43.

5. “Dr. Elizabeth Akerele Returns from Medical Study in UK,” *West African Pilot*, Feb. 25 1938. The designation “full-blooded Nigerian” was used in the press to differentiate between Nigerians of Sierra Leonean, Liberian, and US descent and those with both parents originally from Nigeria.

6. For more on Douglas’s experiences in Nigeria see LaRay Denzer, “Intersections: Nigerian Episodes in the Careers of Three West Indian Women,” in *Gendering the African Diaspora: Women, Culture, and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland*, ed. Judith Byfield, LaRay Denzer, and Anthea Morrison (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 251–66.

7. See “Miss Kofo Moore Defends Her Sex,” *West African Pilot*, Nov. 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, Dec. 1, 1937.

8. The manifestoes of NWP best illustrate the women’s ideas about the relationship between education and empowerment. See “Women’s Party Hold Grand Meeting,” *Daily Service*, Aug. 24, 1944.

9. Monisola Oladosu, “Girls’ Higher Education in Lagos” (BA long essay, University of Ibadan, 1990), 1–23.

10. “The Lagos Women’s Party Demands Equal Pay for Men and Women,” *Daily Service*, Nov. 15, 1944. See also the following documents about race and gender in the colonial service: “European Ladies: Employment of, 1942–1947,” Comcol 1, 2705, NAI; “Employment of African Ladies in the Government Service,” 1944, Comcol 1, 3007, NAI. An indispensable study of European women in Nigeria is Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture, and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

11. See petitions in the following documents, all in NAI: Comcol 1, 43399; Comcol 1, 498; and Comcol 1, 2600, vols. 1 and 2.

12. See the following correspondence and petitions, all in NAI: “Lagos Women’s League,” Comcol I, 498; “Women’s Welfare League,” Comcol 1, 248/107; and “Lagos Women’s Party,” Comcol 1, 3080.

13. A foundational work on Lagos elite women and marriage in early colonial Lagos is Kristin Mann, *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

14. The newspapers include the *Daily Service*, the official organ of the Nigerian Youth Movement; Herbert Macaulay’s *Lagos Daily News*; Duse Mohammed Ali’s the *Comet*; and Nnamdi Azikiwe’s *West African Pilot*.

15. See, among others, Jean Allman, “Rounding Up the Spinsters: Gender Chaos and Unmarried Women in Colonial Asante,” *Journal of African History* 37 (1996): 195–214; Sheryl M. McCurdy, “Urban Threats: Manyema Women, Low Fertility, and Venereal Diseases in Tanganyinka, 1926–36,” in “Wicked” *Women and the Reconfigu-*

ration of Gender in Africa, ed. Dorothy L. Hodgson and Sheryl A. McCurdy (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001), 212–33; Nakanyike Musisi, “Gender and the Cultural Construction of ‘Bad Women’ in the Development of Kampala-Kibuga, 1900–1962,” in Hodgson and McCurdy, *“Wicked” Women*, 171–87; Lynette A. Jackson, “‘Stray Women’ and ‘Girls on the Move’: Gender, Space and Disease in Colonial Zimbabwe,” in *Sacred Spaces and Public Quarrels: African Cultural and Economic Landscapes*, ed. Paul Zeleza and Ezekial Kalipeni (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1999), 147–67; Lynette A. Jackson, “‘When in the White Man’s Town’: Zimbabwean Women Remember *Chibeura*,” in *Women in African Colonial Histories*, ed. Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyinke Musisi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 191–213; Hamilton Siphosimelane, “The State, Chiefs and the Control of Female Migration in Colonial Swaziland, 1930s–1950s,” *Journal of African History* 45 (2004): 103–24; Marc Epprecht, *This Matter of Women Is Getting Bad: Gender, Development and Politics in Colonial Lesotho* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000), 80–96; Racheal Jean-Baptiste, “‘These Laws Should Be Made by Us’: Customary Marriage Law, Codification and Political Authority in Twentieth-Century Colonial Gabon,” *Journal of African History* 49 (2008): 217–40; Michael W. Tuck, “Venereal Disease, Sexuality and Society in Uganda,” in *Sex, Sin and Suffering: Venereal Disease and European Society since 1870*, ed. Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall (New York: Routledge, 2001), 191–204. Reference to prostitution regulation in colonial Nigeria can be found in the following works: Benedict B. Naanen, “The Itinerant Gold Mines: Prostitution in Cross River Basin of Nigeria, 1930–1950,” *African Studies Review* 34 (1991): 57–79; Nwando Achebe, *The Female King of Colonial Nigeria: Ahebi Ugbabe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 77–86; Laurent Fourchard, “Lagos and the Invention of Juvenile Delinquency in Nigeria,” *Journal of African History* 46 (2006): 133–34; Gloria Chuku, *Igbo Women and Economic Transformation in Southeastern Nigeria, 1900–1960* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 164–65, 217–18; Abosede George, “Within Salvation: Girl Hawkers and the Colonial State in Development Era Lagos,” *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 3 (Spring 2011): 837–59; Saheed Aderinto, “The Problem of Nigeria is Slavery, Not White Slave Traffic: Globalization and the Politicization of Prostitution in Southern Nigeria, 1921–1955,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 46, no. 2 (2012): 1–22.

16. Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003); and Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

17. One of the most representative works in this category is Hodgson and McCurdy, *“Wicked” Women*.

18. On the contagious disease acts and politics in Britain and its empire see Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics*.

19. For a history of the slave trade in Lagos see Kristin Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760–1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

20. Ayodeji Olukoju, *The "Liverpool" of West Africa: The Dynamics and Impact of Maritime Trade in Lagos, 1900–1950* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2004); and Ayodeji Olukoju, *Infrastructure Development and Urban Facilities in Lagos, 1861–2000* (Ibadan: IFRA, 2003).

21. The *Lagos Daily News* editorial of Mar. 13 and 14, 1933, gives a short narrative of large-scale sex work dating to the 1910s. See "The Unemployed Warri Men and Women in Lagos—A Menace: Round Up Their Dens and Ship Them Home Part I and II," *Lagos Daily News*, Mar. 13, 14, 1933.

22. Lagos had a population of one-quarter of a million in 1950; it tripled in size between 1901 and 1931. See Akin L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1968), 257.

23. "Parlophone Records: Ashewo/Omo Jaguda," *Lagos Daily News*, Apr. 2, 1932.

24. Mr. Joseph Kokori, interview with the author, Lagos, June 15, 2008.

25. Kokori, interview, June 15, 2008.

26. Kokori, interview, June 15, 2008.

27. See "Military Accommodation in Lagos," 1940–46, Comcol 1, 2383, vol. IV, NAI.

28. Madam Aduke Aladejebi, interview with the author, Lagos, June 15, 2008.

29. Charles van Onselen, *Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand, 1886–1914* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982), 1: 103–62.

30. See Callaway, *Gender, Culture, and Empire*.

31. See reports and correspondence in the 1940s as follows, all in NAI: "Colony Welfare in Nigeria," Comcol 1, 2600, vol. I; "Child Prostitution in Lagos," Comcol 1, 2844; "Calabar Improvement League," Comcol 1; and "Urhobo Progress Union," Comcol 1, 248/76.

32. "Nigerian Prostitutes in the Gold Coast," 1941, Obubdist 4.1.71, National Archives Enugu (hereafter NAE).

33. Oral interviews conducted in Sabo (Yaba) testify to the presence of several *Karuwai* in the stranger quarters. See Madam Hauwa Ahmed, interview with the author, Lagos, June 17, 2008.

34. Ahmed, interview, June 17, 2008.

35. "Military Accommodation in Lagos," 1940–46, Comcol 1, 2383, vol. IV, NAI.

36. "Lagos Women's League to Hugh Clifford," Oct. 24, 1923, Comcol 1, 498, NAI.

37. "The Governor to Obasa," Dec. 20, 1923, Comcol 1, 498, NAI.

38. "Governor to Obsasa," Dec. 20, 1923.

39. "Olajumoke Obasa to the Chief Secretary to the Government," Feb. 26, 1924, Comcol 1, 498, NAI; and "Olajumoke Obasa on Behalf of Lagos Women's League to the Resident of Lagos," Aug. 6, 1926, Comcol 1, 498, NAI.

40. See, among others, "Women's Welfare League's Protest Meeting against Moral Danger Proves a Big Success," *Daily Service*, Aug. 10, 1944.

41. "Unemployed Warri Men and Women."

42. Philip Terdoo Ahire, *Imperial Policing: The Emergence and Role of the Police in Colonial Nigeria, 1860–1960* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1991); and Tekena Tamuno, *The Police in Modern Nigeria, 1861–1965: Origins, Development, and Role* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1970).

43. Jackson, “Stray Women.”

44. “Venereal Diseases among African Troops,” Mar. 18, 1942, MH54/si/vol. I, NAI.

45. “Venereal Diseases among African Troops,” Mar 18, 1942.

46. “Venereal Diseases,” July 13, 1941, MH 54, vol. II, NAI.

47. “Venereal Disease among African Troops—West African Governors’ Conference to the Honourable Chief Secretary, Lagos,” Mar. 18, 1942, MH 54, NAI.

48. “Venereal Disease among African Troops,” Mar. 18, 1942.

49. Mr. Buraimo Adekunle, interview with the author, Lagos, June 22, 2008.

50. These include the UGPO (1941), the VDO (1943), the CYPO (1943), and amendment of chapter 21 of the Criminal Code Ordinance. Sections 216 through 218 of the Criminal Code Ordinance (otherwise called offenses against morality) were the only such body of laws in existence before the outbreak of World War II, but they were rarely enforced.

51. “Juvenile Delinquency in Lagos,” 1941, Comcol, 1, 2471, NAI; “Child Welfare-Prostitution and Child Marriage,” 1941, Comcol 1, 2844, NAI.

52. See “Miss Kofo Moore Defends Her Sex.”

53. See the Nigerian Women’s Party manifestoes in the *Daily Service*: “Women’s Party Hold Grand Meeting,” Aug. 24 1944.

54. “The Women’s Welfare Council Club,” *Daily Service*, Oct. 27, 1944.

55. See Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*; and Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics*.

56. “Hotel Girls Suffering from VD Will Be Affected by the New Bill,” *West African Pilot*, Mar. 9, 1943; and “Venereal Disease Ordinance, 1943,” in *Annual Volume of the Laws of Nigeria Containing all Legislation enacted during the Year 1943* (Lagos: Government Printer 1944), A110–16.

57. For the divided opinion see, among others, “Prostitution in Nigeria by Olu Adeyemi,” *Daily Service*, July 10, 1944; “Re: Irresponsible Women,” *Comet*, May 31, 1944; “Re: Irresponsible Women,” *Comet*, Aug. 23, 1944; and “Nigeria Wants Night Club Reforms,” *West African Pilot*, Feb. 4, 1948. For the dangers of institutionalizing sex work see also one of S. L. Akintola’s editorials on prostitution, “Prostitution: The Editorial,” *Daily Service*, Dec. 1, 1944, and his public lecture on marriage and divorce, “Men, Women, and Divorce,” *Daily Service*, Nov. 10, 11, 1944.

58. “Social Evil of the Big Guns by T. Babs F. Opayemi,” *Daily Service*, Sept. 29, 1944.

59. “Is Everybody Equal before the Law by F. R. A. Williams,” *Daily Service*, Nov. 14, 1944.

60. “H. Millicent Douglas, Honorary Secretary of the Women’s Welfare Council to the Governor of Nigeria,” Oct. 11, 1942, Comcol 248/107, NAI.

61. "H. Millicent Douglas, Honorary Secretary of the Women's Welfare Council to the Governor of Nigeria," Oct. 11, 1942.
62. "H. Millicent-Douglas, Secretary of the WWC to the Commissioner of the Colony," Jan. 19, 1943, Comcol 1, 248/107, NAI.
63. "H. Millicent-Douglas, Secretary of the WWC to the Commissioner of the Colony," Jan. 19, 1943.
64. "Bankole-Wright to the Comcol," Jan. 13, 1943, Comcol 1, 248/107, NAI.
65. "Bankole-Wright to the Comcol," Jan. 13, 1943.
66. "The Women's Welfare Council to the Commissioner of the Colony," Jan. 19, 1943, Comcol 1, 248/107, NAI; "European Ladies: Employment of," 1942-46, Comcol 1, 2705, NAI; and "Employment of African Ladies," 1942-46, Comcol 1, 3007, NAI.
67. "The Women's Welfare Council to the Commissioner," 1942, Comcol 1, 248/107, NAI.
68. "The Women's Welfare Council to the Commissioner," 1942.
69. "The Women's Welfare Council to the Commissioner," 1942.
70. "Commissioner of the Colony to the Honorable Secretary Women's Welfare Council," Feb. 2, 1943, Comcol 1, 284/107, NAI.
71. "Commissioner of the Colony to the Honorable Secretary Women's Welfare Council," Feb. 2, 1943.
72. "Women's Welfare Council to the Commissioner of the Colony," Oct. 10, 1944, Comcol 1, 284/107, NAI; "Faulkner to Commissioner of the Colony," Oct. 14, 1944, Comcol 1, 248/107, NAI.
73. "Faulkner to Commissioner of the Colony," Oct. 14, 1944.
74. "Social Welfare Officer to the Women's Welfare Council," Oct. 17, 1944, Comcol 1, 248/107, NAI.
75. "Petition to the Government: Re: Nos. 4 and 21 on pages 730 and 739 of Gazette Nos. 36 vol. 33 of June 27, 1946," Oct. 3, 1946, Comcol 1, 2786, NAI.
76. "Petition to the Government: Re: Nos. 4 and 21 on pages 730 and 739 of Gazette Nos. 36 vol. 33 of June 27, 1946," Oct. 3, 1946.
77. "Petition to the Government: Re: Nos. 4 and 21 on pages 730 and 739 of Gazette Nos. 36 vol. 33 of June 27, 1946," Oct. 3, 1946.
78. "Memo addressed to the CWO," Oct. 15, 1946, Comcol 1, 2786, NAI.
79. "Memo addressed to the CWO," Oct. 15, 1946.
80. "Re-Petition," Oct. 28, 1946, Comcol 1, 2786, NAI.
81. "H. Millicent Douglas, Honorary Secretary of the Women's Welfare Council to the Governor of Nigeria," Nov. 11, 1942, Comcol 248/107, NAI.
82. "Director of Prison to the Honourable Chief Secretary to the Government: Juvenile Delinquency in Lagos," July 21, 1941, Comcol 1, 2471, NAI.
83. "Director of Prison to the Honourable Chief Secretary to the Government: Juvenile Delinquency in Lagos," July 21, 1941.

84. "Director of Prison to the Honourable Chief Secretary to the Government: Juvenile Delinquency in Lagos," July 21, 1941.

85. "Director of Prison to the Honourable Chief Secretary to the Government: Juvenile Delinquency in Lagos," July 21, 1941.

86. "Director of Prison to the Honourable Chief Secretary to the Government: Juvenile Delinquency in Lagos," July 21, 1941.