EUROPEAN INFLUENCE ON TRADITIONAL HOUSE FORM IN OLD CALABAR AND ITS ENVIRONS (EFIK LAND) 1800 - 1960

By

MBINA, ANTHONY ADOMI

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL, IN PARTIAL FULFILIWENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D.) IN ARCHITECTURE

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE,

FACULTY OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN,

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,

ZARIA.

February, 1999

DECLARATION

I, Anthony Adomi **MBINA**, hereby declare that this Thesis is the outcome of research work conducted by me; and that it has no bearing to any work done by any other person or group of individuals which has been presented and accepted for a higher degree. All quotations are distinguished by quotation marks and all sources of information have been specifically acknowledged by means of footnotes and references.

Sign:..... Date: 19-03-99

CERTIFICATION

This Thesis entitled - **EUROPEAN INFLUENCE ON TRADITIONAL HOUSE FORM IN OLD CALABAR AND ITS ENVIRONS (EFIK LAND), 1800 - 1960,** by MBINA, Anthony Adomi meets the Regulations Governing the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Architecture of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its Contribution to Knowledge and Literary Presentation.

Name and Signature **Date**

PROF. W. F. SCHWERDFERGER
..... 19.3.1999.
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

PROF. H. T. SAAD
..... 15/8/99
Member, Supervisory Committee

....
Member, Supervisory Committee

HEAD, DEPT. OF ARCHITECTURE
Faculty of Enviromental Design
A. B. U. Zaria - Nigeria.

ARC. M. ABDULKARIM
..... 18/3/99
Head of Department

..... 18/09/00
Dean, Postgraduate School

DEDICATION

TO MY MOTHER

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It took the effort of my Supervisors, Professor F.W. Schwerdtfeger and Professor H.T. Saad to make this Thesis what it is now. I am thus grateful for their help and all the patience.

I cannot fail to mention also the advice I received from Prof. O. Solanke - then Head of Department of Architecture, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; as well as that of Late Dr. A.A. Hussieni - then Head of Department of Building and Dean of Faculty - who never failed to inquire about the progress of my work. May his gentle Soul rest in peace.

Mr. Mike Cole, a true friend indeed and Miss Juliet C. Nwoko whose company I enjoyed. I thank you. My sincere thanks also go to Arc. Ade Adewolu and Miss Safiat Oniki Abdallah, my student and friend, who cheer me up when I am tired and lonely. Thank you and may God bless you. Arc. M. Archibong, who was full of joy to learn of my program. Not only was he happy, but further showed his appreciation by financial reward. Thank you sir.

My brief stay in Montreal, Canada, brought me in contact with very special friends I cannot afford to leave out in this salutation. Foremost are Mr. and Mrs. Mike Nault, Mr. Haynes and his family and a lot of other friends too numerous to mention each by name. I was in Canada, away from home, but you all made my whole stay there worthwhile. Thank you.

Ms. Anderson's tireless efforts made it possible for me to master the Computer Word Processing Package (Word Perfect). Also Jeff Davidson and Peter Sijpkes of Geology and Architecture

Departments respectively, both of McGill University, Montreal, were solidly behind my success during my staff exchange program in that school.

In the Department of Architecture, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, there are three persons I must thank specially for assisting me type this Thesis. They are Ms Hannah Gabriel, Mrs. J. Ajanaku and Mrs. Alice Y. Ogunbolude. I thank you all for your kind assistance, friendliness and long association in the Department.

I wish to express my sincere thanks and indebtedness to my two senior brothers, Mr. Mbina A. Mbina and Chief Julius A. Mbina. I acknowledge the necessary punch to start and the needed shove to continue in this life and course. Thank you brothers and remain blessed.

My thanks also go to my wife, (Mrs. Comfort Anthony Mbina) and our children for their understanding and kindness. Thank You and May God bless you all.

Finally I would like to thank my mother (Mrs Omom Adomi Mbina - Nee Irigbo Ogbin - Abo, 1920 - 1998) to whom this work is dedicated, for her foresight. Although she did not live to see the end of my work, I owe her my greatest thanks for being my mother. I pray God to grant her SOUL eternal rest and to share all my moments of joy with my late father - Chief Adomi Adomi Mbina - wherever they may be.

"..... once colonialism has taken place,
it remains a fact, a historical fact that
should not and cannot be obliterated ....."

EKPO OKPO EYO, O.F.R; M.A; Ph.D.; F.M.A.
Director General,
National Commission for Museums and Monuments,
Calabar, August, 1986.

ABSTRACT

The essence of this study is to explore the settlement pattern of the Efik of "Old Calabar" in South-Eastern Nigeria. The purpose is the reconstruction of the origins and development pattern of Efik Traditional Architecture. The impact and influence early European contact had on Efik Traditional House Form was investigated. However the study did not cover in detail all settlements which claim to be Efik. Rather, it was limited to those areas and settlements where the Efik took up permanent residence during the course of their movements. Notable among these are Ikot Itunko or Obio Oko (Creek Town), Qbutong (Old Town), Atakpa (Duke Town) and Nsidung (Henshaw Town).

In Nigeria, as well as in most other African countries, ethnic pluralism is a major problem - which has sometimes been ascribed to the imposition of colonial boundaries and the subsequent binding together of many different peoples into one political unit. Although this study subscribes to the general notion that History is replete with the occurrence of colonialism, evidence has shown however that ethnic pluralism is not a new phenomena in African pre-colonial era, nor is it simply a result of colonial rule.

In many instances, it: has been seen that even before the advent of colonial rule, people of different ethnic affiliation lived within certain ethnic territories. This fact has become evident in the case of "Old Calabar" where the story of this area would not have been completely appreciated without mention of the

non-Efik communities of Efut and Big Qua, who to date still form a significant portion of present day Calabar Municipality. Hence, an investigation of the traditional House Form of these settlements also formed part of the study.

However, it needs be mentioned that the terms "Old Calabar", "Efik or Efik Land" as used throughout this research are for purpose of convenience, and should be understood to mean and include the two dominant non-Efik communities of Efut and Big Qua in Calabar Township.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page i

Declaration ii

Certification iii

Dedication iv

Acknowledgements v

Quotation vii

Abstract viii

Table of Contents x

List of Figures xv

List of Plates xvi

List of Appendices xvi

INTRODUCTION 1

Method of Study 9

The Environment 11

Geographical 11

Geological 12

Climate 12

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORY OF THE EFIK PEOPLE

Origin 17

Migration 20

Location 24
Efik language 25
Economy 27
Social Structure 30
Political Structure 32
Cults and Societies 33
Witchcraft and House Form in Efik Land 36
Traditions and Culture 39
Religious Beliefs 40
Tradional Land Tenure System 41
Rural Land Policy 45
Occupants Rights 45
Disabilities of Occupants 47
References 49

CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF EFIK TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE

Background 50
Structural Analysis 52
Traditional House Form 52
Planning and Settlement Pattern 55
The Courtyard 58
Influences on Traditional House Form 69
The Pre-Colonial Influnces: Ibo and Ibibio 72
Major Architectural Building Materials 75

Studs 75
Fork Sticks 76
Plantava 76
Building Earth 77
Mats (Thatch) 77
Traditional Building Construction Techniques ... 77
Ceilings, Doors and Windows 81
Building Services 84
Water Supply 84
Sanitary Facilities 84
Kitchen and Storage Facilities 85
Decoration and Ornamentation 86
Appraisal of Efik Traditional Decoration 89
References 90

CHAPTER THREE

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF OLD CALABAR (1660 - 1830)

Slave Trade and Slave Economy 101
Imports 103
The Rise of Palm Oil Trade 106
Effects of Palm Oil Trade on Domestic Economy .. 107
European Traders and House Form in Efik Land ... 108
References 111

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTACT WITH EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES: MISSIONARY PERIOD (1846 - 1889)

Introduction 111
The Missionaries and Abolition of Slave Trade .. 112
Missionary Arrival in Efik Land 114
Missionary Activities in Efik Land 118
Missionary Education in Efik Land 119
The Missionaries and Social Change 121
New Values, New Architecture 131
Missionary Influence On Efik House Form 133
King Eyamba's Iron Palace 139
Boco House 141
References 143

CHAPTER FIVE

THE COLONIAL PERIOD AND THE INTRODUCTION OF EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE (1885 - 1960)

Introduction 144
The Beginning of European Rule 145
Social Structure 147
House Form and Development 150
Construction Methods 152
Examples of European Architecture in Calabar ... 154
Saint Margaret Hospital 155

The Hope Waddell Training Institution 155
Old residency, Calabar 157
References..... 161

CHAPTER SIX

SYNTHESIS OF EFIK AND EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE

Introduction 162
Effects of European Trade..... 164
Missionary Impact 166
Impact of Western Culture..... 168
Marriage Customs 170
Educational System 171
Socialization 172
Religious Beliefs 173
Other Impacts 174
Decline in Trade and Agriculture 175
Witchcraft..... 176
Family Economic Interdependency 177
Social Transformation 178
Shift in Status of Old Calabar 178
Individual Aloofness..... 180
References..... 181

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION 182
APPENDICIES 205
BIBLIOGRAPHY 213

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The Cross River Basin 12a
Figure 2: Major Soil Area 12a
Figure 3: Calabar: Climatic Data 18b

Figure 1.1: Calabar and The Cross River (Migration) .. 21a
Figure 1.2: Location of Calabar - Nigeria 24a
Figure 1.3: Calabar: Location Map 25a
Figure 1.4: Old Calabar 25b
Figure 1.5: Land Use (Proportion of land under crops). 27a
Figure 1.6: Cross River Economy 27a
Figure 1.7: Settlements of Old Calabar 32a
Figure 1.8: King's Grave: Efik Land 41a
Figure 1.9: Great Pyramid of Cheops: Gizeh 41a

Figure 2.1: Wattle and Daub 2-Room House Form 53
Figure 2.1a: Wattle and Daub 3-Room House Form 53
Figure 2.2: 2-Room Single Courtyard House Form 54
Figure 2.2a: 2-Room House Form with Opening on Side .. 54
Figure 2.3: 2-Room House - Clustered to form Single Courtyard House Type 55a
Figure 2.4: 2-Room Single Courtyard House Type Clustered to form Multi Courtyard House . 55a
Figure 2.5: Single Line Form 61a
Figure 2.6: Double Line Form 61a
Figure 2.7: Two Fold Form 61a
Figure 2.8: L-Shaped Form 61a
Figure 2.9: Entrance Hierarchy 68a
Figure 2.10: Earthen Seats (as inducements) 68a
Figure 2.11: Single Line House Type 73a
Figure 2.11a: Double Line House Type 73a
Figure 2.13: Single Courtyard House Type 73b
Figure 2.13a: Single Courtyard House Type 73b
Figure 2.14: Double Courtyard House Type 73c
Figure 2.15: Multi Courtyard House Type 73d
Figure 2.15a: Multi Courtyard House Type 73e
Figure 2.16: Decorative Patterns 88a

Figure 4.1: Colonial Residence at Creek Town 139a
Figure 4.2: King Eyamba's Iron Palace 139b

Figure 5.1: St. Margaret Hospital 155a
Figure 5.2: Staff Residence, Hope Waddell Training Institute 156a
Figure 5.3: Old Residency, Ground Floor Plan 157a
Figure 5.4: Old Residency, First Floor Plan 157b
Figure 5.5: Old Residency, Section 57c
Figure 5.6: Old Residency, West Elevation 157d

Figure C.1: House Form Pattern (Traditional) 196a
C.2: House Form Pattern (Modern) 196b
C.3: Courtyard Ideas 196b
C.4: Breakdown of Traditional Compound 197a

LIST OF PLATES:

Plate 2.1: Huts 75a
2.2: Bamboo Sticks 76a
2.3: Mats (Thatch) 77a
2.4: Decorative Column 79a

Plate 4.1: Prince Archibong's House 138a
4.2: King Eyamba's Iron Palace 139c
4.3a/b Obong Eqbo Bassey Boco 141a
4.3c: John Boco Cobham's House 141b

Plate 5.1: The Hope Waddell Chapel 155b
5.2: Old Bank of West Africa and Supreme Court - Calabar 156b
5.3: Entrance Porch, Old Residency 158a
5.4: Entrance Porch, Old Residency 158b
5.4a: Old Residency - North View 158c
5.4b: Old Residency - East View 158c
5.5: Roman Catholic Church 158d
5.6: Duke Town Church 158f
5.7: Chief Justice House 158g
5.8: View From Calabar River 158h
5.8a-k: Views from other sports in Calabar1581
The Author and his wife 158n

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix	Title	
I	Legislation for Land Use Control	204
II	Re-Legislation for Land Use Control	206
III	Re-Legislation for Land Use Control	207
IV	The Use of Local Materials	209
V	The Colonial Era and Education	211
VI	The Questions:	212

INTRODUCTION

Who ever makes up his/her mind to write a history of "European influence" on any aspect of Nigerian life (architecture, art, philosophy, drama or agriculture) must first decide which part of Europe and at what time these influences happened. It is for this reason that this study focuses attention on Britain - which at one time colonized this nation.

On taking this stand, the study is not unmindful of other influences from other European and non-European nations - some of which also influenced Britain in the course of her history.

Although such non-European nations are not specifically mentioned, western architecture as an expression of western civilization in the historical perspective and its influence on a predominantly local community are here analyzed from the early 17th to late 19th centuries, until 1960, the year of Nigerian independence. This study therefore deals with the European impact on traditional House Form in Calabar and its environs.

Generally, Nigeria's traditional architectural styles are similar in many ways, reflecting the different cultures and traditions of the people, as well as the climatic conditions. This diversity of architectural styles range from the Hausa traditional earth architecture in the North down to the traditional wattle and dub walls and thatch roof houses of the south; as well as the eighteenth century wooden houses of the

nobility, both in Creek Town and Old Calabar[1].

As far as the study of the history of Efik of Old Calabar is concerned, quite a number of difficulties still exist, especially in assessing the traditional architecture of this community. This is so because information is still lacking in certain vital areas of Efik origin and migration, as well as some of their basic institutions - a situation which persisted as a result of the absence of written material which has to be replaced by the rich oral tradition of the people.

An analytical study of this nature demands the use of available data in establishing the relationship between peoples actions and their institutions in a meaningful way. It also calls for analyzing different and often conflicting evidence in order to arrive at conclusions which must be acceptable to scholars until new evidence becomes available.

Thus, in this study, four primary areas of influence on indigenous house-form in Efik Land, namely, the Introduction of Foreign Culture, especially through trade, the return of Ex-Slaves from the Americas, especially Brazil, the introduction of Christianity and the Introduction of Colonial Rule - will be analyzed.

Furthermore, it is believed that the full impact of European trade on Efik Society, especially as it relates to

---

1. Awotona, A. (Dr.) (1986) "Aspects of Nigerian Architecture" in Journal of Nigerian Institute of Architects, June 1986, p. 18 - 19.

traditional house-form still needs more investigation. This too will form an aspect of this investigation.

"Many things that cause ruin to states as being incitements to luxury are imported by sea"[2]. As was the case in Rome and a number of other coastal cities, the unique location of Calabar, (to the shore) had and still has effect on her history. This forms part of what this thesis seeks to identify - the effect of foreign influence on the people's way of life. It is widely believed that maritime cities are prone to a certain moral degeneration, for they receive a mixture of people with different languages and customs, together with foreign merchandise; so that none of their ancestral institutions could possibly remain unchanged. For example, the geography of the ancient city of Cartage explains the fraudulence and mendacity of the Cartegians. Thanks to their harbours, they were involved in a wide variety of exchanges with merchants and foreigners. As a result their minds were set on profit, thus encouraging an open invitation to "skilled deception"[3].

The same argument could be put forward in the case of the Efik at Old Calabar, whose history has experienced similar cross cultural influences and trade. It is widely believed that the language we speak, the standard of living we pursue, the type of work we do, the social system we enjoy, the type of

---

2. HALIYOM, JSVD (1979) Romans and Aliens, Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd. London, NW1. p. 10.
3. Ibid

houses we live in and possibly even the religion we profess, must have been, at least partially, influenced by social change and commerce.

Furthermore, economic and social stability are important qualities for a predominantly agricultural people. Thus if the Efik of Old Calabar - who before the arrival of the Europeans where known to be farmers and fishermen had continued their activities, they probably might have been able to maintain stability. But the history of naval powers and trade between European nations and the Efik Kings acting as middle men were major forces in changing traditional Efik architecture. This in effect has created a change of indigenous behaviour and the borrowing of institutions and house form.

This study therefore seeks to identify what Efik traditional architecture was before the arrival of the Europeans and what influences the Europeans and European trade, missionary and government officials had on Efik Traditional House Form.

Ever since the Efik of Old Calabar came in contact with the Europeans, more than three centuries ago, there has been an unprecedented change in their traditional architecture. A lot of evidence is available to show the cross cultural influences being experienced by the people in this part of the country as a result of this contact. These changes can be noticed in the

economic and social sphere, as well as the political, religious, and physical environment, which will be investigated in this thesis.

To be able to do so we have to consider in broad terms the social and political history, as well as the nature of Efik-European relations vis a vis housing development. Furthermore, what other factors such as the population increase and social conflicts have on traditional architecture in Efik land will be examined and analyzed.

The investigation will be carried out under the following headings:

i. an analysis of the political, cultural, social and economic conditions of the Efik during the pre-colonial era, which enabled them to build the type of houses they did;

ii. an investigation into the impact of slave trade on Efik domestic economy, socio-political life and house form;

iii. the impact of European Missinaries on Efik traditions;

iv. the impact of Colonial rule, and

v. an investigation into a number of significant traditional architectural features of these houses as well as a documentation of some of the surviving house types by means of photographs and drawings.

The dispersal of settlements among Efik migrants in and around Old Calabar is of great importance in the early history of ethnic pluralism in South Eastern Nigeria. From an early date, the history of the Efik who are predominantly riverine dwellers has occupied many researchers. Hence, a great deal of literature on Efik history is available.

However, the earliest accounts of the Efik by European travellers and traders gives little information on the history of settlements occupied by them either in the hinterland or at the coast[4]. In other words, it contains little details of domestic pattern of Efik traditional architecture. These records are almost exclusively confined to the description of the social customs, trading systems, and at best the political organization of the Efik.

The scant treatment of information on Efik traditional architecture is surprising since "Old Calabar" had been known as the biggest habour and trading center in South Eastern Nigeria. In the early 1960's the Southern Province including Calabar had an area of about 7511 square kilometers (2,900 square miles)[5] and an estimated population of about 54,000 inhabitants.

The Efik City of Calabar (Obio Efik) has been described as:

> "..... Nigerian Rome from where civilization - in commerce, religion, education, and politics - overshadowed into and pervaded the rest of all that

4. NAIR, K.N. (1975) "The Origins and Development of Efik Settlements in Southeastern Nigeria", Papers in International Studies, Africa Series No. 26; Ohio University Center for International Studies, Africa Program, 1975; Athens, Ohio, U.S.A.
5. 1 square mile is equivalent to 2.59 squared kilometers.

> land between the Niger and the Cameroon mountains, but particularly, the Cross River basin....."[4]

A very enthusiastic statement by a strong believer on the past glories of Old Calabar. From this stand point, Calabar was the light of the `world', the citadel of humanity, and an embodiment of organized society.

However, as literary sources on Efik traditional architecture are scarce, the bulk of the inquiry is carried out on the basis of the social and physically preserved history of the Efik obtained mainly from interviews. In some cases, a few observable materials in the field formed the bases of data collection.

No study of European influence on Efik traditional architecture has been undertaken so far. Research in this area deal mainly with general anthropological issues. An attempt has therefore been made to point out certain events that have shaped the architecture of the Efiks against the background of social change in "Old Calabar".

This study is an attempt to investigate the traditional architecture in Efik Land, and European influence on it in order to furnish information, for a more comprehensive understanding of the life style of the Efiks. Furthermore, the need for this investigation sterms from the belief that historical records

---

6. AJAYO, A (1970) "Nigerian States: Focus on the South Western State of Nigeria", Vol. 7, No.1.

have often tended to over-emphasise the relations between the peoples of the West African Coast and the Europeans[5]. For instance, the disunity of the people in the pre-colonial period, and the slave trade have always been exaggerated at the expense of the forces of unity. Hence a comprehensive picture of an African society is totally distorted by such recorders.

In addition, larger ethnic groups such as the Yoruba, Hausa, Ibo, and Tiv have tended to receive a great deal of attention in historical writings, while the Efik, Mbembe, and other smaller groups, for instance, have often been neglected or totally ignored. There has also been a tendency to write the history of important people and groups in society, rather than that of the minority groups.

This call has become timely for fear that most cultures especially in the developing world will soon become snowballed into extinction with no historical record of them. This argument is strongly supported by this writer.

This study does not intend to re-write the known history of the Efik, but to analyze the impact European Victorian Architecture had on Efik Traditional House-form. This no doubt will deepen our knowledge in the physical culture of the Efik, one of the unique but small communities in southeastern Nigeria.

---

7. Ayandele, E. (1979) The Nigerian Historical studies, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd: London.

METHOD OF STUDY

Before it can be determined to what extent European contact influenced traditional House-form, the traditional Efik House-form and how it evolved, developed and functioned before the changes took place need to be known. This is necessary for the evaluation of these changes in traditional house-form which are attributed to the influence of European traders and administrators. The origin of the Efik people before settling in the coastal region will not be considered as little is known about it. The rural area of Efik Land around Creek Town and the social organization of the family as well as the economic status of family structure within the household will first be considered. Then the effects on the household due to the introduction of new social and economic structures will be investigated during the more recent development of Calabar town.

Having considered the various aspects of the social and economic organizations in both rural and urban areas, they will be compared in order to highlight the differences. However, central to this investigation will be changes which have occurred in Efik traditional house-forms. As already mentioned, other factors which have no doubt influenced Efik house form will also be discussed. They include:

* the introduction of Christianity;
* the introduction of a European led Administration;
* the introduction of monogamy aided by christianity;
* the introduction of European education, introduced and carried out mainly by christian missionaries;

Although these factors were not intially within the scope of this investigation, they are a vital part of the changes which occurred in Efik Land and would render this study incomplete if they are not taken into consideration.

While carrying out this study several problems were encountered, among which was the problem of inadequate information. Due to lack of written records on traditional architecture, lengthy interviews had to be conducted, which contained all the truth, half-truth and even inventions by some informants.

Thus it was necessary to design a comprehensive questionnaire. This helped to conduct more structured interviews with people and to obtain information which have been used for this thesis analysis.

The research was designed to be carried out in several stages covering a period of over one year. The first preliminary study or pilot survey was conducted using random sampling. Several interviews were conducted with personally administered questionnaires. The most important buildings were identified and

documented by means of drawings (plans, sections, and elevations), as well as photographs.

The main survey covered about seven months, allowing two months for Creek Town and five months for Calabar. When this was completed the information obtained was used for comparison between rural and urban areas. This comparison was important to identify the changes in the traditional Efik house-form in both areas.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Geographical

The geographical position of Calabar is latitude 4° 58' North, longitude 8° 17' East. The city of Calabar lies on a peninsula between Calabar and Great Kwa Rivers, 56.33km (35 miles) up the Calabar river and about 180 - 200 feet (60 -66 meters) above sea level.

The city of Calabar is presently situated on the eastern bank of Calabar river. Its growth is only possible in the north and east directons up to the Great Kwa river, having been limited by the mangrove swamps to the south. Its relief is composed of dense vegetation, among which are raffia palms and mangrove sticks which feature very prominently in traditional building construction.

Geological

The soil composition in the region is of coastal sand, belonging to tertiary deposits forming an island to the south. There are also large deposits of alluvial soil along the Calabar and Great Kwa rivers, See Figures 1 - 2.

Generally, the dominant soils are light brown, grey white sand with clay, grey fragments and peat bands. Of all these types, the coastal plains sands are most preferable for architectural development; while the alluvial deposits, usually on low lying areas are unsuitable for construction.

Climate

Calabar has a sub-equatorial type of climate; with moderately hot temperature, which does not fluctuate greatly. As a coastal town, the city of Calabar experiences a very high relative humidity. It is on record that the region of Calabar has the highest figures of Relative Humidity in Nigeria. The mean yearly figure is 84% while the mean monthly values read lowest in February and highest in July - August.

Located within the geographical rain forest belt, Cross River State, and indeed Calabar, experiences very high rainfall within any given year. Calabar in the southern extreme of the state has a mean annual rainfall of about 3,066 millimeters and

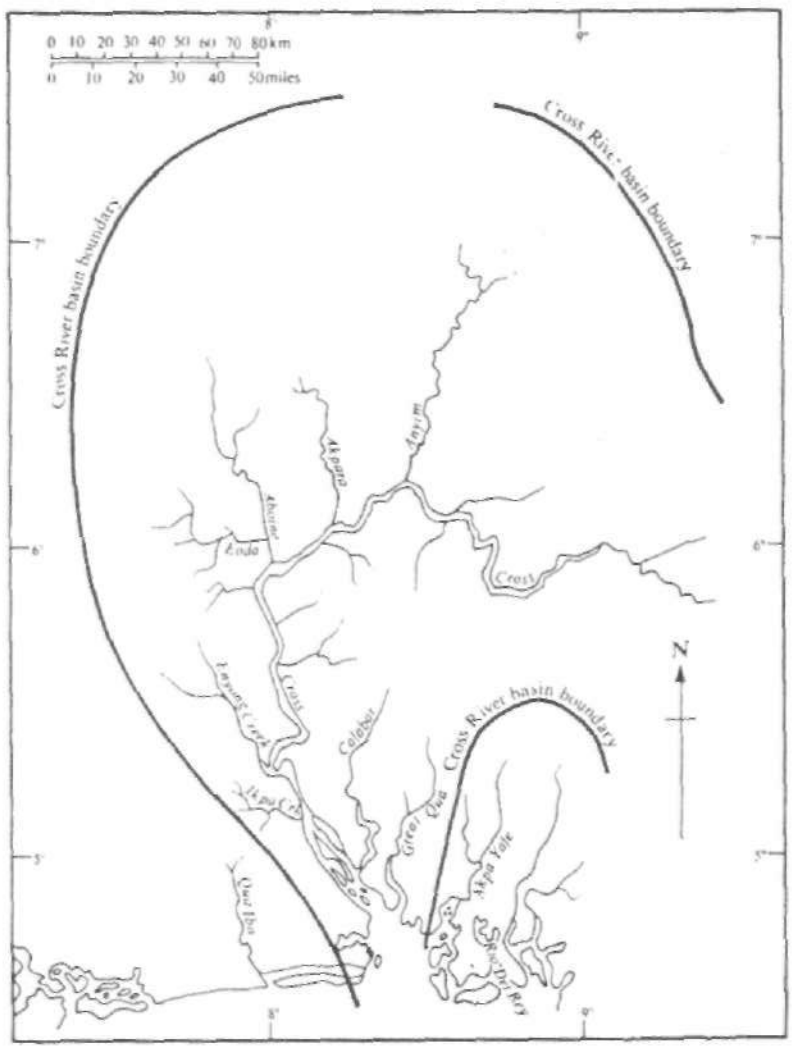


Fig. 1: The Cross River Basin

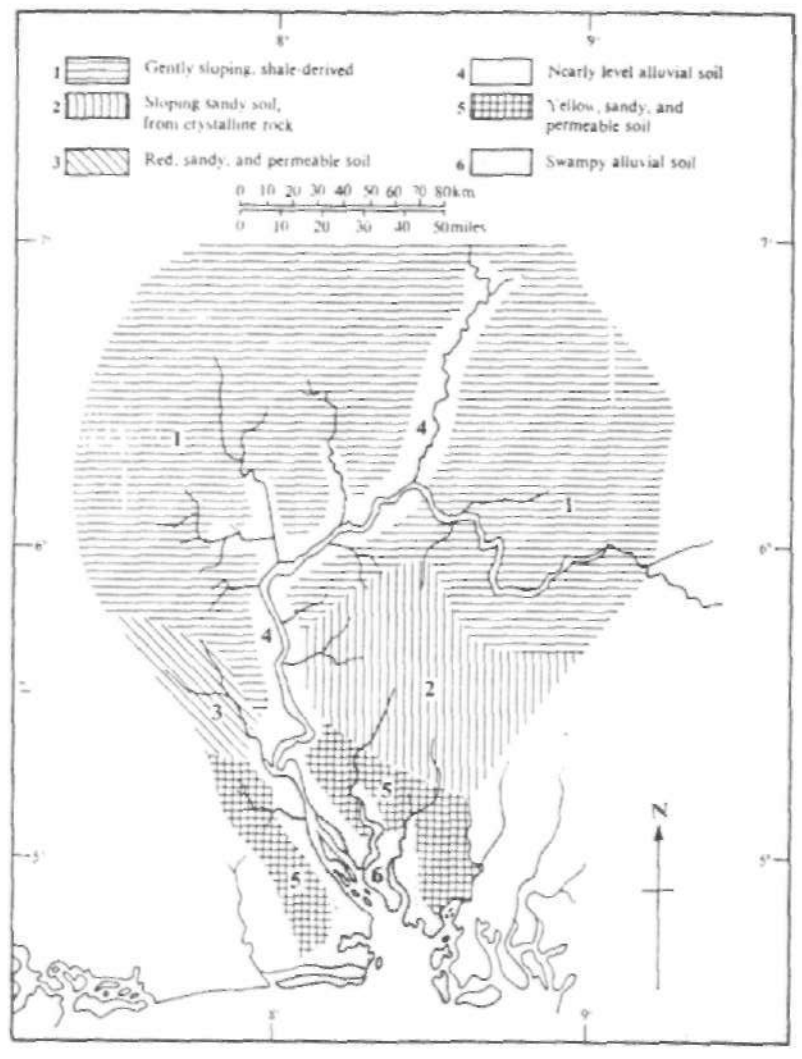


Fig. 2: Major Soil Areas

experiences one of the highest rainfall regimes in the country[6].

The monthly distribution shows (Figure 3) that more than 3/4 of this great amount of rain falls in the heavy rainfall months of May - October. This phenomena is caused by the conventional rains and winds from the sea with the result that instead of the little dry period in August (August Break) characteristic for the southern part of Nigeria, only very slight decrease is experienced in Calabar.

Most of the rain comes as torrential rainfall with occasional thunderstorms and squalls. This condition, coupled with the loose, sandy coastal plain soils are responsible for the several increase in soil erosion, affecting the life-span of buildings in this area.

The town has a mean annual temperature of 79.0°F (26.1° Celcius). Seasonal variations are very little; with the mean monthly temperatures showing a range of 4.1°F only. The highest temperature readings are recorded in February and March, while the coolest are in August and September.

The south, south-west winds which prevail in Calabar are dominant from the months of February - November, bringing along the full influence of the tropical maritime air movement. Between December and January, a west, north-west wind is

---

6. In his paper " A Brief on the State of the Environment in the Cross River State, as at August 27, 1990", OKPA, O.O. (1990) highlighted the fact that this natural phenomena is having a great effect on Calabar - causing great damage to both lives and property. To abet this situation, both state and federal governments are currently spending huge sums of money on channelization projects in the town.

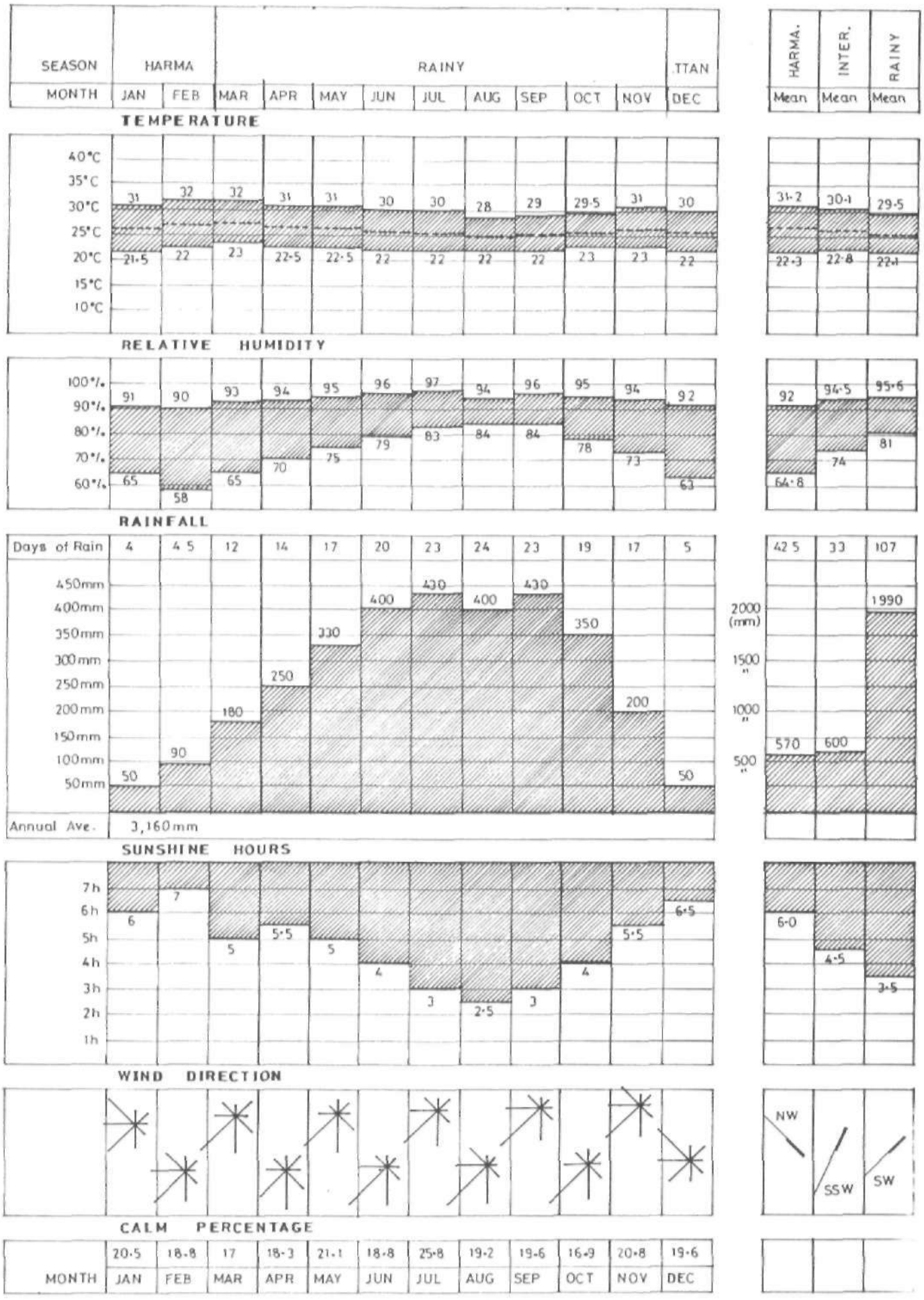


Fig. 3: Calabar Climatic Data

---

qenerated, moving the tropical continental air masses from the Sahara. This air movement hardly reaches the coast, hence Calabar remains, all year round, under the influence of the maritime air masses.

The sun shines from the north from the months of March to September, while it shines for the remaining six months of the year from the south. Day and night are almost equal throughout the year. The sky is always cloudy most of time since the atmosphere has a high water content, thus direct solar radiation is relatively rare.

Yearly mean figure of sunshine is only 4.47 hours per day, which means that only 35% of the daylight time has direct sun rays - not shielded by clouds. For this reason, it is the reflection of the sky, not direct sun rays that is the chief source of heat in Calabar.

Generally, sunshine is synonymous to clear sky, with direct solar radiation causing glare, simmering effect and mirage when incident on the ground surface. This could cause discomfort, excessive expansion of building materials and changes in configuration and appearance of external finishes. With proper landscaping where such phenomena occurs, the adverse effects of solar radiation could be abated. Alternatively, use of indigenous materials with little reaction to such climatic effects are generally most ideal for use in such locations.

As this study shows, Old Calabar and its environs fall within the most humid parts of this country. As would be expected, to feel comfortable in this region, adequate cross ventilation is required. Contrary to this expectation, the Efik house form has no means of cross ventilation since external windows were normally avoided.

What therefore constitutes climatic influence on Efik house form can only be seen from the introduction of courtyards and the use of locally obtained building materials. For example, the alluvial soil and clay abundant in the region are used as good building materials for construction of walls. Raffia and robos obtained from the near by mangrove forest serve as good building materials too.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORY OF THE EFIK PEOPLE

ORIGIN

Ethnically, the Calabar region is regarded as Semi-Bantu. The Efik are the dominant ethnic group in the region with the "Qua" and "Efut" forming an essential element that constitutes Calabar in her long history.

Historically, Efik origin and migration still requires further investigations. Although not many scholars hold this view - because to them the origin and migration of the Efik is a known fact. But they contradict themselves when one finds that various beliefs of Efik origin from their various sources mostly oral are very unsubstantiated. Thus their past is still shrouded in mystery and until research work reveals more, we shall continue to rely on the rather speculative, varied accounts of the Efik genealogy.

For historical evidence, this research has relied heavily on some of the most comprehensive reports and documents about the Efik community. For instance, the report of the Commission set up by the government of the then Eastern Region to investigate the Obongship dispute in the year 1964[1]. Noah (1980) quotes extensively from this report to buttress the fact that the Efik had once lived among the Ibibio before migrating to Old Calabar. But when he further made reference to M.D.W. Jeffrey's statement "that in 1686 there were Ibibio settlements in the present vicinity of Old Calabar" pp. 2, he

---

1. NOAH, M.E. (1980) Old Calabar: The City States and The Europeans 1800 -1885) Scholars Press (Nig.) Ltd.

tended to contradict himself. Most Efik scholars have vehemently refuted this allusion. The Commission's Sole Commissioner, A.K. Hart was said to have noted at least five different accounts of Efik origin and migrations, whose details are briefly discussed below.

Facts contained in the report seem to suggest that the Efik originally lived at Uruan in Ibibio land[2] where they had previously migrated to[3] but also left about in the 16th century after a disturbance. To be able to stay out of their enemies' reach, they finally established their first settlements on the bank of the Cross River, in what was known then as Ikot-etunko or Obioko, now known as Creek Town. In paragraphs 66, 67, 82 and 89 of HART, A.K. (1964) Report of Enquiry into the Dispute Over the Obongship of Calabar (Enugu: Government Printer), most Efik are unanimous in accepting the fact that Creek Town is an Efik traditional settlement from where they finally migrated down river to Calabar. From here they later spread into the less accessible and more defensible locations in the creeks.

Oral tradition appears to hold that there were five founding fathers who settled at Creek Town wih their wives and families. Not long after the establishment of Creek Town, about the beginning of the 17th century, a dispute apparently led to the departure of one of the families (Ukpong and Adim Atai Group)[4] who established themselves at Obutong - now Old

---

2. Hart, A.K. (1964) Report of Enquiry into the Dispute Over the Obongship of Calabar (Enugu: Government Printer).
3. UNESCO-UNEP (1973) Survey and Development Plan for Calabar, Nigeria.
4. LATHAM, R.J.H. (197) Old Calabar 1600-1891: The Impact of International Economy on a Traditional Society: Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Atai Group)[4] who established themselves at Obutong - now Old Town.

For a long time now, the mode or period of Efik arrival at Old Calabar is still being disputed. However, there is an indication that the Efik arrived in Calabar before trade with Europeans began[5]. Some sources have maintained that this must have taken plac before 1650, after some strife had broken out among the Efik people of Creek Town[6].

On the east bank of Calabar river, Old Town occupies the northern extremity of the Calabar Urban area. It lies nearest to the open sea and was more accessible to the traders. With time, the advantages of their location became obvious, hence Creek Town moved with envy sent a number of families to found a new settlement - Atapka or New Town, later called Duke Town, 3.22 kilometers (2 miles) to the south of Old Town[7].

Duke Town soon became geographically and commercially superior to Old Town. Owing to its advantageous position, within a few decades, established and maintained a complete monopoly of trade with the European merchant ships, thus effectively cutting off her trade adversaries to the north, i.e. Old Town and Creek Town, and the Uruans, in that order.

In the wake of the destruction of Old Town in 1767 by the people of Duke Town (aided by European vessels commanders), and the death of King Eyo Honesty II of Creek Town, many families moved from Creek Town to Duke Town, hence

---

4. LATHAM, A.J.H. (1973) Old Calabar 1600-1891: The Impact of International Economy on a Traditional Society) Clarendon Press. Oxford.

Duke Town first became the commercial and later political centre of the area.

In the past, the towns making up Calabar together with the non-Efik settlements of Qua and Efut were first known as a "Slave Trade Port", which later became the centre for palm oil trade. See Figure 1.1

When later Calabar became a missionary centre of educational institutions, and an administrative capital for the British Rule in Southern Nigeria, its importance was derived from its location near the German and Spanish spheres of influence in Cameroon and Fernando Po. The port in Calabar was also used as a British Naval Base to protect the British interest.

MIGRATION

The history of Efik revolves around three themes: Origin, Migration and Settlement. Many of these accounts are speculative, varied, and controversial. For this reason, the study of Efik history is extremely complicated and has been a subject of immense controversy and a matter of serious concern to a great number of people. But the debate on the subject, especially locally, has produced more heat than light[8], owing to the political implications of the subject. Thus, while some, including Efik themselves, belief that their existence

---

7. Ibid
8. TRSCO-KORTI (1972) Survey and Development Plan for Calabar: Nigeria. P. 2.1
9. Ibid, p. 2.2
10. Before this time, there existed lack of unanimity in the history of Efik origin and Migration. This disturbing situation had often made the work of any researcher on Efik history an uphill task. There had is the recent past been too much claim of the 'papa's land' so much such so that these various schools of thought had to too long shrouded the true picture of the Efiks.

started within Nigeria[9] (Fig. 1.1), others hold the view that the Efik originated from other parts of Africa. Still others look across the continent - to the oriental nations[10], as the origin of the Efik.

These three schools of thought, according to Akak (1981), gave rise to three basic theories of classifications - the Localists, Continentalists, and Orientalists. Although these theories do not form the principal theme of this study, it might be necessary to examine them briefly.

The first group of thinkers hold the view that the Efik are an off-shoot of Ibibio. Reasons advanced for this belief, which Akak (1981) feels are now obsolete, are the fact that the Efik were said to have moved from Uruan, an Ibibio country side.

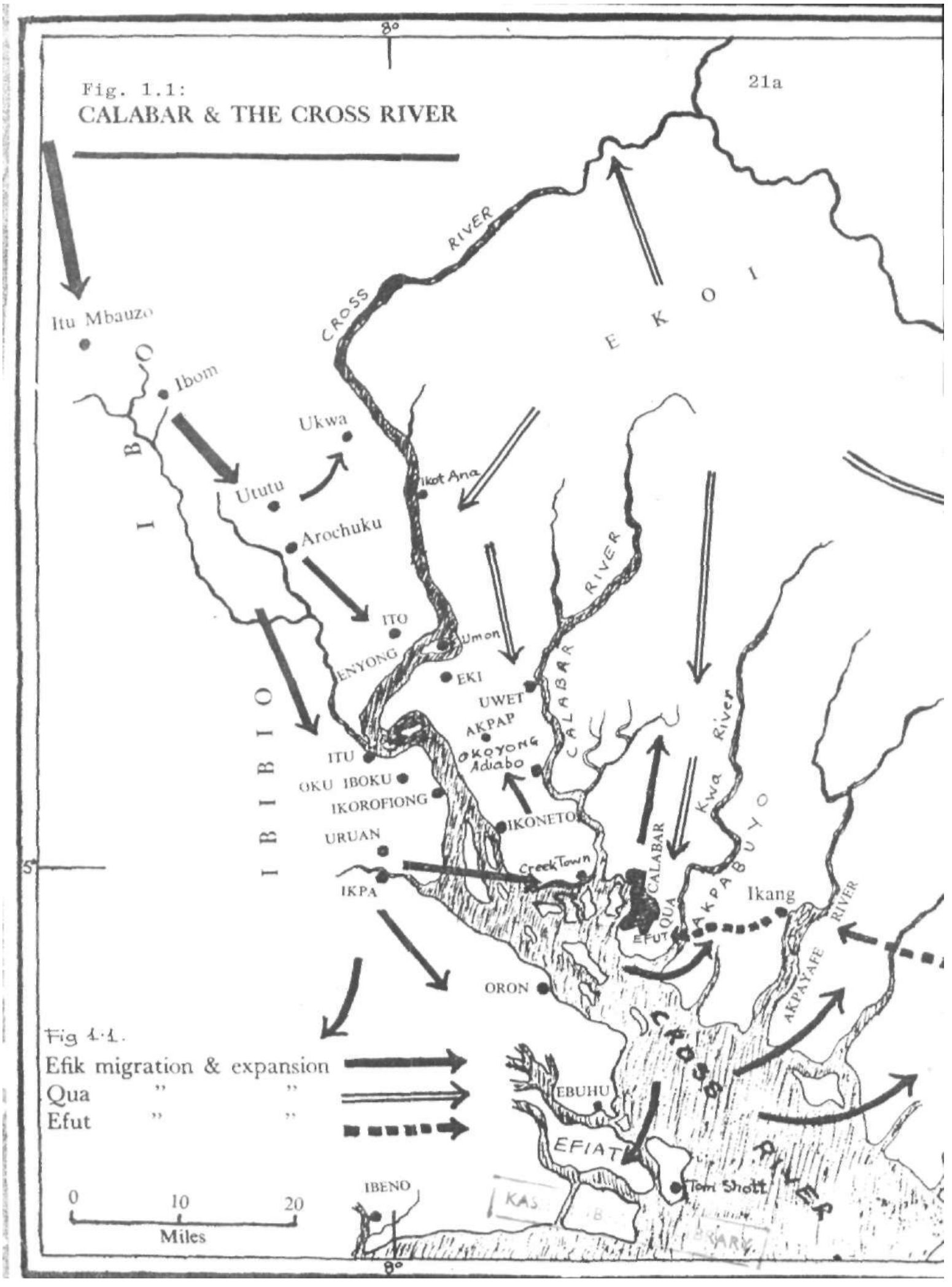
A proper re-examination of this assertion no doubt leads one to admit that wherever they migrated from, the Efik entered Nigeria from the East, possibly around the Chad - Benue axis[11]. Probably they were victims of political, economic or social changes, having to wander undaunted by these cataclysms till they came to their present habitat. Nair (1975) described it in the following words:

> "..... the history of the Efiks until the end of the eighteen century was characterized by successive waves of migrations, originating in the interior parts of Southern Nigeria and terminating at the estuary formed by the Calabar and Cross Rivers."[12]

---

9. AKAK, Chief (Dr.) E.O. (1981) Efiks of Old Calabar: Origin and History; Vol. 1. Akpabio Press, 29 Goldie Street, Calabar
10. Ibid
11. EKEH, A.E. (1976) "Efik Origin, Migration and settlement" An Unpublished B.A. (History) Dissertation, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
12. Professor NAIR, K.K. (1975) in his work "The Origin and development of Efik Settlements in South-Eastern Nigeria", Papers in International Studies No. 26, Ohio University Centre of International Studies, Ohio, U.S.A.

Fig. 1.1:
CALABAR & THE CROSS RIVER



Nair (1975) details the history of Efik settlement in the riverine regions of Cross River State, identifying three major phases of their migration. By careful reconstruction of this dispersal and settlement, he indicates the importance of Efik migrants in Southeastern Nigeria. His study greatly contributes to a better and more realistic understanding of the Efik community. Nair further maintains that the dispersals which occurred in the first two phases were caused largely by cultural and religious incompatibilities between the ethnic politics of the migrant and host communities[13]. However, in the final phase the migrations from Creek Town seem to have been prompted by a need to achieve a measure of social equilibrium within the organization of their kin group.

Furthermore, the continentalists' theory merely relates stories with no emphasis, of Efik being once a nomadic tribe in the Sudan[14]. This theory is very vague, weak and without any indication at all as to which of the Sudans - Western, Northern or Southern, it refers to. Because of its ambiguity, no one seems to have any interest in the whole theory other than mentioning it in passing whenever it becomes convenient.

The Orientalists on the other hand firmly believe that the Efik are ethnically oriental as evidenced by their linguistic and cultural affinity with the people of the Orient. Linguistically, they hold on to similarities between both sides in words such as "mon" (Efik) and "moy" (Egyptian)

". Ibid

for water, or "ikot" (Efik) and "kots" (Hebrew) for bush.

Those who support this tradition state that the Efik were originally living in Palestine or Egypt and that they wandered into Southeastern Nigeria after spending many years in North Africa, the Sahara, and parts of Sudan. Although none of these theories can be confirmed, their supporters argue on these similarities to make one think they are probable.

Generally, these theories make no fundamental impact on the social, economic, political and cultural life of the Efik. Although one does not fail to see some similarities between Efik architectural traditions with other communities both in south eastern and other parts of Nigeria, opponents of this theory still believe that such similarities are, to say the least, per chance.

They also argue about similarity in culture reflected in the elaborate funeral rites of Efik when compared with those of ancient Egyptians and other oriental culture. In support of this stand, a modern researcher on Efik History adds:-

> ".... in fact, the Efiks as we know had migrated into Ibibio land from the orient (possibly Ethiopia or ancient Nubia) and met the Ibibio in the latter's present home. Hence the migrant Efik moved to the present Efik territory much latter"[15]

From my assessment, the Efik are therefore a people who, in the journey to their present habitat interacted with other peoples. There is therefore little doubt that Efik origin, migrations and settlement pattern and their interactions with

---

". HART, A.K. (1964) Report of Enquiry into the Dispute over the Obongship of Calabar/ Enugu: Government Printers, p.25(55).

their Ibibio, Igbo, Efut, Qua and other neighbors will continue to excite historical interest.

This background therefore forms the basis of what this research seeks to identify - Efik Traditional Architecture and House Form vis a vis the impact and/or influence of external factors.

LOCATION

For almost five hundred years of its existence, Old Calabar has been an important trading port. Because of its location as the nearest habitable site to the sea along the Calabar River, Calabar became the most outstanding trading centre in the Cross River valley.

Since land transportation was still at its infancy, the main medium of transporting goods was through the use of natural water ways - which in this case was served by three navigable water ways - the Cross River, the Calabar and Great Kwa Rivers.

Geographically, Calabar is located on latitude 4° 58' north, and longitude 8° 22' east - Fig. 1.2. It lies on a peninsula between the Calabar and Great Kwa Rivers, about 56.33 kilometers (35 miles) up the Calabar River.

Located on the eastern bank of the Calabar River, Calabar's growth to the south is greatly limited by the mangrove swamps. Expansion is possible only eastward up to and

---

". AMAH, Ajeto: Nigerian States. p. 30.



Fig. 1.2: Location of Calabar (Nigeria)

over the Great Kwa River (Fig. 1.3), and northward. Calabar town is an interfluvial city, which is typical of most towns in this part of the country, built on a high area between two adjacent valleys.

In the past, water ways provided direct access to the heart of the oil-palm belts and main centres of population. In the case of Calabar, the advantageous location of its ports at the mouth of such water ways (Fig. 1.4)[16] made continuous trade relations with the Europeans possible thereby creating a political dependency status for Calabar.[17]

EFIK LANGUAGE

Efik, which is the language spoken by the people is included in the central branch (Cross River languages) of the Niger-Congo family by Greenberg (1949)[18]. But a provisional language map of Nigeria based on an index of Nigerian Languages[19] by Hansford and Standford (1976) later identifies Efik language to fall within the Benue-Congo group of languages.

Efik, according to Adams/Goldie (1943) is the best known dialect of the Ibibio language group. Furthermore, the study of West African Languages in 1952 by Westerman and Bryan[20] reveal that the Ibibio-Efik group of languages has six dialects: Ibibio, Annang, Enyong, Eket, Andoni-Ibeno and

---

16. MAIR, E.M. (1975) and LATHAM, A.J.H. (1973) are hereby acknowledged for Figs. 1.5 and 1.6-1.7 respectively.
17. TESCO-KOEI (1973) Survey and Development Plan for Calabar, Nigeria. P. 1.1-1.2
18. GREENBERG, J. (1949) "Studies in African Linguistic Classification. The Niger-Congo Family". South Western Journal of Anthropology, 1949, p.79-100. quoted in Forde, D. (1956) ed. Efik Traders of Old Calabar, International African Institute, Oxford University Press, London.
19. HANSFORD, K.; BENDOR-SAMUEL, J. and STANDFORD, Ronald are members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Their "A provisional Language map of Nigeria" in Savannah, Vol. 5, No. 2, December 1976, p.115-125, summarized their knowledge of the distribution of the large number of languages spoken in Nigeria. The map also shows the broad relationship of these languages one to another. The map further highlights the fact that a large majority of Nigerian languages come

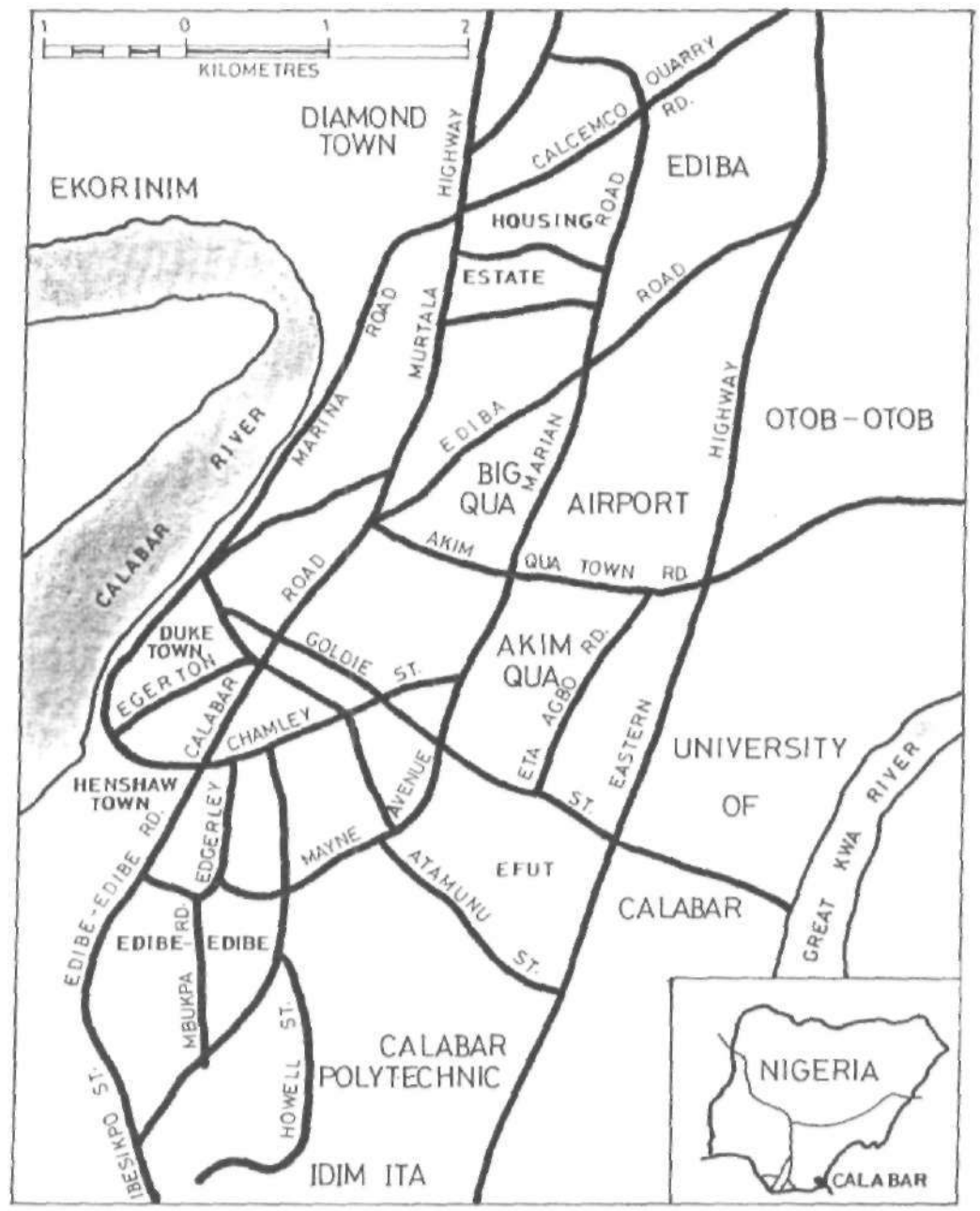


Fig. 1.3: CALABAR - Location Map

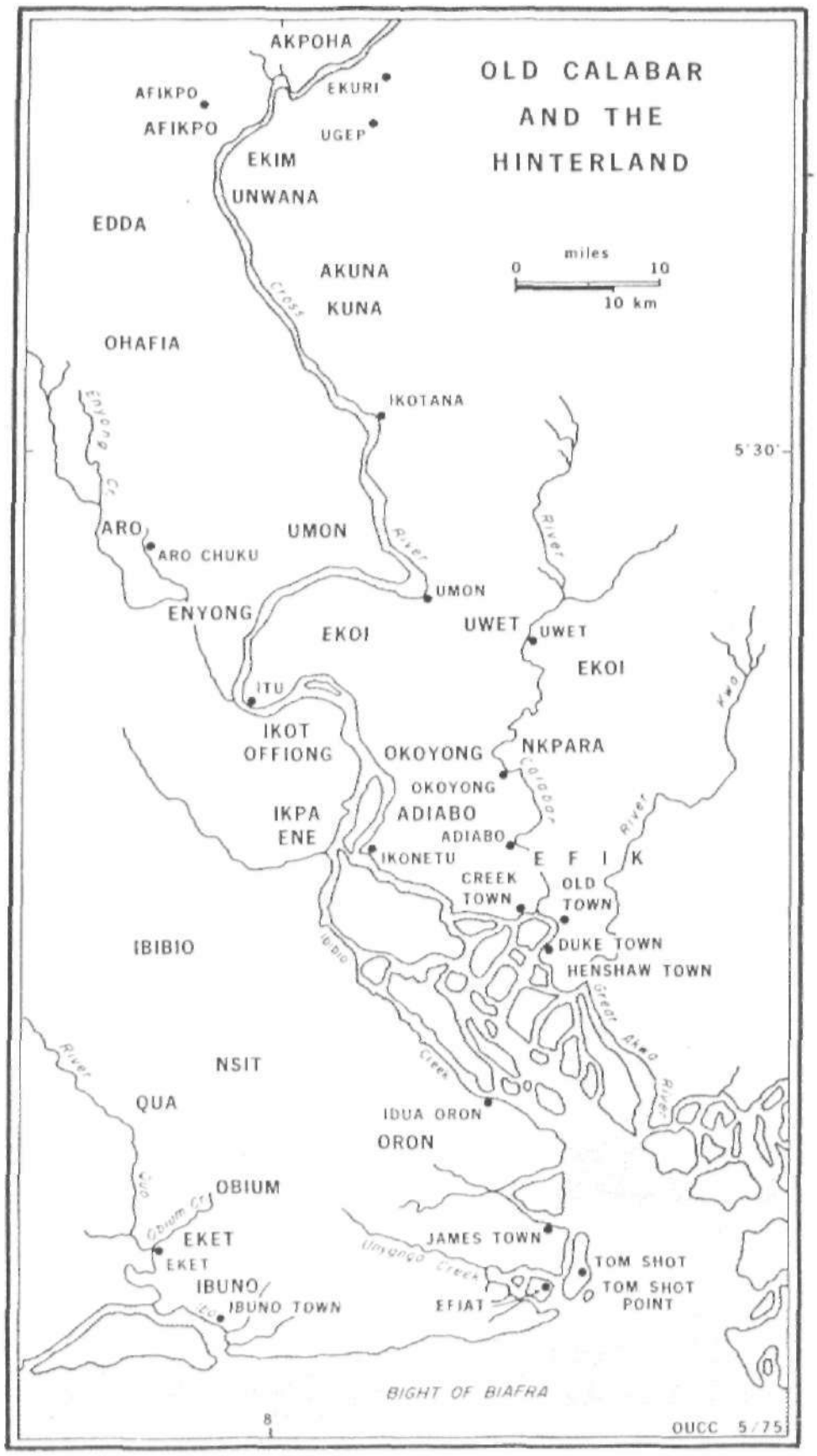


FIG. 1.4 OLD CALABAR

Efik[21]. There is some linguistic proof that Efik is a dialect of the Ibibio language, and that it separated from the other only within the last few centuries. Simons (1956)[22] notes that a comparison of 195 Ibibio and Efik words on the Swadesh basic vocabulary list reveals 189 cognates (95.89%), and that this high percentage indicate recent separation of the two languages.

That was why when the need for translating the Bible into a language understood by the people of this area arose, the church of Scotland Mission chose Efik, thus making it widely accepted as the literary language of the Ibibio dialect.

Efik language became the lingua franca of the lower Cross River area during the pre-colonial era owing to the influence of Efik traders in the region. Their travels caused the non-Efik settlements of this area, whom they came in contact with, to communicate in Efik.

Although by the 18th century Efik kings had acquired basic knowledge of some European languages such as Portuguese, German, English (pidgin), the 19th century trade requirements fostered the spirit of acquisition of a basic trade language. Thus in early 19th century, and in response to the international trade requirements to carry out foreign transactions in a basic trade language, English was chosen and

---

from four language families - though six other language families are represented in the country.

[21] MCCAWLEY, D. and ARYAN, M.A. (1956) "The Languages of West Africa", in Forde, D. (1956) ed. Efik Traders of Old Calabar.

[22] ALAMA, W.F.O. (1943) Efik-English Vocabulary - Second Edition; Calcta. M. op. Cit; and Principles of Efik Grammar with Specimen of the Language, 1888; Ward I.C. The Phonetics and Tonal Structure of Efik, 1933.

SIMMONS, D. (1956) An Ethnographic Sketch of the Efik People; in Forde, D. (1956) ed. Efik Traders of Old Calabar, p. 1

became widely spoken as a result; and to date not only is it the official language of the Federal Government of Nigeria, but also that of all state governments including Cross River State.

ECONOMY

The economy of the Cross River Basin is as old as the settlement of its people. Generally, the pattern of economic activity was one of the interchange of yams, from the northern parts of the region, for the palm produce of Ibibio land; and the fish and salt of the coast. This interchange was facilitated by the ease of canoe movement along the Cross River and its tributaries.

The Efik were originally fishermen and farmers cultivating such crops as yams, cocoyams, cassava, maize, gourds, melons and a variety of other plants and vegetables. But like the Ibibios, they could only grow about half of a year's supply for themselves. They were very dependent therefore upon the imported yams from the northern parts of the Province - notably Obubra, Ikom and Ogoja[23]. See Fig. 1.5 and 1.6. Hunting was also done with the use of cap guns and by trapping.

The Ibibio on the other hand had abundance of oil palm and palm products which were the basis of their economy. Palm oil was therefore exported both up-river to the yam producing

---

". FORDE, D. (1956) ed. Efik Traders of Old Calabar: International African Institute, Oxford University Press, London. p. 81

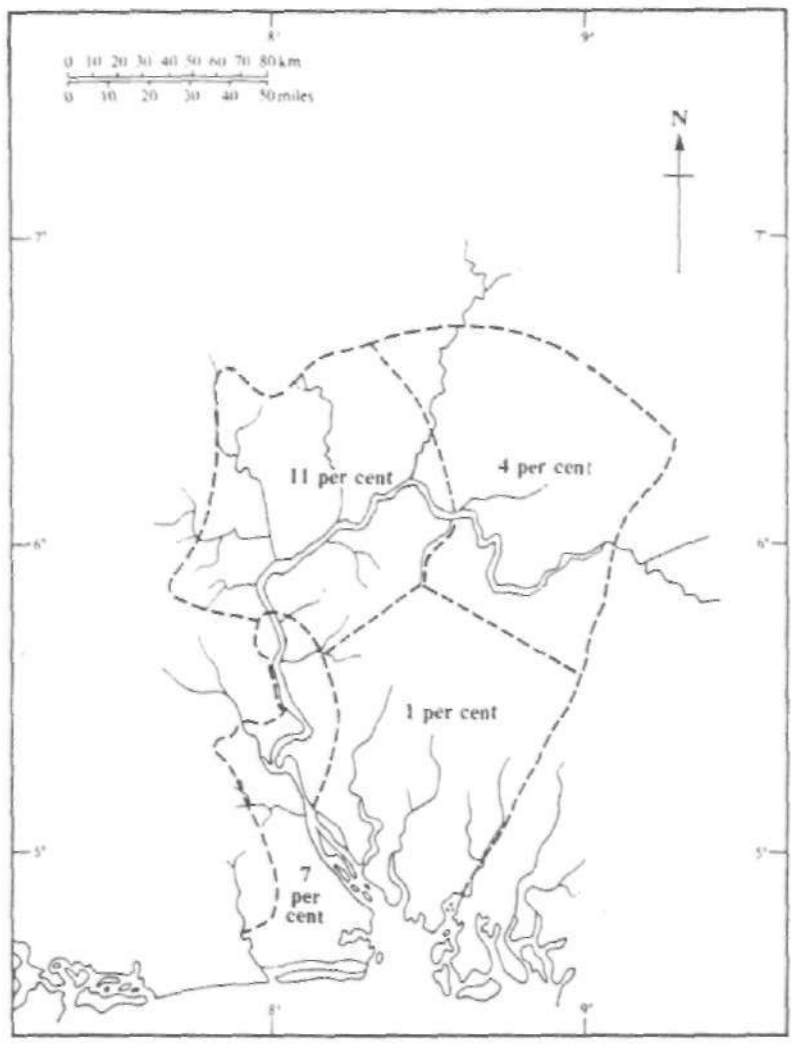


FIG. 1.5: **LAND USE** (Proportion of Land under Crops)

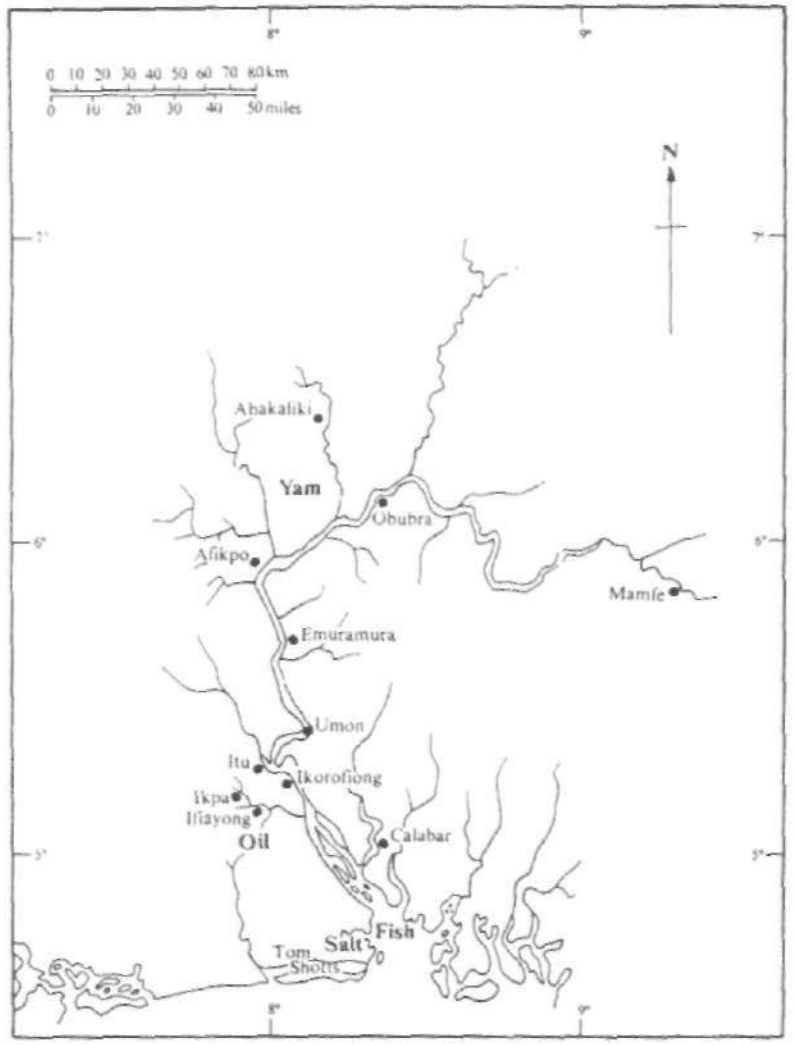


FIG. 1.6: CROSS RIVER ECONOMY

areas and down-river to Calabar[24].

Hence, the oil and yams carried down to Calabar were exchanged in return for fish, shrimps, prawn and salt. These items where then distributed to the local inland markets by petty traders.

The Efik soon lost their fishing and farming opportunities as they happen to be at points where they had first contact with European traders in the early 1660's. They in turn went into trading which started in the 15th century with the Portuguese whom they called Botoki[25]. As time went on, this region started acting as centre of trade relations between the Efik and other Africans as well as the Europeans.

It needs be mentioned that the wealth of Efik chiefs in the European trade link was derived almost exclusively from their (Efik's) activities as middlemen rather than as land owners or producers. It was feared that if the European traders were allowed to penetrate into the country, and gain direct access to the interior markets, they would completely undermine or marginalise the middleman function of the Efik. Thus for fear of losing these middlemen functions, the Efik chiefs were determined to keep the European trader out of African society as much as possible. This and other factors - such as the inclement weather conditions of the region compelled the European super cargoes to stay on the hulks, away from the shores, thus consolidating Calabar port as the

---

24. KNIP, K.K. (1972) Politics and Society in South Eastern Nigeria 1841-1906: A study of power, diplomacy and commerce in Old Calabar: Frank Cass. London. p.21.

only economic and trade centre.

What resulted from this arrangement, to the advantage of both the Efik and European traders, was what Nair (1972) called the Trust or Credit System of Trade. It was a system whereby the European traders advanced a considerable amount of goods - on trust - to an Efik chief in exchange for an equivalent value of slaves (or palm oil) to be collected on a later date.

Barbot's account of Calabar's trade in 1678 also revealed that the most current European goods given on trust consisted of gunpowder, cloths, iron goods, utensils and alcohol of different types. Others were copper bars, blue rags, hawks bells, as well as rangoes, pewter basins, tankards, beads and copper armlets.

Nair (1972) further shows that apart from the payment of trust, European traders often gave Efik chiefs a dash[26], or tip as a sign of reward for their services and to sustain their goodwill. In addition to these payments, all European ships had to pay a duty - Comey[27] to Efik kings for the privilege granted them to trade on their coast. This way, the Efik middlemen made a high profit from the system - so too were the European traders.

In pre-colonial times, the Efik, apart from fishing and farming also engaged in various crafts and industries. Through the mining of iron-ore at Oban and Cameroon mountains, metal

---

". Ayo, E.U. (1981) Old Calabar Through The Century, Hope Waddell Press, p. 84

work was made possible. This art provided agricultural and other tools and implements like blades, knives, hoes, metal currencies and even bronze or brass ceremonial objects[28].

Brass and bronze casting (using `lost wax' technique), weaving and dying of cotton, raffia and other fibres for cloth production, ropes, mats, fans, caps, necklaces and bangles were popular in this area. Salt, palm oil processing as well as soap-making satisfied local needs.

Wood work and wood carving satisfied the practical and aesthetic requirements in architecture; boat building, production of domestic utensils (containers, fans and mirror frames) and ritual paraphernalia (masks, staffs, and ancestral figures). As will be shown later, some of these trades suffered complete disappearance at the advent of imported international trade.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Marriage institution among the Efik was polygamous in the past, and the number of wives a man could marry depended on his means and social status. Marriages were mostly contracted for economic and political reasons. Wives could trade or farm and bring home the proceeds of their labour of which the husband and children would benefit. A man's wealth was also measured by the number of wives he married.

For political reasons, members of the royal family in

---

28. WINWOOD, R. Savage Africa, p. 22 derives the origin of the word "dash" from the Portuguese 'das-se' (give me). But Hugh Crow, in his Memoirs, p. 276, states that a

one town would choose royal wives from other towns in order to establish some form of political links among themselves. For instance, when King Eyo Honesty II married a daughter of an Ikorofiong chief, he was at once acknowledged by Ikorofiong people as brother-in-law (ukot).

A family therefore comprises a man, his wife or wives, his children and other relatives. It is an extended kinship system. The large unit is normally known as house (ufok), which in the past included all the slaves.

There is also the head of the house (ibuot ufok), who in the past, was the oldest member of the family. Today the choice of the family head often falls on one chosen for financial ability, rather than his age.

The basic domestic unit consisted of the polygamous family, which included a man, his wife (wives), and their offspring. A number of households, grouped together in lineages were called `house' (ufok)[29]. A house was thus a group of men patrilinearly related to an immediate male ancestor, the wives of these men, their sons, and their wives and unmarried daughters. As time went on these came to include household slaves and servants.

It is a combination of `houses' having patrilineal ties with each other which when grouped together form towns (wards). There are however, no visible boundaries to wards, although it has continued to form a social and political unit

---

More probable albeit speculative etymon would be the English 'dash of rum' since this was usually given to the African traders by European ships.

in the lives of Efik people.

Nevertheless, the effect of this system on indigenous architecture is obvious, thus giving indication that the courtyard system of architectural planning can accommodate this family pattern.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Among the Efik, the system of law and authority is closely interwoven with the social and political structure, so much so that a description of the latter is also that of the former. Unlike the Yoruba of western Nigeria and some other tribes in northern Nigeria, the Efik belong to that group of tribes who have neither a clearly designated head nor a central authority in their political organization.

Such tribes are anthropologically known as Simple Acephalus tribes, that is, tribes constituted of autonomous bands or villages. The component units of such tribes has its membership based largely on kinship which in the case of the Efik, is bilaterally organized.

The Efik therefore had no tribal head or council of elders[30]. Several communities (See Fig. 1.7) were simply held together only by common customs and interests, reinforced by common rituals. This organization is further said to be based on two central institutions - the Family and secret

---

30. Perhaps derived from the word "system" duty paid on imports. See also Hutchinson, T.J. Two Years Wandering Among the Ethiopians, p. 10
The Story of Old Calabar: A Guide to the National Museum at Old Residency, Calabar, A Publication of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments, 1986.
It was a system of administration, which worked well for both the families and society.
JONES, G.I. (1956) "The Political Organization of Old Calabar" Forde, D. (1956) ed.

Fig. 1.7:

← IKOTETUNKO / CREEK TOWN
(Settlements of Old Calabar)

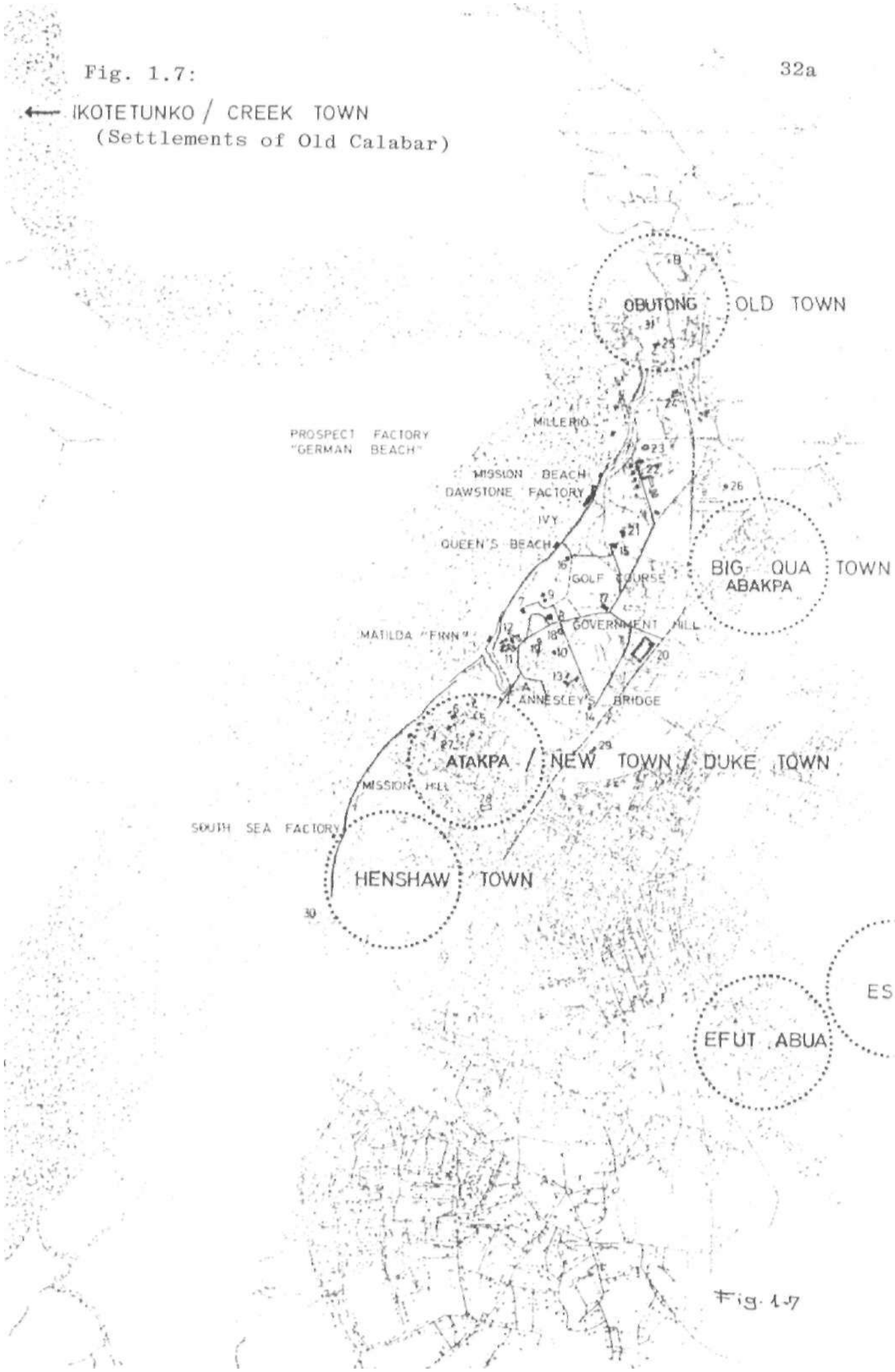


Fig. 1.7

societies[31], which determine and regulate all forms of social practices. Although these institutions had to adapt themselves in response to new social and economic needs, they remained the main thrust upon which all forms of Efik social practices revolve.

Politically, each Efik kinship (House) segment is independent of the other, although a few provisions - mainly ceremonial exist which allow two or more to act in concert on certain occasions. Therefore the House or Family System in Efik Land is a cultural heritage, acting as an integral part of their political and social system. So important is the system that for a man to be an Efik, he has to belong to a House[32].

CULTS AND SOCIETIES

The Efik beliefs and cults include beliefs in a supreme God (Abasi), in the power of ancestors and other supernatural beings, in magic-medicine, soul affinity with animals, reincarnation, sorcery and witchcraft, (ifot) which in Efik language is also used for a witch or a wizard[33].

The believe in witchcraft is said to have played a very important role in the destruction of human lives in Old Calabar. Witchcraft as a type of sorcery is an old institution, it has been common to all humanity in the early days of their development, and this belief exist in many parts

---

31. NOAH, M.E. (1980) Old Calabar: The City States and the Europeans, 1800-1960: Scholars Press (Nig) Ltd. This stand was confirmed by panel of an interview with Acc. M.

of the world in a form peculiar to each community. In Africa today the belief in witchcraft is a great social drawback and spreads fear and panic and death among many. The result is that witch-hunts are still common, especially in many out-of-the-way villages. And the so-called witch-doctors still command a powerful influence in the social life of each community.

The Efik believe in witchcraft in the past as well as in the present is a serious affair. There is according to them the white witch (afia ifot) and the black (obubit). The white, they say is better than the black and is practiced mainly for ones protection and prosperity, without using the cult to harm others. The black on the other hand is believed to be the most dangerous and the most destructive and common type which is mainly used for destroying lives and creating havoc. Witches have the power to cause mysterious death and night mares, to destroy a baby in the mother's womb, to cause sickness and barrenness and impotence on others, sores to spread into ulcers, to bring misfortunes on whom they wish to do so, and are capable of getting access to people's money and making away with it however it might be hidden[34].

The Efik belief the witches and wizards normally have their regular nocturnal rendezvous where each contributes a relative, offspring, wife or husband in turn for their

---

Archibong, 23 January, 1992 and Mrs. Bocco, Curator, Old Residency Museum, Calabar.
AMAH, Chief (Dr.) E.O. (1982) Efik of Old Calabar; Culture and Superstitions, Vol. III, Akak and Sons, 6, Aba Street, Calabar.
SIMMONS, D. (1956) "An Ethnographic Sketch of the Efik" in Forde, D. (1956) ed.
Many correspondents believe that the best way to stop this phenomena and safe ones money is by dropping a pin or needle into the money safe or purse. this way the power of the wizard is neutralizes. See Eyo, E.O. (1967).

cannibalistic orgies, celebrated with wild dancing, drinking and singing. The victims are not generally taken to the assembly in their human form but only their hearts are removed for the nightly feasts. Nor do the witches themselves appear at their festivals in their complete physical bodies, but are said to be there in their raw red flesh, having abandoned their skins which now sleeps in the house. They are capable of transforming themselves into various forms and shapes, either those of animals, insects or mere objects. It is maintained they can travel to any distant country the same night and back with incredible speed, either by possessing wings and flying in the air or sailing on the seas in groundnut shells or on cocoyam leaves.

Any person suspected of witchcraft never received an ordinary burial at death, because of the strong belief in his psychic resurrection, and that he would return to continue his fiendish activities among the living. Consequently, the eyes of any such suspects were removed to render them blind beyond the grave, and eso ntibe (perforated clay pot for drying shrimps over fire) placed over his head. The corpse was then either buried facing the ground or burnt and the ashes buried in order to render the ekpo ifot (witch ghost) completely inactive.

Today the word Ifot is popularly used in the Efik language either as a metaphor or simile to describe or compare with a witch one who is clever and has knowledge of "all

things", because witches and wizards are believed to be omniscient. Most Western inventions were generally attributed to be witch-inspired. For instance, the first aeroplane in Calabar was at first thought to be the product of European wizardry.

Witchcraft and House Form in Efik Land

To explain witchcraft, especially as it affects house-form in Efik land is a complex and difficult matter. And to be able to do so, some psychological and social factors have to be considered. Normally most of those blamed for witchcraft are queer people. In an environment in which excessive social intercourse is the norm, one finds those "anti-socials" odd and somewhat out of place.

But in every community we have those people who prefer to live their own lives unmolested, quiet in their own way and choose to brood over their difficulties and misfortunes without allowing others to share their sorrows with them. In the eyes of the majority they are odd characters who may practice witchcraft because their lives are not understood by others. Furthermore, in a society in which the old order conflicts with the new, problems are more often explained away by attributing their origin to some evil hands from the unseen world, an invisible diabolical realm responsible for human sorrows and misfortunes.

In Calabar an unfortunate barrenness in a woman was due

and haunts of all time.

An attempt was made in this study to access the influence of witchcraft on Efik traditional house form. In this case, it was found out that just as it was easier to abolish witchcraft by legislation than to define it, it was difficult to say in concrete terms which aspect of Efik house form could be said to have been influenced by witchcraft.

Generally, witchcraft in Efik society was an amorphous concept, just as the origin of Efik house is still uncertain. The hypothesis may however be advanced that since witchcraft was so prevalent in Efik culture, it must have been central to a political system which used it in order to destroy rivals within it.

For example, the death of a ruling king was an occasion for the release of tension between rival lineages. Hence, in order to remove potential rivals, witchcraft was a useful device with which to charge a candidate and thus be rid of him. The result of this development is the break down of the household and eventual disintegration of the house.

The absence of windows, especially on external walls of an Efik compound also show the influence of witchcraft on Efik house form. For fear of intrusion of witches, especially at night, the discomfort of not having cross ventilation in this humid region was borne for centuries.

TRADITIONS AND CULTURE

Since the functioning of social and political structure is not possible without some form of culture, which mould human behaviours, culture must therefore continue to play its traditional role either in its originality or in a modified form with a view to a balanced stability and continuity. Hence the Efik of Old Calabar developed a highly distinctive cultural pattern, which as a result of the prolonged European presence in the area, has gone through many changes.

Some major traditions which have undergone these changes include the fattening (seclusion) and training of girls (Ufok Nkuho) in preparation for womanhood, masquerades and secret cults, chieftaincy, funeral/burial rites, coronation ceremonies; as well as dressing, speech and etiquette.

In this investigation, it was possible to know how much of the original cultural contents have been discarded, how much are modified and how many institutions retain their originality; and more specifically how Efik traditional architecture has adapted to such changes. The balance between what is lost, what has been influenced and what is gained forms the basis of the analysis in this study.

In Nigeria, each ethnic group has its own culture which must have followed such group(s) from their places of origin. The Efik for instance, according to Akak (1982) are historically believed to come from the orient and as such their ancient culture and traditions are basically Orient

"..... I have pointed out before that the origin of the Efik people points to the Orient; this is evidenced by the fact that in most of their habits and traditions, they are different from their immediate neighbors in many respects, but have strong similarities with early Oriental peoples"[36].

Efik are a nation of advanced culture and customs. They are well endowed because their culture is a combination of so many ingredients, architecture, arts, drama, ethics, literature, nationalism and philosophy.

Barbot (1972) described Old Calabar as being well furnished with villages and hamlets, and "good, civilized people"[37] with a very high sense of decency. Their adoption of the multi-courtyard architectural system has a lot to do with orderliness.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Religion plays a key role in many societies and their history. For this reason, it is claimed that if God did not exist, man will certainly invent one. Thus:

"..... we humans have the capacity to worship. This is part of our make up from birth. We also have a moral sense, a conscience to guide us as to what is right and what is wrong. In various ways, all of us follow that conscience, and in doing so, may look to a God or gods for guidance"[38].

For the Efik of Old Calabar, such guidance is sought through the belief in a supreme being - Abasi; who to them is the only deity in the whole universe. Although their religion was monthestic in theory, it became polytheistic in practice

---

36. AKAK, E.O. Chief (Dr.) (1982) Efiks of Old Calbar. Vol. III: Culture and Superstitions. Akak and Sons, 21 Okpo Abasi Street, Calabar, Nigeria. p. 272.
37. Ibid
38. The Watch Tower - June 1, 1992. The Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania: International Bible Students Association, Brooklyn, New York, USA.

through the cult of many gods (of supernatural nature), belief in the power of ancestors, magic-medicine, soul affinity with animals, reincarnation, sorcery, black power and witchcraft.

One outstanding feature of the religion of the Efik is their strong belief in a future state, hence the practice whereby at least four slaves were normally left alive in the tunnel of a deceased chief to attend to him in the next world. This was normally achieved by digging a grave almost 6.1 metres (20 feet) deep at the bottom of which an ada (tunnel) was dug for almost 18.29 metres (20 yards) to serve as the burial chamber for the dead chief, Figure 1.8.

Here the deceased chief's personal attendants who carry his snuff-box, gun, lantern and knife, are said to have been left alive before covering the grave. Although this practice has little or no architectural significance, it parallels a similar practice in ancient Egypt - The Pyramids, the burial places of the Pharaohs. Figure 1.9.

TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE SYSTEM[39]

It was the Divisional Officer for Opobo, Mr. D.A.F. Shute (1933) who first described the system of land tenure prevailing among the Ibibio in the `Division'. An assessment of this description apply generally to the whole of the then thickly populated Ibibio-Efik land which cover a very large portion of the Calabar province.

". I express my sincere gratitude to Mr. A.I. Akpabio, Head of Research Section and Mr. A.O. Effiong, both of the National Archives, Calabar, for their valuable

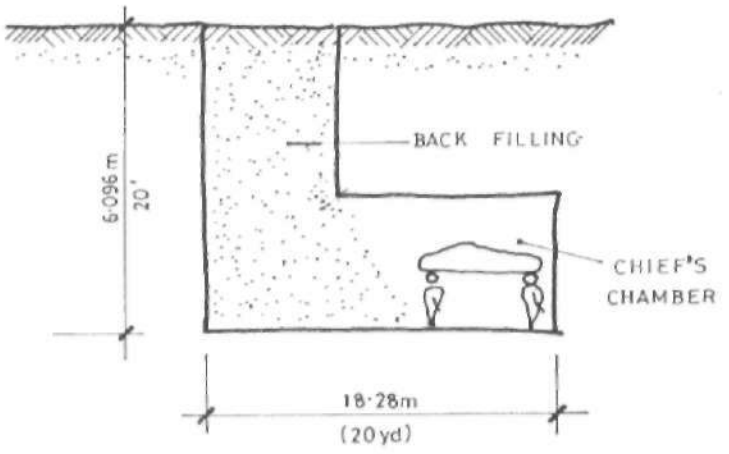


FIG. 1.8 KINGS GRAVE: EFIK LAND

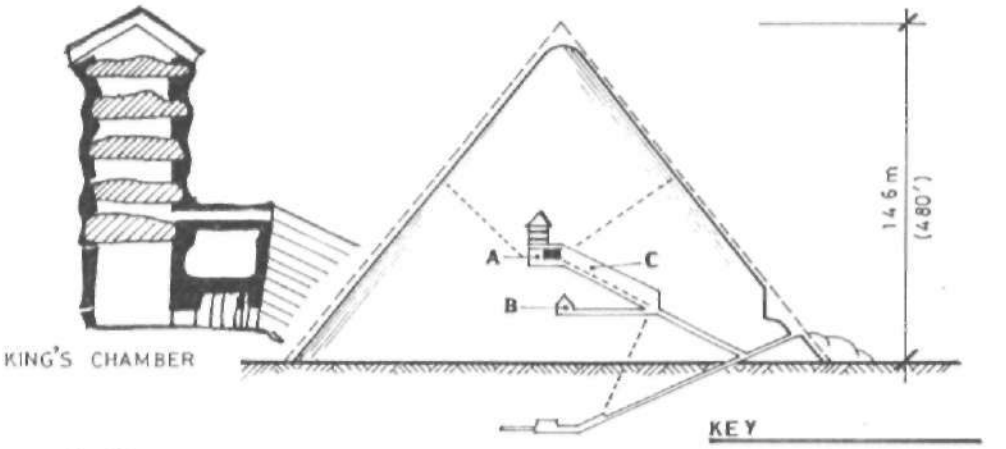


FIG.1.9: GREAT PYRAMID OF CHEOPS: GIZEH

In Calabar in particular, Land Holding may be classified under two broad headings:- Farm Land and Residential Land, each having its separate "laws and usages" governing ownership and usufruct.

The Efik, like their Ibibio counterparts have a farming cycle in which the same piece of land is farmed every 5th or 7th year according to the amount of land possessed by the Village. The area of land farmed every year divides into sections belonging to each Efik extended family. A village may contain from 1 to 10 extended family linage (Ekpuks) but from 2 to 3 is the usual member and the approximate number of adult males in an Ekpuk is between 30 and 40. The boundaries of Ekpuk farm land do not alter and within that area each member of the Ekpuk knows his own piece of land to farm and returns to it each time that particular area is cleared for farming. When a member of the Ekpuk dies, the land which he had farmed is redistributed among the other members of the Ekpuk by the Ekpuk head.

Normally with the consent of the head of the Ekpuk, a member may pledge the usufruct of a piece of his farm land to some other person inside or outside the Ekpuk or outside the village, for a sum of money. This entitled the person who pays for the land to have the use of it to grow "one" crop off it. It is a strict tenet of native land that land so pledged can be redeemed for the same amount of money as was received

information, materials and assistance.

for it with no interest added, so long as the man to whom it was pledged has grown one crop off it. If the pledger wishes to redeem it before the man to whom it was pledged has had use of it, it is customary for the redemption money to be doubled.

On the other hand, if the land is not redeemed, the man to whom it was pledged or his family has the use of it until it is redeemed. Some pledgings last over a long period of time and are sometimes the cause of complicated cases in the native court. "Under no circumstances can farm land be sold".

Though this could be said to be an accurate description of the system of land tenure in pre-colonial Efik country, it does not mention, the rapidly growing tendency for individuals to regard farm land as personal property. The fact that land can be pledged to persons outside the land holders ekpuk shows that the idea of individual ownership of land has long been in the peoples minds and there is no doubt that in some parts commercial ownership by the extended family is no longer recognized. Following this development outright sale of land becomes a common feature, though that was usually confined to members of the same community and not permitted to strangers.

In Calabar town itself the position is different. The old system of land tenure was that the "Obong of Calabar" nominally held all the land and individuals merely occupied it. Disputes as to right of occupation were easily settled. Since the death of Obong Archibong II in the year 1872, there has been no Obong recognized by the whole town, and the

ownership of lands within the town has developed on the Etuboms of the Houses. They have granted portions of land to individuals who now look on them as their personal property. In an over crowded town such as Calabar, land disputes have become very frequent.

On the death of a land holder there is often dispute among his surviving relatives as to who is entitled to the land and matters become very complicated when strangers attempt to rent land on which to build. Consequently, it is common for a stranger to make all arrangements for the lease of a piece of land with a native only to find out that the land rightly belongs to someone else.

Applications by non-native for leases are frequently held up for very long periods because of such disputes as to the rightful ownership of the land.

If Efik tradition underwent many vicissitudes during the early years of the colonial period, the chiefs made successful attempts to counter the changes so far as decisions regarding land tenure policy were concerned. The chiefs claimed that the traditional land tenure system forbade the sale of land to foreigners. With this argument the chiefs resisted the break-up of the customary forms of land tenure.

Hence, the official view became that indirect administration necessitated that the chiefs retain control of land. However, local government could appropriate or rent land for public use after compensation had been paid. Where land

was required by non-Efik, the chief concerned, as trustee of the land, had to lease the area required to the lessee not withstanding any customary law to the contrary.

There was no evidence that land was leased out by any chief for large scale capital exploitation by European agents. Thus, the traditional land tenure system in Efik land had no disintegrating or destructive effect on house form.

RURAL LAND POLICY[40]

The colonial administrators inherited a very complicated and chaotic situation pertaining to land matters in the south eastern regions. In existence, as previously discussed, was a native land tenure system devoid of any regulatory measures or policy. In an attempt to set a clear picture of the Traditional Land Law in Efik Society, an analysis of the rights and disabilities of land holders was carried out.

Occupants Rights

The right to own land in Old Calabar had to conform with the traditional land law and custom. Consequently, the question of whether an owner could sub-let or pawn land becomes an interesting issue. If such right existed, for how long could such a lease last before it could be redeemed?

Available evidence seems to show that Leasing or sub-letting to a member of the same community was permissible. But

---

40. National Archives, Calabar. Rural Land Policy, 1928. File No. K/W: C.12/1928/ C/N: 1/5/106, Calabar.

leasing to other persons is only permissible with the consent of the community. This in practice means consent of local chiefs or Headmen. Speaking generally the population unit over which individual chiefs exercise control in this manner was small throughout the Calabar province. There were as a rule merely chiefs of Villages, family Heads or Heads of Houses. But the area at least normally controlled by one man may be considerable. Such a chief or Headman may have an overlord whose consent to a lease to a stranger has to be obtained. Frequently a collective body of family heads have the right to be consulted. The tendency was to ignore their rights and they are slow to assert it because they themselves wished to traffic in land individually independent of the consent of others.

The pawning of the land was a lease marked feature in the Calabar Province than it was in other provinces. The pawning of land is not a native custom, it arose when it became dangerous to continue the old usage of pawning persons. The practice was introduced by traders and money lenders, whose object was to filch land from illiterate farmers.

Furthermore, there is no limit to the period of redemption, but the rate of interest claimed as a rule precludes redemption. Native court chiefs can but rarely be relied on to give consistent judgements when cases of this nature come before them in courts. They were as a rule often swayed one way or the other by selfish motives. Almost

invariably it is found that the heads of the community knew nothing about the pawning transaction. This practice was latter declared null and void by the colonial administrators.

On the other hand, at the demise of a land holder, his male heirs inherit all his rights. But if the man dies without leaving male issues his holding would be distributed. Our investigations reveal that there was no limit to which land so distributed could be subdivided by inheritance. Under the shifting system of cultivation boundary marks were occasionally obliterated. In that case a limited amount of redistribution does occur, when a large area of overgrown land is re-cultivated after the lapse of five to ten years. Uncultivated land, waste land and palm groves were as a rule communal property.

The sale of land in Old Calabar Province was found out to be common only among the literate persons and money lenders who occasionally claim to have bought land in rural areas. When documents pertaining to these types of sales were examined, it was found out that such a practice was uncommon. As a rule, these claims and documents were:-

(a) a contravention of native law and custom; and

(b) fraudulent.

Disabilities of Occupants

The study also looked at the issue of dispossession of land on criminal grounds and questioned if such a custom

existed in Efik community. The facts showed that no such practice existed. Although criminal offenders could be punished in other ways (eg by paying of fines), they were never dispossessed of their rights to land.

For acts of insubordination to the Native Authorities, there were penalties (ranging from a cow, goat, wine, kola nuts) to be paid for such acts, either to the Ekpe cult or the Etuboms council depending on the gravity of the offence.

Furthermore, in accordance with Efik Traditional Land Tenure System, an occupant could be deprived of his land for absence or non-use over a long period of time. Nonetheless, this was only done according to the following proviso: if any member of a land occupant's family or any dependent were left in occupation during his absence, such occupant's rights to resume his interest in the land would be upheld on his return to the holding.

The rural land policy was predominantly centered on farm land. Like the traditional land tenure system, it fell under major control by the chiefs or family heads. The rights and privileges a member had over land were subject to the consent of these chiefs and family heads.

In the same vein, since there was no direct external interference on land, the effect of any modification in rural land ownership on house form was minimal. Land was in effect a very stable commodity, which the chiefs used to their economic advantage any time need arose.

REFERENCES

1. AKAK, (Dr.) E.O. (1981) Efiks of Old Calabar: Origin and History; Vol. 1, Barose Press, 20 Goldie Street, Calabar.

2. AYE, E.U. (1967) Old Calabar Through the Centuries; Hope Waddell Press, Calabar.

3. ENE, A.E. (1986) "Efik Origin, Migration and Settlement", An unpublished B.A. (History) Dissertation, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

4. EYONG, S.O. (1987) "Folk Architecture: A Challenge to Contemporary Urban Architecture", Nigeria Magazine, Vol. 55, No. 3, July - September, 1987. pp. 50 - 51.

5. GREENBERG, J. (1949) "Studies in African Linguistic Classification, 1. The Niger-Congo Family". South Western Journal of Anthropology V, pp. 79 - 100.

6. HART, A.K. (1964) Report of Enquiry into the Obongship of Calabar (Enugu, Government Press).

7. HANSFORD, K.; BENDOR-SAMUEL, J. and STANDFORD, R. "A Provisional Language map of Nigeria", Savannah, Vol. 5, No. 2. December 1976, pp. 115 - 125.

8. NAIR, K.K. (1975) "Origin and Development of Efik Settlements in South-Eastern Nigeria", Papers in International Studies, African Series No. 26, Ohio University Centre of International Studies, Ohio, USA.

9. ..... (1972) Politics and Society in Southeastern Nigeria, (London) Frank Cass Press.

10. New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures; 1984. Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania and International Bible Students Asso. Brooklyn, New York.

11. NOAH, M.E. (1980) Old Calabar: The City States and The Europeans 1800 - 1885; Scholars Press (Nig.)

12. SIMMONS, D. (1956) "An Ethnographic Sketch of the Efik People"; Forde, D. (1956) ed. Efik Traders of Old Calabar; International African Institute, Oxford University Press, London.

CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF EFIK TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE

"...if there is anything that intoxicates a person more than adventurous spirit, it is the spirit of search for truth. These two intoxicants combined, very often drive people into doing what others sometimes consider ridiculous; yet that was the force that drove me to .."[1] *carry out this study.*
But *"... how can we concentrate our attention on something we do not know? Yet that is precisely what we are told to do: look at the unknown..."*[2]

BACKGROUND

In the study of Efik Traditional Architecture, four distinct periods of architectural development, namely, pre-European period, period of contact with European traders, the Missionary and the colonial periods, stand out. This development is therefore responsible for the variation in style - reflecting different cultures and traditions of the Efik people. This diversity of architectural heritage is what makes the study of Efik traditional architecture so exciting.

A trace of the development of Efik traditional architecture reveals a multiple progression of styles which have evolved due to external influences on the peoples way of life. The variation so exhibited range from the empirical traditional houses to the pseudo-modern and modern house types of contemporary times. Our investigation is however limited to the evolution of this architectural trend up to the year 1960, the year of Nigerian independence.

---

1. *Nigeria Magazine, 20, 1940. pp. 321.*
2. George Polya (1945)

Generally, the indigenous pre-European styles or rural-house form of the Efik developed in response to two basic needs, the socio-cultural and political circumstances of the people. For instance, before the Efik finally settled down in what is today Calabar, their transitory and nomadic life style required that they evolve a totally different architecture from that of urban dwellers and kings, as found in other places such as Benin, Oyo in Yoruba land, Kano or Zaria in Hausa land.

In Efik traditional societies, each settlement was made up of small compact villages of several compounds. In the centre of each compound, except in a few variations, stood the house of the compound head, surrounded by those of his wives, servants and dependent relatives. This development was to reveal, even to a casual visitor, the political significance of the compound head.

The dictates of a polygamous way of life demanded that the house form should consist of groupings of dwellings arranged in such a way, so that privacy and security are enhanced and communication facilitated.

It is therefore apparent that the change of traditional life style and the redefinition of family relationships brought about by European ideas and scriptural injunctions, contributed to the apparent lack of or abandonment of Efik traditional architecture. Hence, the characteristic cluster organization of house form which one time dominated the landscape of Efik community became either totally destroyed or disintegrated.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Dwellings in general take a variety of forms. This is in order to satisfy a wide range of occupants. Their space organization reflects the social, economic, political and geographical conditions of the time.

Buildings also reflect the availability and competitiveness of resources such as land, materials and labour, with tradition and culture acting as tempering influences on the evolution of dwelling places. This chapter therefore seeks to discuss the various forms of traditional Efik architecture. It further seeks to bring to the fore the building construction technique adopted by the Efik; as well as give an appraisal of decoration and ornamentation in Efik domestic architecture.

To be able to do this meaningfully, we shall now discuss in details Efik Traditional House Form, its characteristics, development, evolution and trend.

TRADITIONAL HOUSE FORM

This study shows that the basic Efik House Form is a 3x6 metre two-room building (Fig. 2.1); and it is used by both the Efik and their Efut and Big Qua neighbours.

Upon entering the house, the first room encountered is always the kitchen and sitting room, while the second room (without an exterior doorway) serves as bedroom.

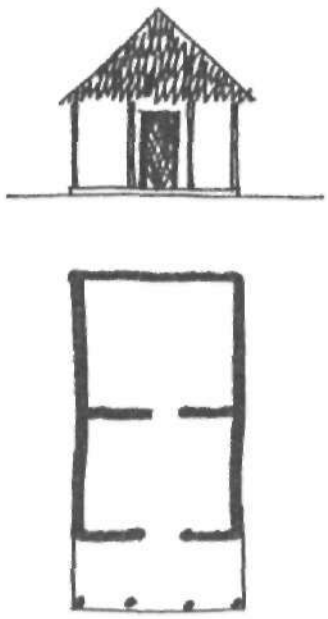


Fig.2.1: Wattle and Daub
2-Room House Form

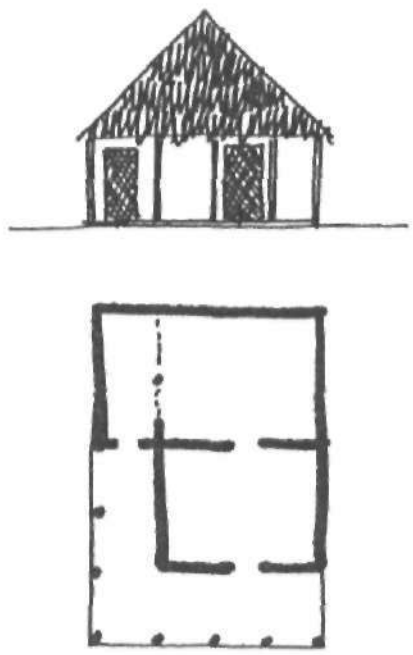


Fig. 2.1a: Wattle and daub
3-Room House Form

This basic unit constitutes the general module for the development of other building types. If more space is required for a special purpose, a single volume can be added to the basic house. The two-room module may also be modified by the omission of the partition wall to create a large room that still has the same overall 3x6 metre dimensions. The basic unit can also be multiplied. Very often a house will consist of two or more two-room units strung out end to end. Even the atrium compound house contains several two-room units. See Fig. 2.2.

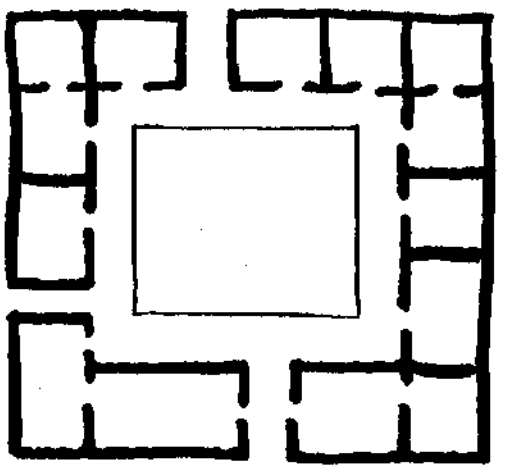


Fig. 2.2: 2-Room Single Courtyard House Form

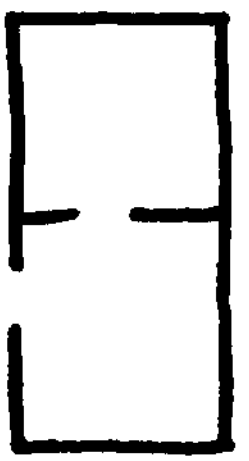


Fig. 2.2a: 2-Room House Form with Opening on Side

As we mentioned earlier, this study has revealed several correspondences between the houses of the Efik and that of the Ibo and Ibibio. The most striking shared feature is the reliance on rectangular two-room module. Vertical dimensions are also similar so that wall heights commonly range between 2 to 2.5 metres in height.

While the matter of orientation is variable in Efik architecture, it does happen that the two-room house will have its gable facing the front. In the Efik house, one passes first through a sitting room before entering the bedroom. In this case,room's functions did not need to be shifted. Since

the two-room house is a working unit in Efik architecture that is intended to be elongated, compressed and reordered into different building types, the movement of a door way or the shift from a parallel to a perpendicular alignment is an expected kind of change. Such modifications occasionally occur, thus making Efik architecture to be considered a product of a continuous process of architectural modification. It was further learnt that the form of Efik house developed essentially from the retention of a version of Efik two-room house, a building form about which several African architectural traditions owe their origin. This similarity seem to suggest a cultural connection between most African societies.

The architectural response to slavery presented in this thesis also seem to suggest that a people's reaction to adversity can be tenaciously conservative. Thus from its humble beginning of a two-room form, the Efik house form, in response to external influences evolved into the five different house types shown in this chapter. This evolutionary trend is further illustrated in Figures 2.3 and 2.4.

PLANNING AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The early Efik settlements which were established were not merely territorial units within the tribal system, but also kinship units. Hence, each Efik town was, in effect a maximal lineage; each section of a settlement being equivalent

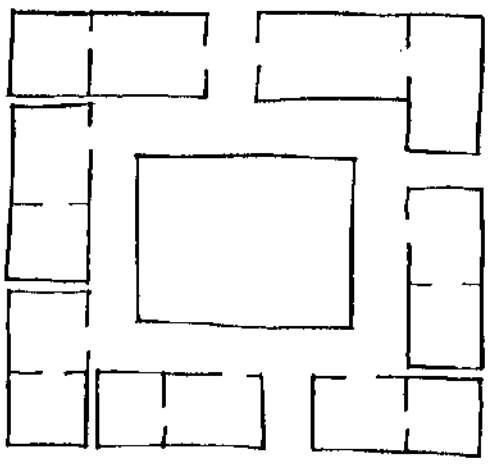


Fig.2.3: 2-Room House Form - Clustered to form Single Courtyard House Type

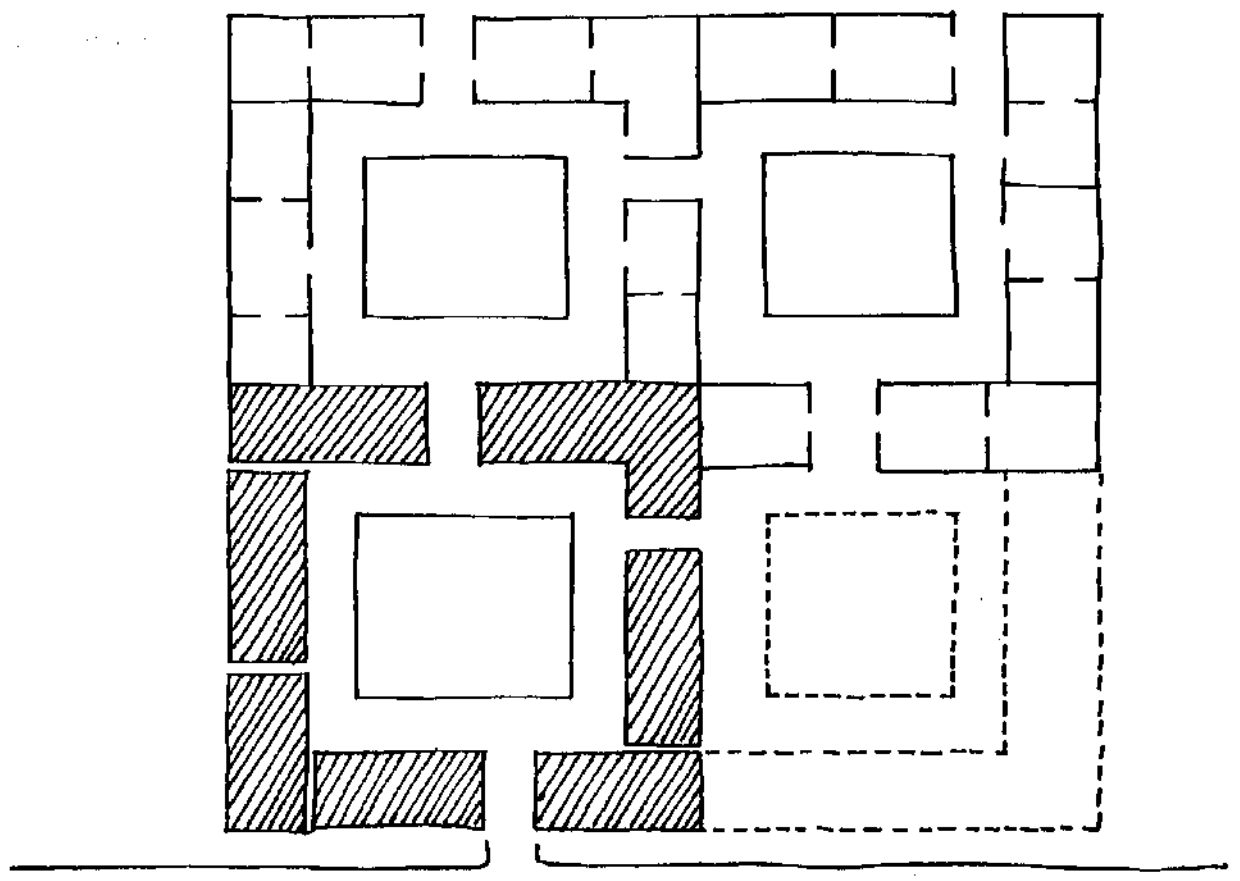


Fig.2.4: 2-Room Single Courtyard House Type Clustered to form Multi-Courtyard House Type.

to a major lineage; and it was further internally differentiated into a number of smaller segments with localized areas of political control[3].

However, all Efik settlements recognized a common genealogical ancestry, so that in the structural development of the relationships between the settlements the traditional autonomy that each settlement claimed was balanced by the ties of parenthood which the kin group shared.

Consequently, evidence point to nucleation as the primary form of settlement in Efik land. Goldie (1890) and Talbot (1910) both point to the fact that the `close' grouping of the habitation was necessary for the smooth operation of the traditional block-farming system and fishing expeditions of each family. It also enhanced individual family's protection, creating ability to wade off enemies. With time though, an increasing demand for farmland, due to an increase in population, has modified and completely changed the local ideas about the land and aided in the breakup and dispersal of compounds[4].

Since grouping was necessary for defence, villages were sited at close range, but in such a way that they could expand without additional friction. Common places of meeting, like the common square and markets were centrally positioned from which radiated, like the sector of a circle, farming lands belonging to them.

---

3. NAIR, K.K. (1975) "The Origins and Development of Efik Settlements in South Eastern Nigeria". Papers in International Studies,

Traditionally, the Efik settlement pattern came to accommodate and protect the extended family household (ufok) with all its members: wives, children, concubines, dependents, slaves and the trading goods[5]. The close proximity and commercial contacts with the neighbouring settlements led to intensive cultural interaction in the form of inter-marriages, blood partnerships and cultural borrowing of rituals, paraphernalia, language and architectural styles.

A typical Efik traditional compound is made up of a number of economically independent households. Each household consists of a man and his wife (or wives), children and dependent relatives. Essentially the compound was organized on the basis of agnatic descent consisting of the nuclei and the extended families[6].

The oldest member of the family was usually the compound head. Although the challenge for compound headship then naturally fell on the oldest sons' shoulders, he also had to prove his worth as a compound head by showing magnanimity in physical, financial and other conducts. He had legal rights and obligations towards the members of the compound; and performs all the necessary ritual rites for members of his compound. He also confers names on children born to compound members, settles their quarrels (often marital feuds), represents them in external affairs and generally acts as protector

---

Africa Series No. 26; Ohio University Centre for International Studies. Africa Program, 1975, Athens, Ohio, U.S.A.

4. Udo, R.K. (1965) "Disintegration of Nucleated Settlements in Eastern Nigeria", Geographic Review, Vol. 55, 1960 p. 53 - 67.

5. The Story of Old Calabar: A Guide to the National Museum at the Old Residency, Calabar. A Publication of the National Commission for Museum and Monuments, 1986.

of members of his compound.

As this unit increases, the expansion led to a restructuring of authority because the 'house' had come to depend on the corporate control of its assets for its economic survival. The corporate economic survival of Efik traditional house becomes challenged when a compound head becomes too old to pilot the affairs of his `house'. This was compounded with more modern challenges which later led to breakup and disintegration of the entire group. Consequently, the headship of the compound became determined by wealth in preference to age.

Generally, compounds are formed by a single group houses, or may have composite forms comprising two or more groups. They may be fenced on all sides with a main entrance and an exit (back door) leading to the dumping ground or toilet facilities.

The Courtyard

The courtyard plan provides the basic form of a traditional house type that is associated with the Efik way of life. Emphasis had been laid on concepts and characteristics intrinsic to traditional Efik house plans and introduced various examples of courtyard house lay outs. The investigation reveals that the idea of the courtyard is still relevant to modern Efik dwellings, having studied the socio-

6. NOAH, M.E. (1980) Old Calabar: The City States and the Europeans 1800 - 1885; Scholars Press (Nig.) Ltd. p. 24

cultural pattern of the society. The various forms studied further reveal the dynamic nature of the courtyard house type which in the long run promotes continuity and consistency. However, Traditional Efik Houses are mostly of the courtyard type. These provided for many needs of the Efik people, be they functional, practical, spatial, visual, climatic, social and/or cultural. This made the courtyard house a traditional Efik type - with its multi-functional spatial requirements.

In this study, current architectural trends were also investigated to be able to answer a number of questions related to Efik House type and the influence of other non-Efik traditions on such houses. Foremost among these questions are:- The roles once played by the traditional courtyard in Efik land, are they still relevant? Does the pattern of the courtyard still persist despite social changes in the ways of living? If social and formal concepts behind the courtyard house have changed, what new forms and concepts have taken their place? Finally, if these concepts have not changed what aspects of the traditional courtyard house have been retained?

In an attempt to answer these questions, this study investigated five types of Efik dwellings already highlighted above.

One of the most enduring patterns in Efik house was the courtyard plan. This came about from centuries of their migrations within the Ibo and Ibibio land. A compound normally

consisted of a courtyard or group of courtyards (see Fig. 2.15 - 2.17) around which rooms and other spaces were grouped to make the dwelling complex and unique. This pattern of housing became adapted into the Efik way of life and tradition.

Such courtyard pattern of building provided various options for lateral expansion. A single house normally consists of an open courtyard dwelling, whereas houses of rich men often consisted of several courtyards - See Figure 2.17 - whose functions varied according to their location within the complex[7].

In this case, buildings were each sited around the courtyard, consisting of compartments of rooms that took their character primarily from the social pattern of the people and the building materials easily available.

Although there does not seem to exist an acceptable unit of measurement indigenous to the Efik, a modular system of construction characterizes Efik traditional courtyard houses; this way, a house normally consisted of an ongoing process of adding rooms. A building of simple structure was usually only two or three rooms, while a large building could be more than ten rooms in size. Thus, a dwelling for an upper-class Efik family man consists of several buildings - while the humblest dwelling was usually only two or three buildings.

Traditional Efik houses were further characterized by

---

7. A few similarities exists between Efik Traditional House type and what SANG, H. L. describes about Korean Houses. See SANG, H.L. (1991) "Continuity and Consistency of the Traditional Courtyard House Plan in Modern Korean Dwellings", in Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review/ Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments; University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

one of four plan types, according to the arrangement of rooms and accompanying architectural and structural, as well as spatial organization. The first type was the ordinary single line arrangement of rooms under a single ridge beam.

This type was usually inhabited by dependent servants and/or slaves. It was also used for storage since it had limited indoor spaces. Fig. 2.5.

The second type was the double - line arrangement under one ridge beam - Fig. 2.6. This type of arrangement was commonly found in the middle of the courtyards. However, when house type one (single line) is combined with house type two (Double line) or where a structure of single-line arrangement is enlarged to the back and front, the third type, the two fold arrangement results - Fig. 2.7.

The last type was "L-shaped" or a variant of an L-shape. (Fig. 2.8). These four types of room arrangements made possible various patterns for the lay out of the entire dwelling. In this study, it was discovered that a dwelling usually consisted of a building, or buildings, with surrounding walls, that created one or more courtyard enclosures.

For example the houses of the poorer classes were simply of earth and wattle walls with thatched roofs. Waddell (1847) described them thus:

> "The Calabar houses are well constructed, considering the insufficient materials employed, and well adopted to the climate and state of the country. They consist each of a quadrangular courtyard, surrounded by ranges of

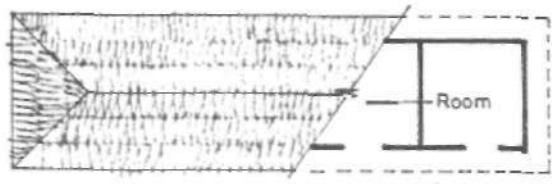


FIG. 2.5: SINGLE LINE

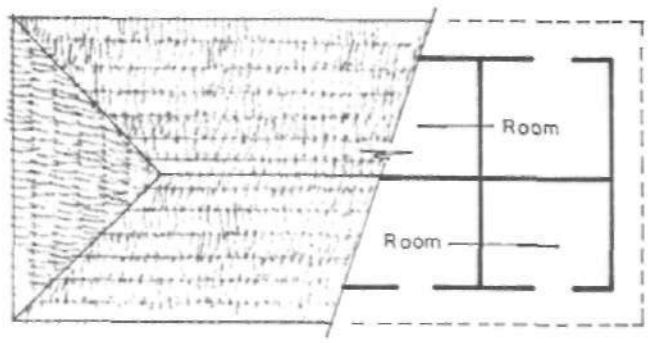


FIG. 2.6: DOUBLE LINE

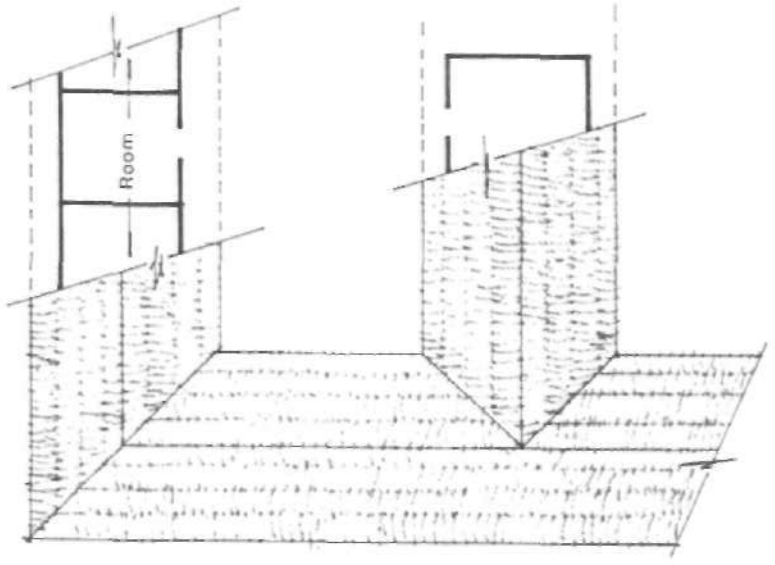


FIG.2.7: TWO FOLD

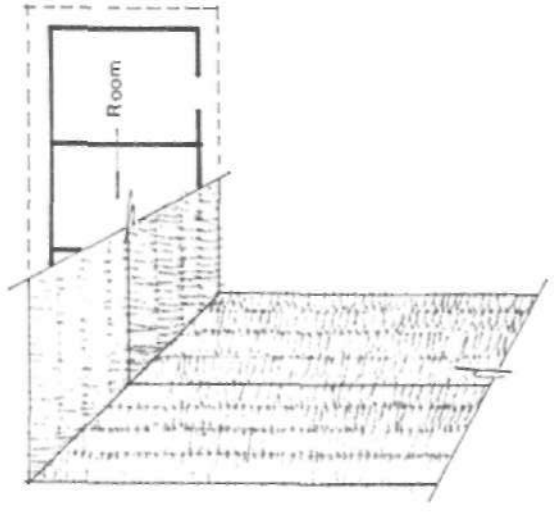


FIG. 2.8: L-SHAPED

> apartment, which all open into it, while one main gate, kept by a porter, opens into the street. No windows exist, except one little peephole in the gable at each. In other countries the walls support the roof, there the roof rests not on the walls, but on the rows of strong posts which surround the house inside and out, and are fixed deep in the ground. The walls stand six feet with these, and are very frail, such as might be called lath or plaster. Their hold of the ground is very slight, while the upright sticks are bound securely to the roof, so that they cannot fall, though soon decayed at the foot"[8]

Dr William F. Daniell, a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, who visited Old Calabar in 1841 described the life and dwellings of the wealthier Classes of Efik thus:

> "The houses in Old Calabar belonging to the middle and upper classes, are superior in every point of view to those of any other nation in this part of Africa, not only in the firm and compact arrangement of the building materials, but in that appropriate style of architecture, which conjoins strength and solidity with neatness and execution. The peculiar novelty of these tenements, is the different courtyards of open compartments, in which all are, more or less, subdivided, the whole of which, if thrown open, would occupy no small space of ground. Evidence of laborious and not unskillful attempts to bestow an air of comfort are perceptible on all sides, and more than ordinary attention appears to have been paid to their constant purification and cleanliness. In order to give a general idea of the mode of life of the upper classes of the natives of this town, it will be as well to transcribe from my journey, a few passages relating to a visit which 1 paid in 1841, to Egbo Sack (Ekpo Jack), one of the principal chiefs of Old Calabar. Upon my entrance into the room set apart for my reception and that of my party, the first object that arrested attention was a small chamber or recess, within which were placed two or three sofas and ottomans, each carefully covered with a fold of chintz, and having the name of the owner emblazoned in girt letters on the backs; a chest of drawers, a card table, and two beautiful and exquisitely finished time pieces ..... to attract the eye of the white stranger"[9]

A lot of evidence abound pointing out that the

---

9. Waddell (1947) "Twenty - Nine Years", in Aye (1967) Old Calabar Through The Centuries, p. 104. Hope Waddell Press.

courtyard house pattern of the Efik was adopted as a solution to functional, practical, social and cultural needs of the people. For instance, the courtyard could serve as a drying area during fish harvest, a meeting place for ceremonial occasions, an outdoor resting place during warm and humid weather conditions, or a playground for children.

Most importantly, the courtyard served as an extension of the interior dwelling space, there being no clear-cut division between the interior and exterior of the house. In Efik architectural tradition living within a house did not mean residing only within a sheltered enclosure; rather the out-door space was also used as a living space according to a complex pattern of residence. In other words, the courtyard was a room without a roof, a domain set aside for the gainful activity of the entire family and was well adapted to complicated environmental, practical and socio-cultural situations and peculiarities.

Architecturally, the courtyard functioned as the main route from the public domain to the inside of the dwelling. Access from outside the house to any room within it was only possible by entering the main gate of the house and passing through the courtyard. The courtyard also connected all indoor and outdoor spaces within the house and almost all rooms and spaces in the house oriented their openings toward it. In this way, the courtyard helped

---

Calabar.

eliminate the need for corridors or an entrance porch or entrance hall. The courtyard also served to shelter the house from the walkway by reducing noise and maintaining privacy. It acts as a buffer between the street and house, thereby facilitating the development of compact settlements. The courtyard also afforded the inhabitants good access to sunshine and ventilation, especially where sites are relatively narrow.

In climatic terms, most courtyards acted as efficient micro-climate controllers. Since habitable rooms looked inward with a defensive, introverted posture, inhabitants were protected from both hot and cold weather conditions. Cool sea breeze blowing into the courtyard was especially appreciated since they brought relief during the very humid weather conditions prevailing in the locality. Conversely, if the weather was too cold, or there were remarkable changes in daily temperatures, the courtyard could be totally surrounded by interior dwelling spaces where relief could be sort.

There is also evidence to show the Efik belief in class distinction. Thus, responding to this ethics, the inner-most part of a house was usually set aside for women, while the outer part was reserved for the male householder. Furthermore, according to custom, the size and number of buildings in a dwelling complex was often determined by the social status and wealth of the householder.

---

9. Ibid

From the foregoing, it is vital to note that all aspects of Efik dwelling - buildings, courtyards and walls - all served to define the Efik social order. For instance, within the overall organization of family apartments in a large dwelling or compound, courtyards could be located in three functionally separate areas: that for women and children in the inner-most part of the house, that for the male householder in front and that for servants and slaves near the entry gate. Hence the pattern of courtyard lay out was crucial to determining the identity of the house. In this way, the disposition of the courtyard(s) allowed a direct correspondence between the physical arrangement of the living space and its social, economic and practical uses.

From this discussion, the courtyard has been shown to have been defined by the structures and spaces that surround it. It was therefore forced to mediate diverse sets of aesthetic and spatial relationships. In this case the experience of the house could be said to have been dominated by the spatial and aesthetic nature of its courtyard(s).

Consequently the wrapped spatial interval experienced either by passing from the main gate to interior courtyard(s) or by view from an adjacent indoor or outdoor space - was a characteristic of Efik traditional architecture. The effects created often involved layering

open-courtyards, bringing distant views of nature into the house domain. The courtyard was, in a sense, a spatial symbol for the introversion that formed a dominant part of a larger tradition of Efik Society.

Privacy is the key quality of all courtyard houses. It looks inward onto a private garden or space which is enclosed and intimate as any room of the house. As the source of light, and the connection with the weather and plants, the courtyard is the centre of the dwelling . It facilitates life out of doors because it is sheltered from the wind, free from being overlooked by neighbours and shut off from the noise of the public world. During the short dry season, the courtyard becomes a second living room and remains the element which unites all the rooms which look onto it. It also enables the inhabitants, throughout the greater part of the year, to carry on many household activities in the open while remaining in comparative privacy from the outside world[10].

The relationships of rooms to courtyard, and of the house to its neighbours and to public areas, are a physical expression of man's various roles as family member, neighbour and citizen. The courtyard house is symbolic of the Efik man.

According to Rainwater (1966)[11] "security is and was the most important need to be satisfied in a residence",

---

10. SCHOENAUER, N. (1981) 6,000 Years of Housing; Vol. 2 The Oriental Urban House. Garland STPM Press, New York and London,

for without it, feelings of insecurity about one's residential environment often lead to the adoption of a negative and defeatist view of oneself. This could also lead to ambivalence about one's existential needs, and to expressions of general impotence in the capacity to cope with the outside world. Thus it can rightly be said that the secure residential environment - understood by a resident to be a haven and interpreted by outsiders as an expression of the inhabitants' egos - forms the most meaningful forms of social rehabilitation, both to the family and the group as a whole.

Generally this is a language of symbols which has come to be recognized as instrumental to defining boundaries or claim to territory. These boundary definers, which the Efik adopted in their traditional architecture are in the form of interruptions in the sequence of movement which served to create perceptible zones of transition from public to private space. In the study of Defensible space, two broad categories of these barriers - Real and symbolic - were identified and used as a guide in this study of traditional architecture.

Defensibility of space and Territoriality in the case of Efik traditional house form followed accepted societal norms. That is why it was common to find compounds without entrance gates, neither were rooms provided with locked

---

Via.

gates. But each member of the society knows his/her limits in such open communal set ups.

In the study of Efik traditional architecture it cannot be stated too categorically that security and privacy gave rise to various considerations. Nevertheless, there is evidence that security and privacy must have formed the basis of Efik traditional architecture first and foremost by the adoption of the courtyard system. In the cluster settlement pattern - wherein compound or property walls are shared, intrusion of outsiders would have greatly been reduced. Furthermore, it needs be stated that the 20th century, with its complexities, in terms of crime rate and other societal ills - cannot be compared with the pre-colonial Efik society; thus one can easily understand why a common feature of traditional architecture back then was door-ways without lock-able doors or solid gates.

It was easy, for these symbolic barriers to be identified by residents as boundary lines defining areas of comparative safety. It was easy also for these barriers to force an outsider to realize that he is intruding on semiprivate domain. For example, it is a common feature that the main entrance way leading into any Efik traditional Courtyard House was comparatively wider than any other passage(s) into subsequent courtyards or atrium (Fig. 2.9); thus creating, as it were, a symbolic restriction to non-residents - even when such passages had

11. RAINWATER, Lee (1966) "Fear and the House-as-a-Haven in the Lower Class". AIP Journal 32 (Jan. 1966), p. 23.

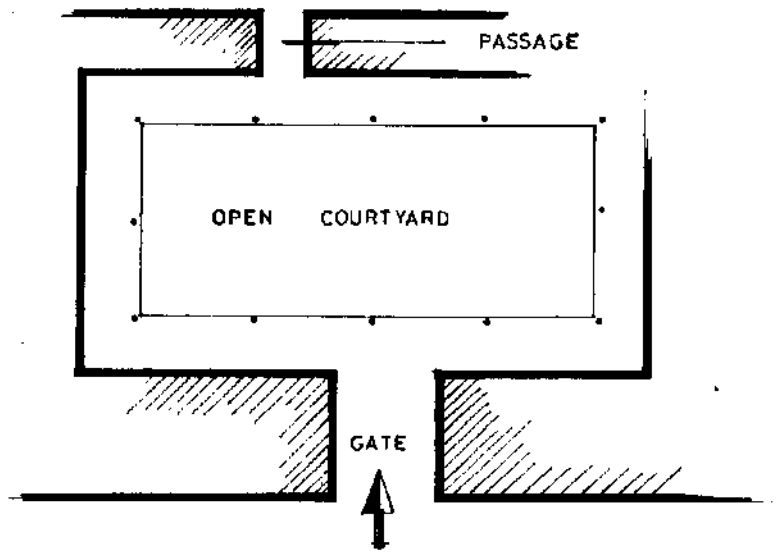


FIG. 2.9 ENTRANCE HIERARCHY

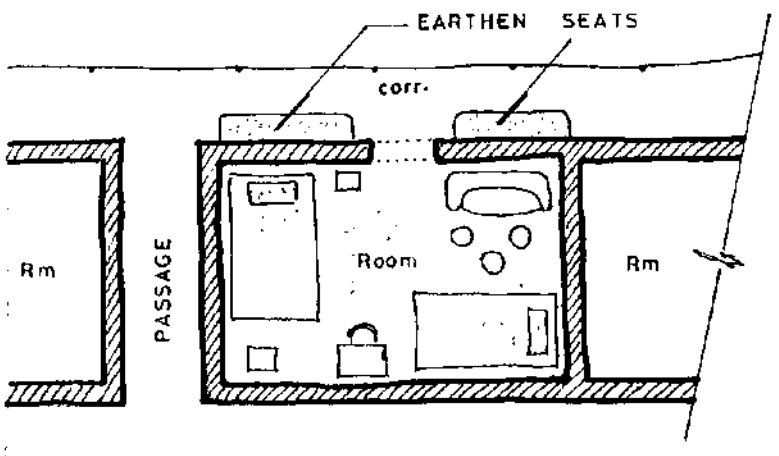


FIG. 2.10 EARTHEN SEATS
(As Inducements)

no doors. Additionally, seductive inducements were created by way of earthen seats (Fig. 2.10) or cane chairs around the verandas of the main courtyard, making it undesirable and without any excuse for one to go beyond this zone.

Furthermore, certain ingredients also existed in Efik traditional house form which made the presence of strangers obvious in a zone which is private. First of all, there existed the tendency of being seen once one gets into any part of the compound from any of the door-less `apartments' surrounding the courtyards. Secondly, there is a degree of ambiguous behavior a zone will tolerate. Thus while no attempt is made to question the presence or identity of individual on a public walk-way, within territorially restricted zones, which are required to pursue a goal or purpose, unwanted intrusion or lingering becomes a privilege available only to recognized residents following proscribed rituals.

INFLUENCES ON THE TRADITIONAL HOUSE FORM

The history of the Efik until the end of the 18th century was characterized by successive waves of migration, originating in the interior parts of Southern Nigeria and terminating at the estuary formed by Calabar and Cross River.

Historically, the Efik were not a large tribe, and this might have accounted for their aggressive character.

In the same vein, the study of the history of Architecture has shown that often, very little or no mention is made of indigenous architecture - especially that of smaller communities. In standard texts available, they are often crammed into one page and described as native buildings. Developments such as these make it difficult, if not impossible to describe any meaningful historical influence on the architecture of such communities.

If one goes by this notion, what in effect one is made to believe is that the smaller communities of this country - Efik inclusive, had no architecture. But according to Freeland (1967)[12] a peoples' architecture is a near-perfect record of its history. Hence, a peoples' history must invariably have a telling effect or influence on her architecture.

As we had earlier indicated, before the Efik finally settled at the Calabar Peninsula, they migrated from Uruan where they must have come in contact with the Igbo and Ibibio elements of that part of the country. Consequently, they might have been influenced by the house-type predominant in those localities. It has also been shown by some sources that the Efik were a predominantly nomadic community, claiming their migration from the orient. Thus the basic house form, the courtyard house type or concept in Efik traditional architecture which became adapted to

12. FREELAND, J.M. (1967) Architecture in Australia: A History, Cheshire Publications Printing Ltd. Melbourne.

suit their life-style seem to be the same concept imbibed both by the Igbo and Ibibio inhabitants of South-Eastern Nigeria.

We do not know who among the various ethnic groups in the south originated the courtyard system of housing. Although certain variations exist in terms of concept adopted in the courtyard design types of these communities, these variations follow the different traditional styles and cultural patterns of each community as well as the spatial organization and utilization of each of them.

The question this thesis seeks to answer is - why did the Efik build the way they did? The aim is to display the characteristic features of Efik traditional architecture and to highlight the various physical, natural and man-made influences and factors which contributed to the formation of their architectural style. To be able to achieve this aim, an analytical investigation of some of those influences was carried out. Evidently, before the advent of Christianity or Christian missionary activities into Efik land, there existed no close ties between religion and domestic architecture except a few shrines for deities which cannot be contained within the scope of this thesis.

The structure of the local communities tended to be compact and not dispersed villages. As these settlements grew, families came to range farther and farther afield over the arable hinterland in search of suitable farm land.

Men spent part of their time in the town, engaged in river trading and fishing, and part living on their farms or plantations where many of their slaves had been settled.

This pattern of residence differs from that of the Ibibio and Bonny and other Oil River parts. In the latter, the population originally confined their activities to fishing, being settled on swampy islands unsuitable for agriculture and obtained their staple food stuffs from the dry inland farmers.

In this regard, historical influences often arise, either from military or commercial contact with other tribal groups, or communities. Thus as these contacts became more pronounced resulting in more family intercourse (even intermarriages), foreign tribal elements gradually found their ways into Efik way of life including architecture, arts and music.

THE PRE-COLONIAL INFLUENCES

The Ibo and Ibibio

It is not clear which architecture - Igbo, Ibibio or Efik influenced the other. This is especially so when viewed under the fact that the split between Efik and Ibibio is a very recent development. Furthermore, the life long co-existence between the Ibibio/Efik and Ibo elements in the south eastern region of this country dates back to centuries.

> "... the Efik say that they lived in the Arochuku for many years. The constant harrying of their villages by the Arochuku people made them move down the Cross River for they were numerically inferior. It is said that they came to Akwa Akpa Uruan (large river of the Uruan clan), where they lived in the town of Oborisong and Ikpaene for more than "one hundred years". There they "looked down on the people they found, calling them Ibibio" [short-short]. "During their stay the Efiks became stronger - and more aggressive. It is said to be the Ibibio who gave them the name "Efik" - oppressors"[13]

Thus one wonders who among these three distinct ethnic groups influenced who in the course of architectural evolution in this region.

Beyond some similarities, one notices peculiarities. These will be highlighted in relation to Efik architecture. But for fear of over generalization, there is need to mention that the Ibo people refereed to in this study are those of the Bende, Abam and Arochuku communities. History has shown that they had very long standing trade relations with the Ibibio and Efik people; and as such share other common factors, thus evolving similar traditional architecture. Hence our comparison will be limited to the Ibo of the Eastern (Cross River) Division - the Ada and Aro sections.

Basically, five different traditional house types were identified and studied. These are the Single Line (Fig. 2.11), the Double Line, Single Courtyard (Fig. 2.13), Double Courtyard (Fig. 2.14) and Multi-Courtyard House Types, (Fig. 2.15). Out of these, the first four were

13. MacRow, D.W. (ed) 1956 "Calabar" Nigeria Magazine, 52, 1956. pp. 97 - 98.

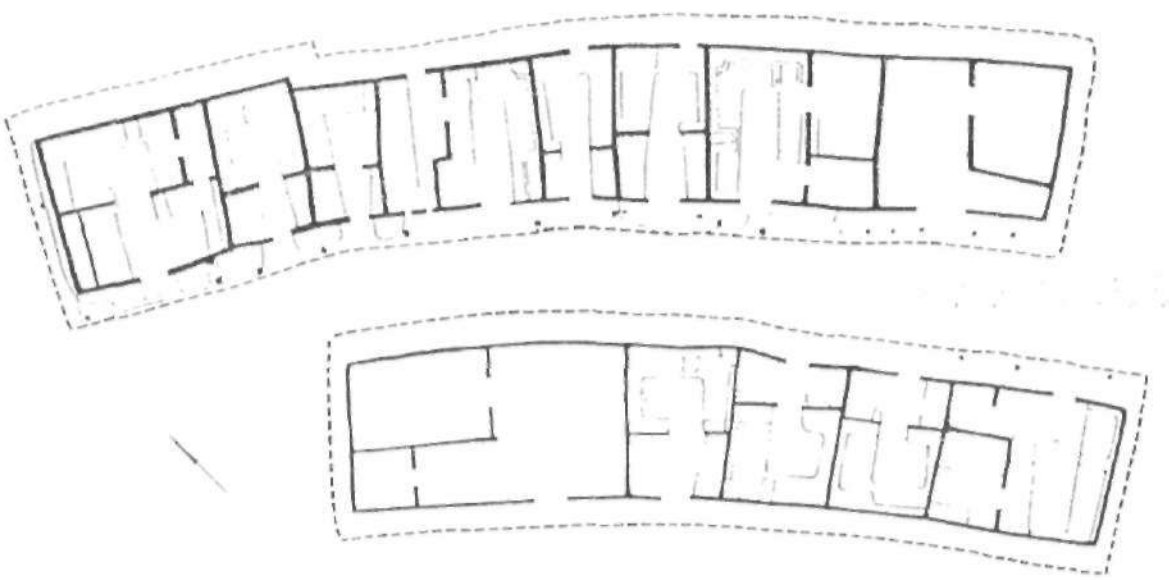


Fig.2.11 Single Line House Type
Source: Dmochowski, Z.R. (1990, Vol. 3)

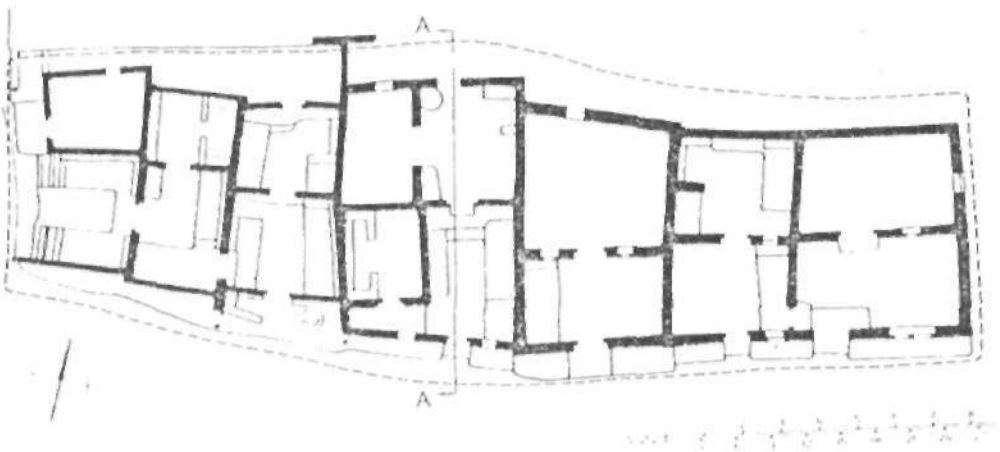


Fig.2.11a Single Line House Type
Source: Dmochowski, Z.R. (1990, Vol. 3)

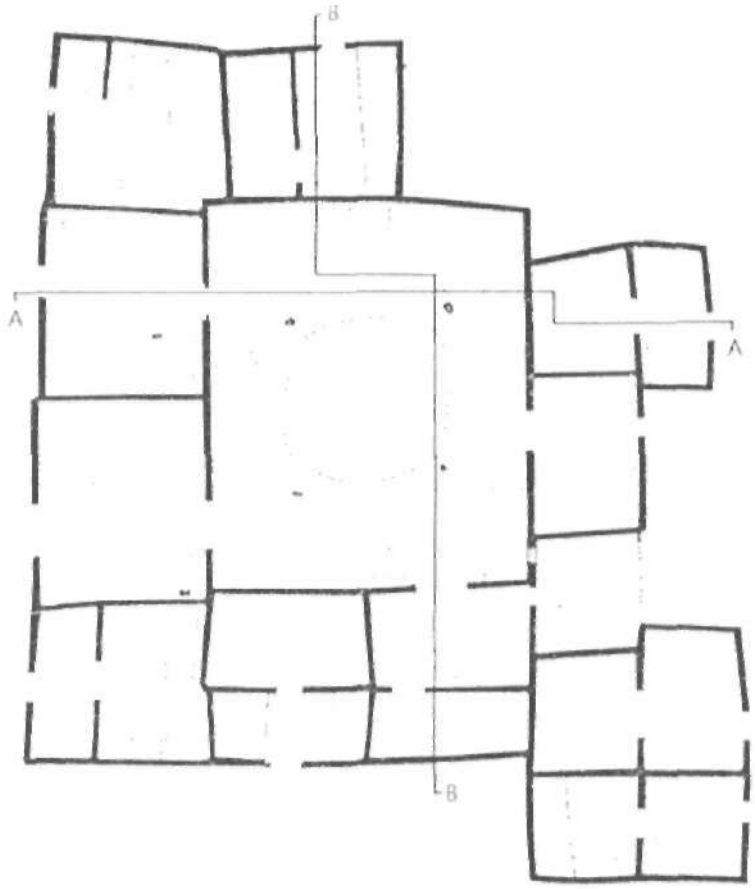


Fig.2.13 Single Courtyard House Type
Source: Dmochowski, Z.R. (1990, Vol. 3)

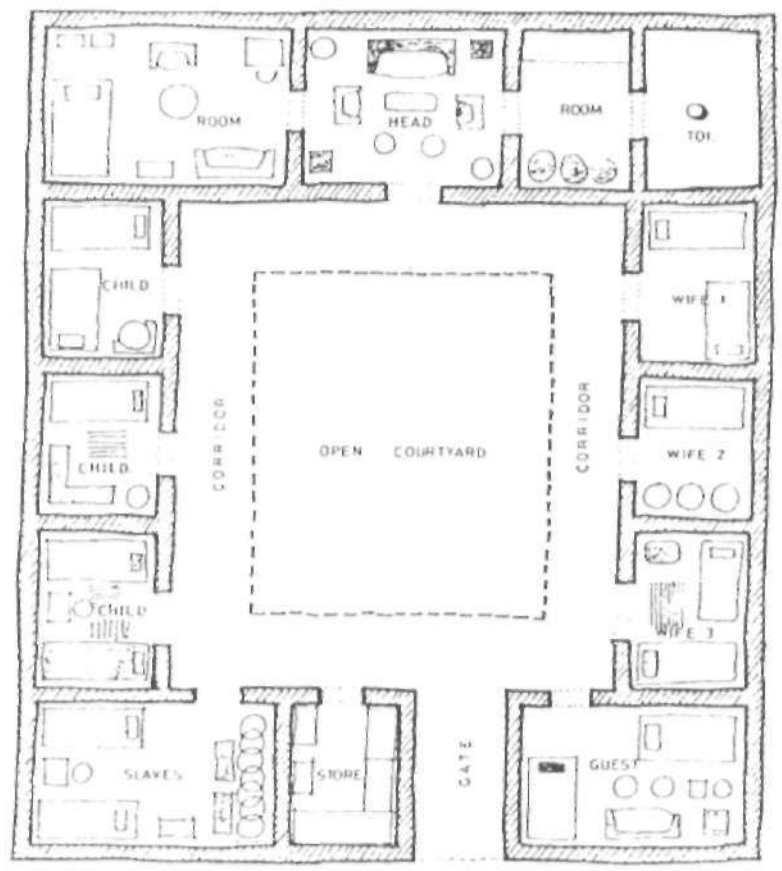


Fig.2.13a Single Courtyard House Type

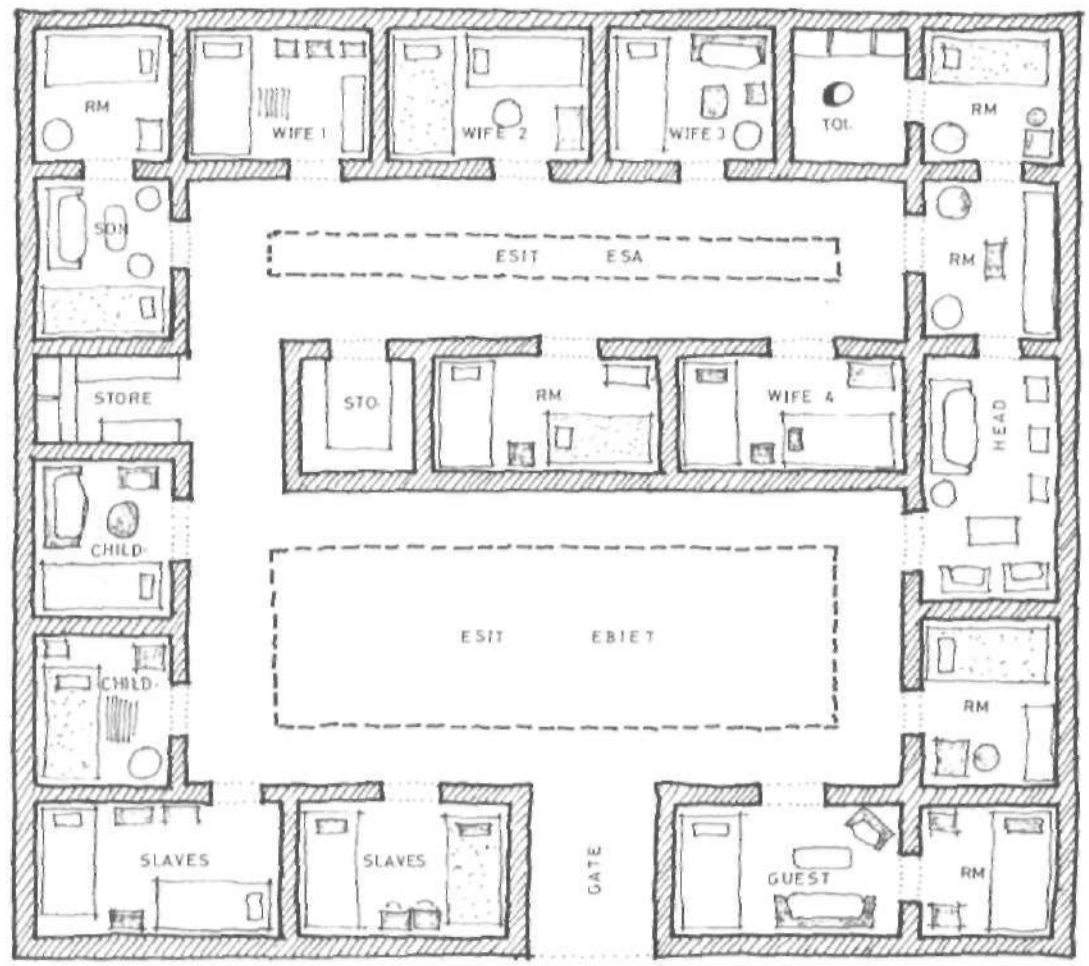


FIG. : TYPICAL DOUBLE COURTYARDS HOUSE TYPE

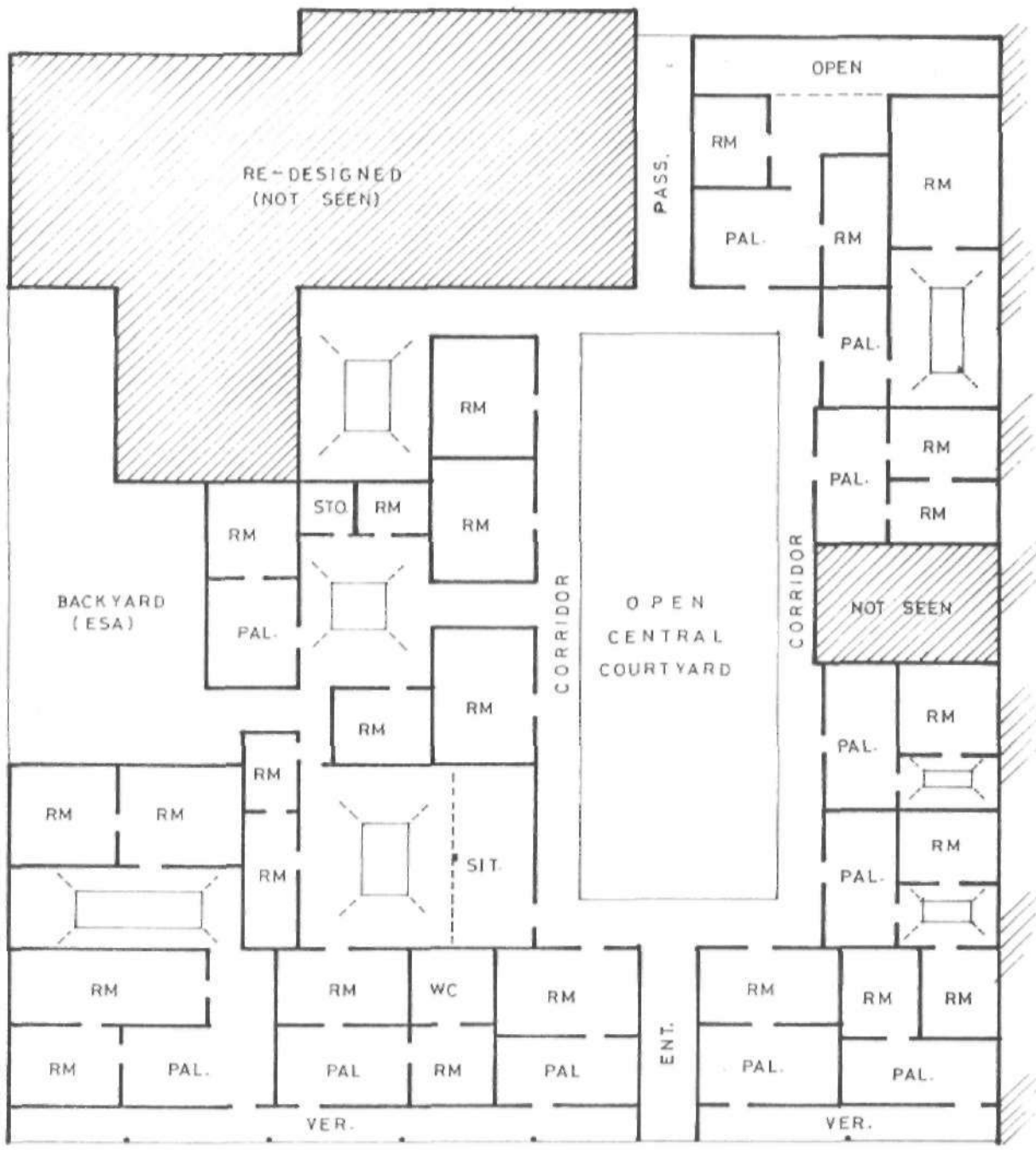


FIG. 2.15: LAYOUT OF A TYPICAL MUTI-COURTYARD COMPOUND

ETTUBOM EFFIWAT'S (Late) HOUSE
6, OFFIONG SQUARE, CALABAR.

INTERNAL COURTYARDS

AREAS RE DESIGNED/
ACCESS DENIED

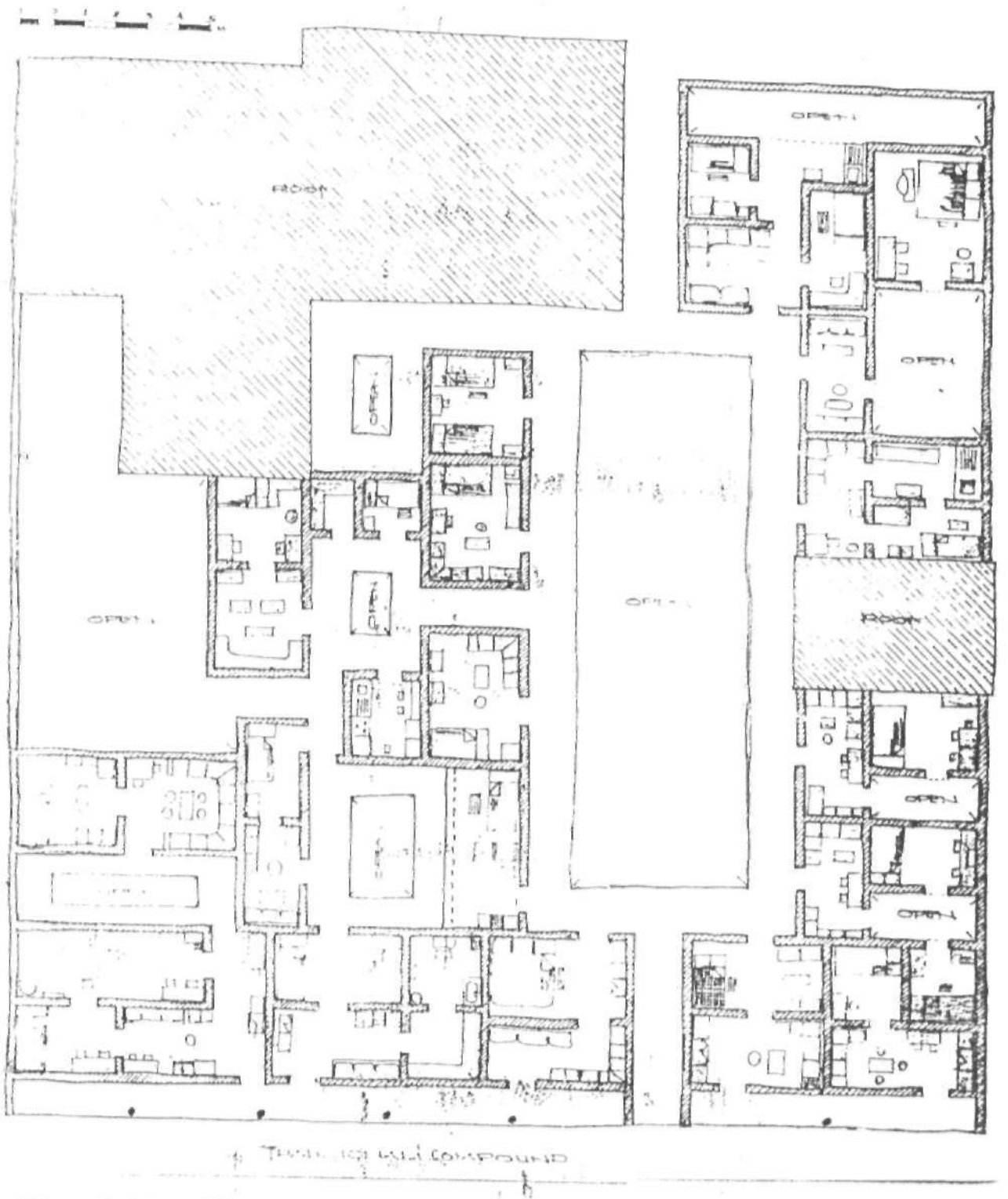


Fig. 2.15a: Ettubom Effiwat's House - Calabar

found to be common among the Ibo, Ibibio and Efik communities. The fifth type, multi-courtyard, has its reoccurrence more in Efik land than in any other areas.

These traditional house types were investigated with a view to establishing their adaptation into Efik culture. It was thus found out that for the Efik in particular, the evolution of these house types was influenced in the past by the following factors: family size, wealth, position and prestige. For instance, for the Efik to be able to afford such large traditional compounds is to accept the obvious fact that the Efik land was and still is a wealthy community. This economic consciousness was thus the driving force behind the evolution of the multi-courtyard house type.

Furthermore, prestige and that sense of pride, associated with success was another factor why the well off Efik embarked on such laborious effort to erect large houses. For instance, marrying more wives, acquiring more slaves and owning more children and servants called for additional spaces to accommodate them. Thus the single line compounds were bound to expand, giving rise to one, two, three or more courtyards in the compound.

Finally, as it was in Pharaoh's Egypt where cheap labour enhanced the erection of monumental structures in that one time world empire, the Efik had on hand at this time enough cheap slave labour. This unpaid for work force

no doubt contributed to the realization of such large compounds - making the Efik traditional architecture stand out as unique among its other two contemporaries.

MAJOR TRADITIONAL BUILDING MATERIALS

Building materials in Efik traditional architecture were locally obtained from the mangrove swamps found in the region. They had little or no variations in their application techniques; with limited output as a result of inappropriate techniques being used for their production. Hence, each traditional compound shows peculiarities in its architecture only by taking cognisance of its circumstances - both in the environment and occupants.

The materials are also found out to be very limited in terms of variation and application technique. Below are some of the basic materials in common use.

Studs

These are sticks (red or white) of mangrove trees which form the basic frame work and foundation of the building. Before use, they are tested to have properties to withstand bending, either by compression or tension. See Plate 2.1. Usually they measure three or more metres long with an average diameter of about five centimetres.

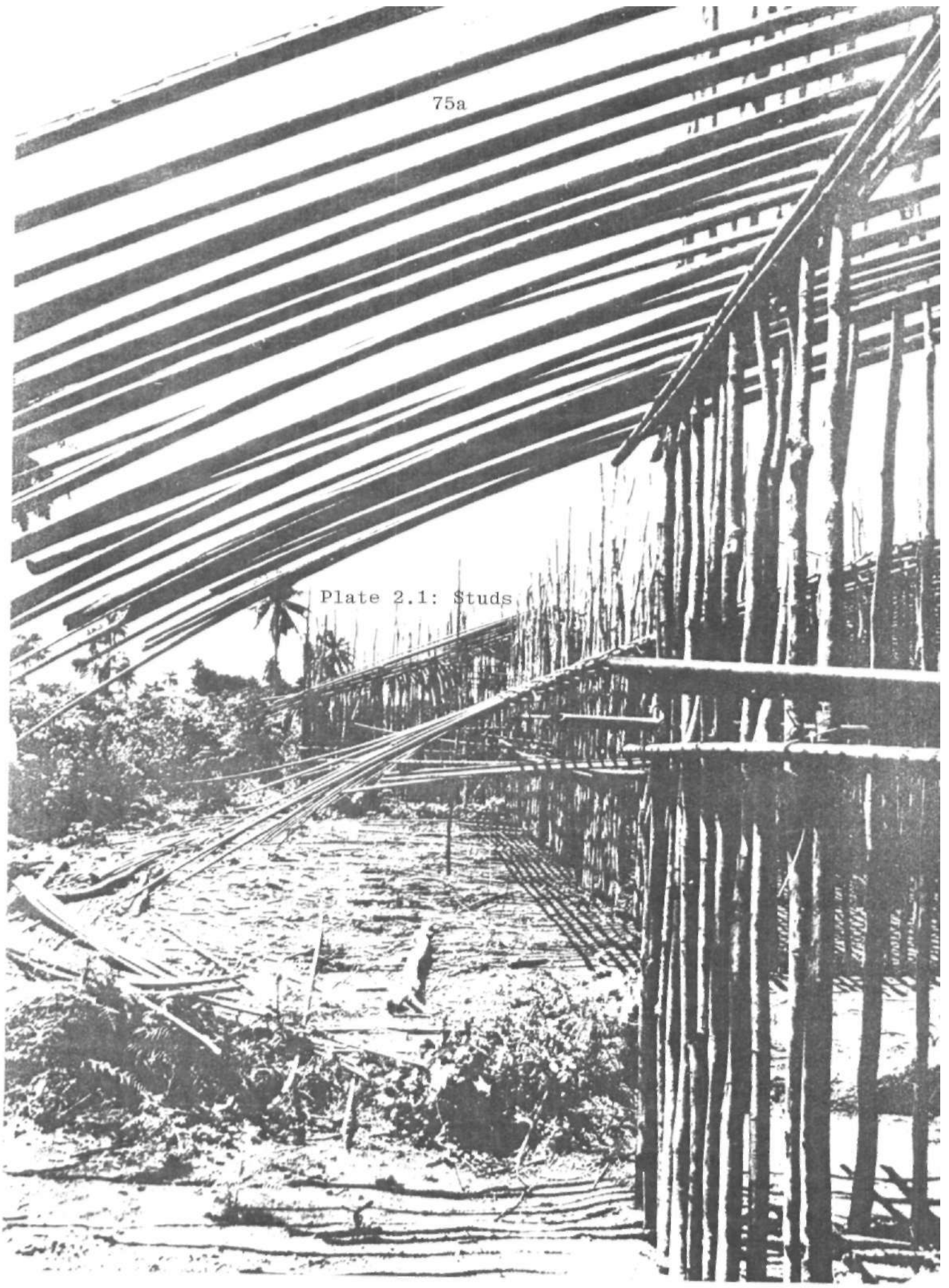


Plate 2.1: Studs

Fork Sticks

Also obtained from the mangrove swamps, the fork sticks support the roof frame work. They too are as a matter of safety large and strong enough to be able to transmit the roof load to the foundation or ground. They measure about ten centimetres or more in diameter with the gable roof carriers being taller than the rest. The others along perimeter walls could either be taller, shorter or of same height, depending on the slope of the roof.

Bamboo in this part of the state is absent, thus, the branches of the raffia palm fronts - after scraping off the leaves - serve as rafters in building construction. (Plate 2.2). They are in fact among the principal traditional building materials in Efik land. They could also be split and used as cross bars in wall construction and in the roofs to serve as purlins.

Piassava

They are the stiff coarse fibbers obtained from palms and used as ropes for tying the house frame together before applying mud. Obtained from raffia palm in this region, they can withstand tensile stress, but can easily become brittle (and break) when exposed for too long before use.

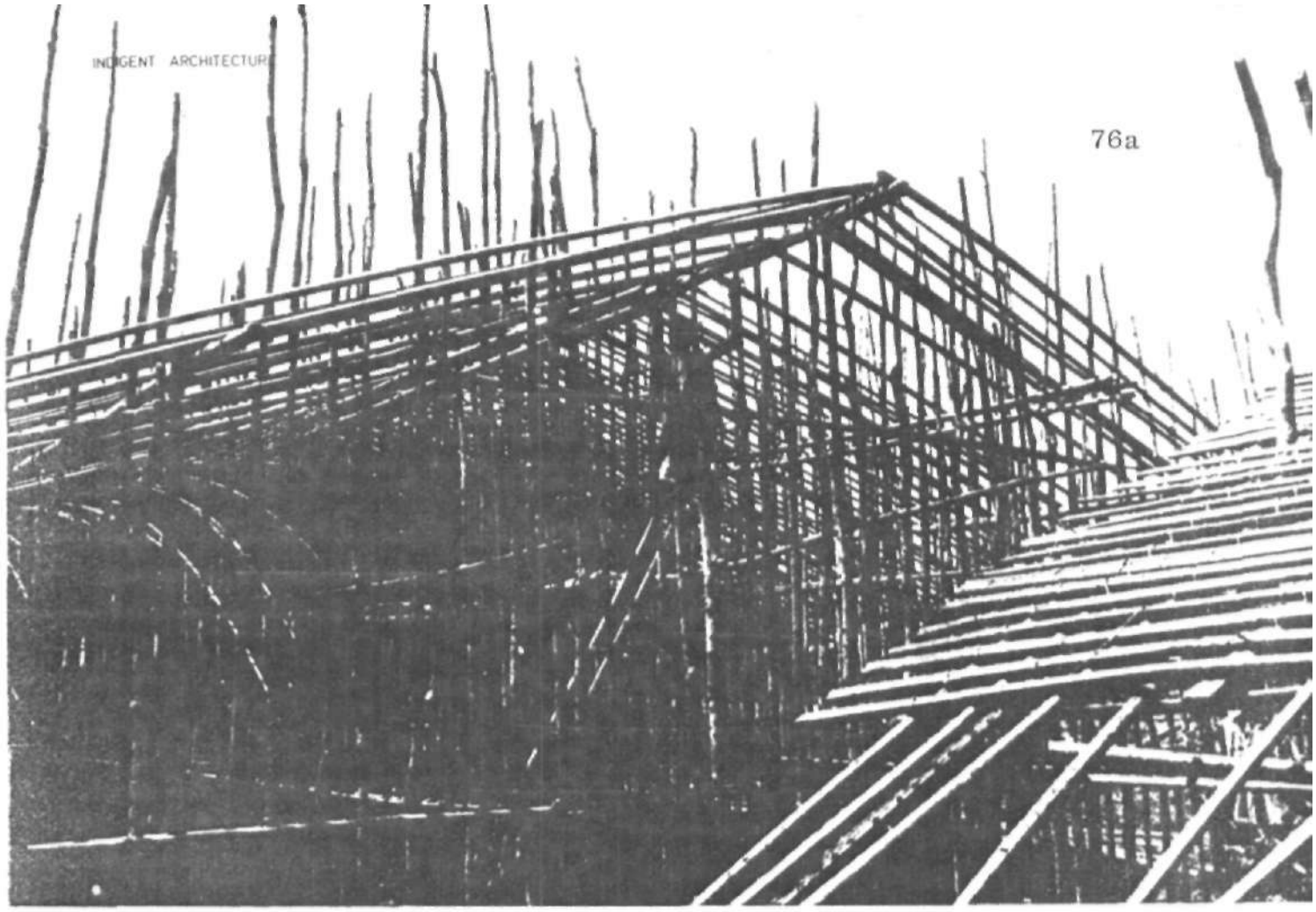
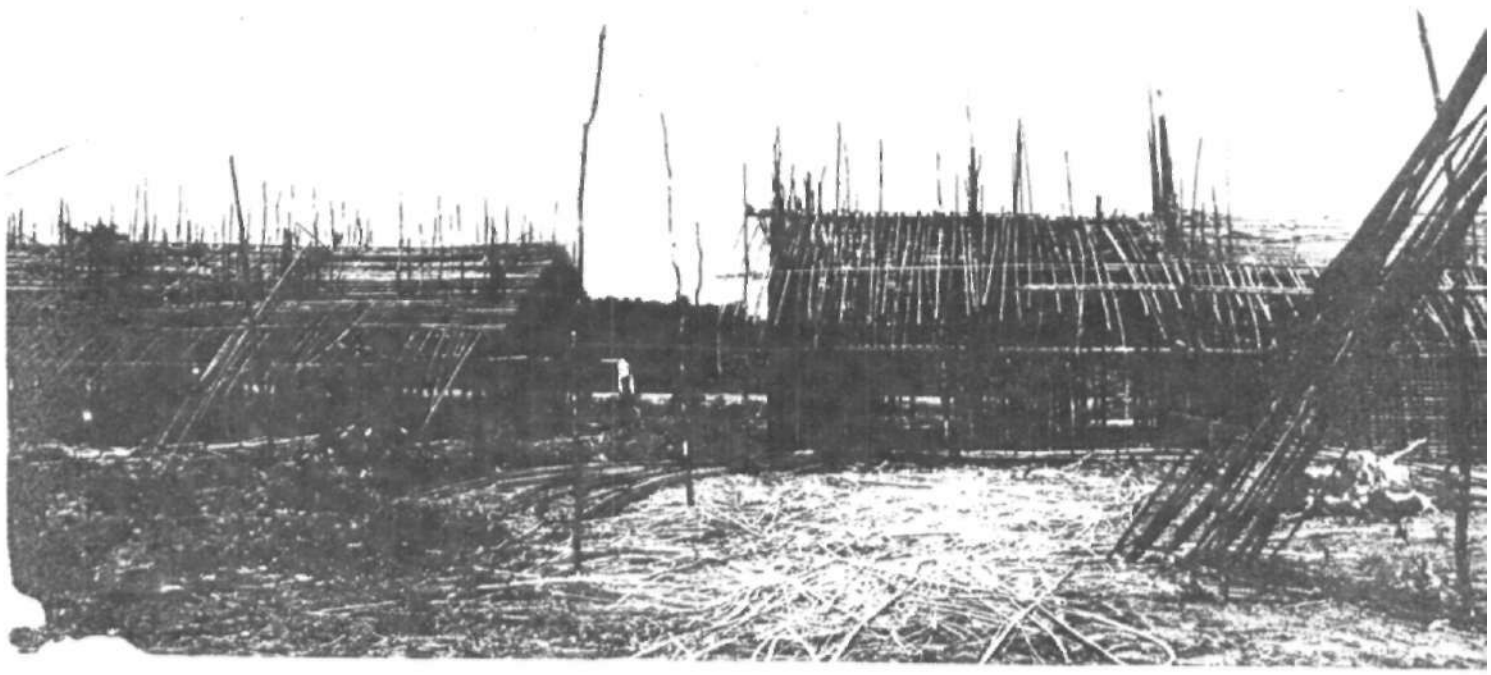


Plate 2.2: Bamboo Sticks



Building Earth

Building earth is a building material normally obtained on site or not too far from it. Its production follows a very simple process of digging the earth, then making a paste by adding water and mashing it with bear foot. After acquiring an ideal consistency, it is then thrown into small squares which are then used to fill the spaces created earlier by tying the studs and bamboo together in wattle and dub construction. A mixture of the earth and fine sand - to an ideal consistency - could also be used to plaster the walls.

Mats (Thatch)

Thatch used for roofing are obtained by weaving the palm fronds earlier described over two parallel bamboo canes. Its production process is also very simple. The mats have an average life span of about two years and could stay a bit longer if over a fire place. Plate 2.3.

TRADITIONAL BUILDING CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES

For generations, an Efik traditional house consisted of walls of about 2.5 metres high built of earth supported by a wattle frame structure of raffia palms. They are generally light weight - in keeping with the prevailing weather conditions in this region. The walls are non-monolithic, hence about 20 - 30 cm thick all through. The



Plate 2.3: Mats (Thatch)

earth walls have no foundation and are normally envisaged to last for about fifty years - with proper care and maintenance, especially from the roof. Because of the constant occurrence of rainfall in this part of the country, the best period for earth-wall construction or for building generally falls between November - December each year.

The general procedure for the construction of traditional earth wall involves pinning of sticks - the main structural elements. Then the small strands of bamboo canes are tied across the sticks (on both sides) to create a net work appearance. Next is to fill the squares or rectangular openings with the building earth dug from a nearby pit. After the filling, the exposed frame work (both inside and outside) is then covered by additional earth on the structure. Referred to as utop ufok, it is a process involving experienced men or women on traditional construction.

The two parties involved in this work complement each other because while a party on the outside throws the earth, fragments falling off on the other side due to the vibration are picked up by the other party; and are used or re-used for the construction until the whole wall is finally and totally constructed.

In general terms, a column is defined as a supporting pillar; especially one consisting of a round shaft, a capital and a base. The column is an architectural element

which plays a very important role in most architectural traditions. For instance, the history of architecture of some areas such as Egypt, Greek and Rome would not be complete without mention of the column (order) and the role it played in such traditions.

As these studies show, the role of the column as simply a supporting pillar did change in the case of Roman Architecture to a philosophical element. They became elements dedicated to certain Emperors, for certain achievements and other victories in war.

In the study of Efik traditional architecture, columns were seen to serve a very rudimentary purpose of support only. To this end, they were found mainly along verandas of courtyards. They were simply wooden posts of about 2.5 meters average in height and about 5.0 centimeters in diameter.

One cannot read any meaning into Efik column for their nature is very unassuming, simple and totally devoid of any intention to do more than support the roof structure. A few other places where the column is seen to serve more than just a support is the Ekpe House. In this case, the wooden pillar is either carved or simply painted with various totems. (see Plate 2.4).

The technique of traditional floor construction is simple. First of all, the floor is made level and properly compressed using heavy wooden clubs called "umia isong".

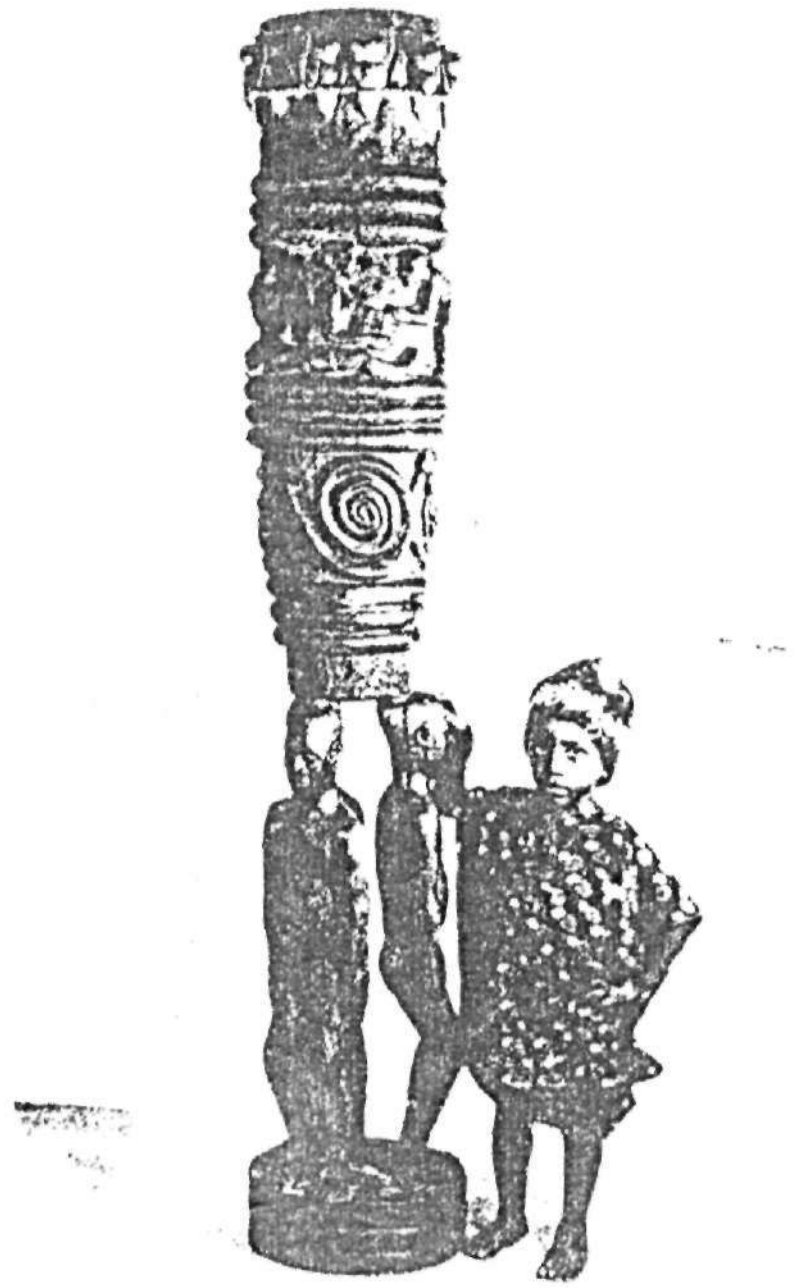


Plate 2.4: Decorative Column
Source: Nigeria Magazine, 14, 1938

Where this level is high enough to correspond with the desired height of the floor, it automatically becomes the floor finish, with very minor labour. Where it is not, excavated soil heap on site, obtained during the process of foundation excavation is dumped onto the floor space and leveled evenly within the building. Sometimes water is added and allowed to stand for a few days before it is leveled and beaten using the wooden clubs. This process of ramming is often done by children or women.

The floor is then allowed to "set" after a few days. Ants' mould, obtained from ant hills are next grounded and water added to desired consistency. This is then applied on the floor to provide smoother floor finish. This process also aids in sealing off all cracks that might have appeared during the process of drying. The floor will then be rendered with charcoal - a traditional coloring agent, for durability.

It is estimated that such locally made floors could last for about two to three years - on condition that rain or any other source of water is prevented from falling on the floor directly. Like all local and traditional building materials, its life span is also affected by frequency of use and relative location.

Thatch roof is a symbol of culture rather than poverty. Roofing and thatching generally show a judicious use of locally available materials. There is very great dependence on

the vegetation for roofing purpose. Thatching for the roof is normally done at a time when raffia palm - the main material for roofing and thatching have fully vegetated. And because of the rainy nature of the region, these materials are often richly available and very easily accessible.

Roofing and thatching is normally done immediately the roof plaiting is complete. This way the occurrence of rain will have little or no effect on the wattle earth wall.

Bamboo sticks or wooden logs, such as tree trunks are finally placed on the roof to avoid the effect of strong wind.

Ceiling, Doors and Windows

Rooms have ceilings which are made of rafters of raffia palm arranged in a lattice form and covered with mat (iboto). For this reason the room remains dark, both day and night - especially since such rooms have no windows. The space thus created between the roof and the ceiling is used for storage of agricultural produce such as yams (bia), cassava (iwa), maize (ibopko) and other household items

A typical Efik traditional house has no windows especially to the outside. The rooms therefore had to be illuminated by lamplight even when the sun is at its highest outside. Alternatively, light penetration is achieved through the door opening from the courtyards.

In traditional houses, windows were not considered

necessary since the rooms were used as a night retreat and storage. Thus the discomfort that accompanied the day-time use was not experienced. Moreover, the building materials, particularly the earth walls and the ceilings which were made of thatch, have the property of being both heat retentive and a poor conductor.

So the compound was neither too cold at night nor too hot during the day. Hence windows were not considered necessary since the maximum level of human comfort defined in terms of heat and air supply in the rooms could be achieved through choice of materials and air circulation between verandas and the rooms.

It was further revealed that windows in Efik traditional architecture were considered un-necessary so as to forestall incidence of slaves wrongfully viewing their masters wives - which could lead to adultery[14].

Other reasons advanced for the lack of windows in Efik traditional architecture is that it was to avoid the intrusion of bad or evil spirits into the houses. This believe is still very popular in some parts of Efik rural areas - where windows are not allowed to be opened at night to avoid entry of bad and wicked spirits.

Generally, doors in Efik traditional house type are about 30 - 50 cm in width by 1.20 meters in height, depending on use and location. Basically, there are three

---

14. Non of my respondent could say in the affirmative that slaves in Efik land were castrated to avoid adultery.

different types of doors, viz:-

i) curtain doors - woven with the inner soft part of palm branches - Piassava.

ii) that made from a number of palm branches held together with three sticks driven through them, and

iii) a wooden panel door - usually in one piece.

These door types show the influence of contact with other traditions (eg. Ibo) and the environment in the choice of building materials. From the abundant raffia palm trees in the locality, these doors were made - which if allowed to dry before use - could last for at least six or seven years.

The traditional plastering (uyong ufok) is carried out a few days after completion of the walls. This is usually done by women whose combined effort leads to acquiring the desired thickness. To achieve a smooth finish, the wall is first of all made watery and rough edges removed. The mixture of fine sand, mud and water (to an acceptable consistency) is then applied by means of bear hands to the walls. This is then scrubbed smooth by running several strokes of the hands on the walls.

This process could be repeated, depending on the owners financial ability. A maximum of about six to eight months is allowed before this process is repeated. Fire is then set in each room of the building to fasten the drying process, and to get rid of rats and/or other rodents.

$Evidence rather point to the fact that the slaves (especially those that latter became members of Efik community) could marry -

The drying process induces cracks, as a common feature of newly built earth houses. For this reason, a second plastering process is normally carried out to seal off the cracks. This sealing takes place once a year, except if otherwise demanded by the owner. It was further noted that as the house gets older, the frequency of this re-plastering could be reduced, since at this time the earth walls would have stabilized.

BUILDING SERVICES

To satisfy convenience and comfort, services are provided in traditional buildings. In this section, this study highlights some of these services and their place in Efik traditional architecture.

Water Supply

Rain water serves as the main source of water supply in this very predominantly heavy rain fall region. Other sources of water supply include streams, springs and rivers.

Before the arrival of Europeans, which led to the introduction of cast iron pots, the type also used to boil palm oil (esio utem aran), water was normally stored in clay pots and calabashes. These pots which were normally kept by the corner of the courtyard or kitchen (under shade) guaranteed the coolness of the water.

---

and such marriages were welcomed.

As shown earlier in the climatic data, the Efik region experiences 12 months of rain fall, with the heaviest amount falling between the months of April - October. This accounts for the wooden (bamboo) roof gutters found in each courtyard of Efik traditional architecture. From these gutters rain water was collected for domestic use.

Sanitary Facilities

Before the arrival of the European, evidence points to the fact that two types of sanitary facilities, namely - the pit latrine and communal open toilet system were used. While the pit latrines were normally dug at the remote parts of the compound, communal or open toilets were set up in a nearby bush with palm fronts fence both acting as barriers between the male and female portions to enhance privacy.

Kitchen and Storage Facilities

As in other traditions, the kitchen is the women's world. The men build the house, but it is the women and children who literally inhabit them, especially the kitchen.

The kitchen is a place were not only cooking activities take place, but it also serves as a store for food items such as yams, cocoa yams, garri and the rest. Items such as maize and pepper are also stored and dried in the kitchen.

In most cases the kitchen is arranged such that there

is easy connection between it and the courtyard onto which it opens. This arrangement makes it possible for cooking activities to take place in the courtyards during the short dry seasons.

DECORATION AND ORNAMENTATION

There are some vestiges of traditional ornamentation and decoration in Efik culture, but there is no clear cut demarcation between what is indigenous and what is shared by other non-Efik communities. This development will forestall any generalization since there are no facts to prove their originality.

However, attempts were made to sketch, an historical development of this phenomena, but such attempts were not convincing enough to be authentic. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that some of the decorative patterns found in Efik traditional architecture must have been borrowed from other places the Efik once sojourned. Consequently, the historical development and evolution of indigenous decorations are very blurred in the minds of the people and their definitions nebulous in their memory.

From observation, one sees that traditional decorative architecture in Efik Land dates back in history, when the people evolved an efficient and effective material culture. This evolution must have been accelerated by the building of palatial courtyard houses and acquisition of status symbols.

Generally, most of the elements and materials for decorations abound in nature and hence accessible to any person. Implicit in this is the fact that no decorations are specially meant for a particular social strata, not even the royal line. Therefore, the use of any type of decoration is entirely subject to the individual's taste, desire and financial capabilities.

In Efik land, most of the patterns and motifs in architectural decorations have little cultural significance; but socially, they define a status symbol - mostly the display of wealth. This assertion, is based on the fact that before the advent of the Europeans and other sources of foreign interference, some, if not most of these decorations had some cultural significance. For example, "dynasties" then had totems and the people would obviously want to translate their feelings, philosophy in such artistic domain like decorations. This could be exemplified by the presence of two heads of leopard on the main door leading into the Ekpe Hall. This decorative element must certainly bear some cultural meaning - just as the mounting of two elephant tusks by the door-way signifies power. Hence, like all other cultures, Efik traditional decoration could signify victory, wealth, success, love affairs and the like.

A very interesting and contrasting development took place in this regard in the sense that most of Efik decoration is found on wood and other materials such as

brass, iron bars and metals. This is because of the organic nature of earth - the predominant building material. Consequently, calabash and wood carving, employing traditional geometric and floral designs drawn with a heated metal point satisfied the practical and aesthetic requirements in architecture. Although very little evidence now exists, similar bold patterns were painted on walls of houses - which by the organic nature of their materials vanished with time. Some were also said to have been shaved in the hair of both men and women.

Because of the interchangeability of most decorative materials, it is difficult to draw a line between the materials which are used for internal and those used for external decoration. However, a striking feature of decoration is preserved on calabashes, which form decorative elements both on walls and ceilings of traditional houses. Floors were generally finished in black charcoal and walls scrubbed smooth with the hand. On these were drawn patterns - either of personal exploits or those portraying social values[15]. See Figure 2.16.

These comprised abstract geometric patterns which to a layman are difficult to understand and hence bear very little significance but nevertheless very attractive and appreciable. Trees, and other kinds of flowers find application in this sphere, but the most observable tree

15. An exaggerated account of a highly placed citizen, since the lowly and the poor could hardly be able to afford such high

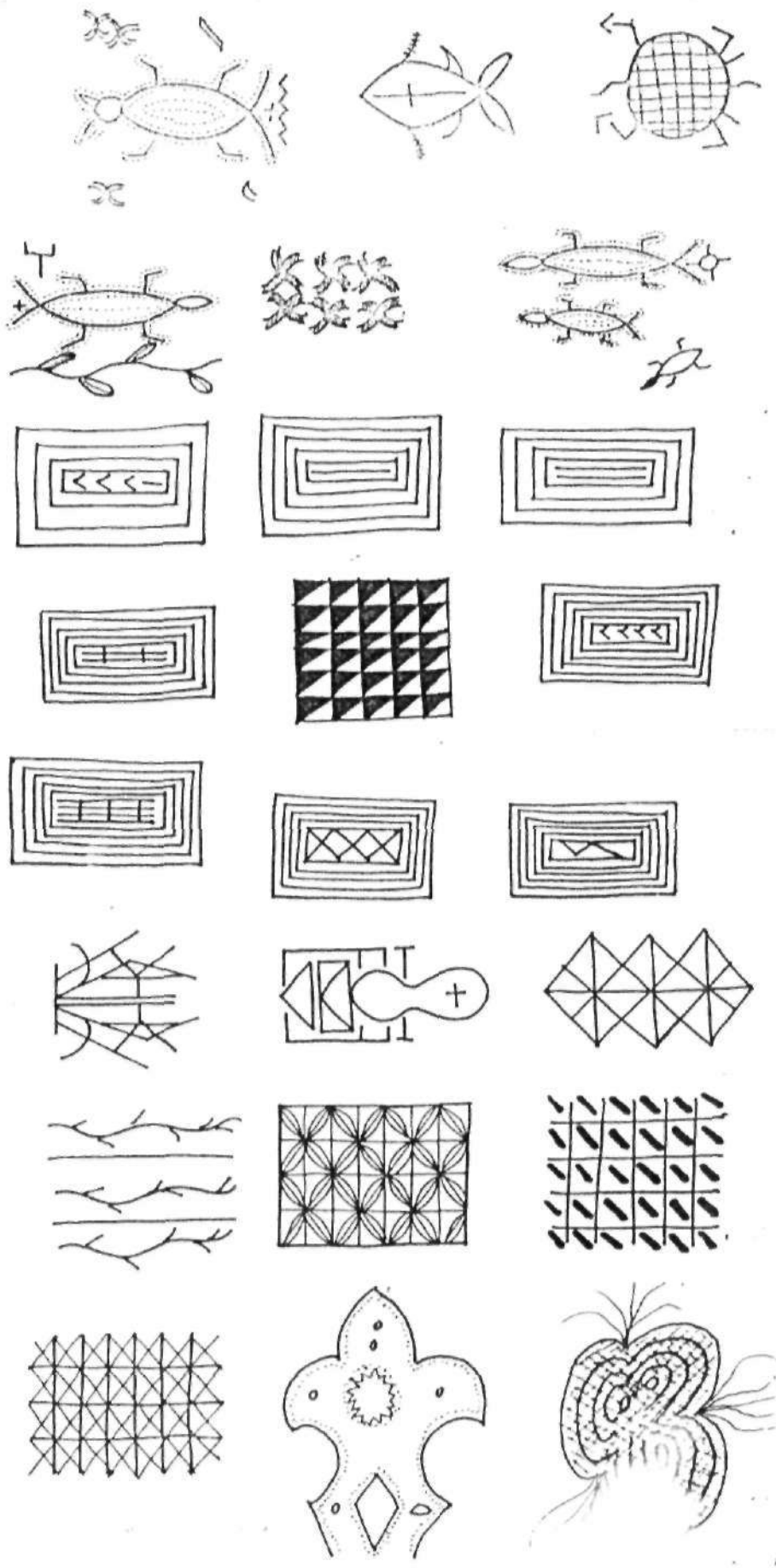


Fig. 2.16: Decorative Parttens

pattern is the palm tree - raffia being tapped. Animal patterns observed are few, although the study could not verify the reason for this development.

APPRAISAL OF EFIK TRADITIONAL DECORATION

Socio-culturally, architectural decoration found in Efik land constitutes part of the material culture of the people. Their application, before the advent of the Europeans - with modern alternatives - were quite symbolic. They portrayed the elegance and splendor of the society and lent social status to their users. Psychologically, they provided a good environment that responded positively to the recreational and relaxation needs of the people and within their cultural context.

Philosophically, Efik traditional architectural decorations provided a good means of communication - between the decorators and the visitors, as well as the society. Efik decorations are self expressive - relating experiences in the peoples' lives, as well as communicating massages to the viewer. Consequently, Efik decorations do not just embellish the surroundings, but integrally constitute part of the cultural heritage of the Efik people.

Furthermore, besides the socio-cultural, psychological and philosophical significance, Efik traditional decorations, also stand as witness to the historic past;

---

treatment.

thereby identifying the people, their achievements and other contributions to mankind.

Admittedly, the technology and techniques of production and subsequent application were rudimentary in nature and labour, the effort no doubt kept afloat the principal traditional elements of the Efik. From the preceding evaluation, one can assert that the values of traditional architectural decorations in Efik land are incalculably rich and bear some symbolic meaning; which can respond very well to the socio-economic, as well as cultural realities of the society.

REFERENCE

1. FREELAND, J.M. (1967) Architecture in Australia: A History; Chesire Publications Printing Ltd. Melbourne.

2. NAIR, K.K. (1975) "The Origins and Development of Efik Settlements in South Eastern Nigeria". Papers in International Studies, Africa Series No. 26; Ohio University Centre for International Studies. Africa Program, 1975, Athens, Ohio, U.S.A.

3. NOAH, M.E. (1980) Old Calabar: The City States and the Europeans 1800 - 1885; Scholars Press (Nig.) Ltd. p. 24

4. RAINWATER, Lee (1966) "Fear and the House-as-a-Haven in the Lower Class". AIP Journal 32 (January 1966), p. 23.

5. Sule (1982) Urban Planning and Housing in Nigeria: Problems and Strategies. Vantage Press Inc. New York, USA.

6. TESCO-Kozti (1973) Survey and Development Plan for Calabar, Nigeria.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF OLD CALABAR:

THE SLAVE TRADE PERIOD (1600 - 1830)

It was during the slave trade era that the Efik settlement of Calabar developed into a trading City State. It was during this period that Efik came into contact with the British, Portuguese, Dutch, French and German traders and responded to the international demand for slaves. Between 1720 to 1830, the Efik provided an estimated one million slaves, who were transported mainly to the Americas during the period under review. For this trade to flourish, the hinterland served as a reservoir of manpower and so provided the market for exchange of consumer goods for slaves. As expected the export trade became the most important economic activity among the Efik Coastal settlements as they developed complex economic, social and political system to regulate and promote the trading activities. This system was later adapted to regulate the palm oil trade, in the 19th century.

In this chapter we would like to highlight the economic fortunes enjoyed by several city states and how they continue to be dependent on the commercial success of and the relationship with British Traders. It can be shown that the external relationship with foreign traders led to local social and political changes. In the economy, the rather unique socio-economic unit - the house (ufok) - which was self sufficient and autonomous, was developed during the time.

As a result, the traditional heads of houses (Etuboms)

who conducted the trading transactions on behalf of their people, turned into rich traders. The most successful of them controlled enormous wealth, measured in human resources, currency, consumer goods and prestigious objects such as imported wooden houses from Liverpool. Their trading potentials was also expressed in a network of agents, and supporting plantation settlements (inwang or ikot).

Evidently, social stratification differentiated between nobles, free commoners and slaves causing friction which later found expression in political rivalries, segmentation of settlements, as well as the rise of prominent non-Efik traders. External pressures of the new elements within the Efik settlements, such as European traders, Missionaries, Liberated Africans and British Representatives, and later an increasing military threat of the British naval power, forced Efik rulers to surrender their political independence and accept British Rule.

Slavery is probably one of the oldest human institutions. It is a phenomena in which human beings are owned and kept in bondage by their masters for unpaid labour. From the time of the Egyptian Pharaohs, during the fifth millennium B.C. down to the Greek period of the third century B.C., we find societies composed of the nobilities, the proletariat and the slaves.

When the Romans became the dominant power in the mediterranean world and Western Europe, slavery was a well

established institution. Captured soldiers automatically became slaves, though over a period of time, a slave was released or could claim his freedom and rights of citizenship.

In Africa, slavery was endemic in most societies, and it remained so as a normal condition until the late 19th century. Before we can describe slavery and slave trade in Old Calabar, it is necessary to study the internal slave trade in various societies in the West African sub-region. This will also help to provide opportunity to compare the various slave systems in the light of some of the already established facts about slavery in Africa as a whole. We will also discuss a number of slave systems, their bases, the purposes for which slaves were acquired, the conceptualizations of slaves and slavery as well as the treatment meted out to slaves. For this reason three slave systems practiced by the Efik and their neighbours were studied. The Nso, Bamum and Banen groups, all in Cameroon will be considered. We will not go into detail discussion of the complex slave trading methods in these areas, but will highlight the reason behind the trade and use it as a basis for comparison with the situation in Calabar.

The Nso slave system was rooted in the high value which the Nso' regarded human beings. This was the main reason for which slaves were acquired. Slaves were expensive, thus the possession of and control over many humans represented wealth. Slaves were acquired to increase the wealth of their owners. Hence, many slaves enabled their owners to acquire higher

titles and status.

In contrast to the Nso, the Bamum slave system emphasized the economic and political dimensions of slavery since it was based on economic and political requirements of the kingdom and the role of slaves in society. Since the Bamum economy was based on agriculture, slave labour was used to solve the labour problem.

Furthermore, the insecurity of some Bamum rulers and their appetite for conquest forced them to acquire slaves as foot soldiers and to protect the ruling elite from rivals. For them slaves were human beings nonetheless liable to serve or work for the benefit of others.

For the Banen, the slave system was intimately linked with their social organization and the idea about themselves. Each Banen Community was stratified under three catigories: first, freeborn citizen usually associated with nobility, wisdom, and wealth; second, half freeborn citizens or full, freeborn citizens of other groups who emigrated and attached themselves to freeborn citizens in search of security and protection. And third, slaves who were forcefully uprooted from their home land and have no roots in any society.

The social position of slaves required them to be totally submissive and obedient to their masters. They had no freedom of choice, no legal protection and no right to property and were regarded as commodities for their owners, who disposed of them at will.

Slaves were also bodyguards and could be presented as gifts. Slaves traded, fished, farmed, hunted, fetched firewood, tapped palm wine, ran errands and constructed houses for their masters who treated them as articles of commerce. Slaves were valuable to the Banen as long as they could add to their owners wealth which, in turn, would increase their social status and influence. The slave system of the Benen was therefore based on the economic potential of slaves and their value as trading objects.

Slavery in Old Calabar was rooted in the Efik conception of their way of life in relation to outsiders. It was also conditioned by the economic advantages slaves could bring. Most Efik were freeborn, lived and engaged in the more prestigious male occupation such as fishing and trade. Slaves were on the other hand outsiders, strangers, or captives who should work on the inland plantation settlements - ikot. They also engaged in the less prestigious female occupation of agricultural production.

As already mentioned the society of Old Calabar was divided into the rich freeborn, men and women and slaves. In general, African societies on the West African coast had often been perceived as slave trading middlemen. The notion had been grossly misleading and unjust. Nevertheless, slave trade played a crucial role in the economic development of Calabar.

Moreover, the traditional Efik view of life and and the relationship to other groups is intricately bound up with

ideas of servitude. It is obvious that servile groups played an important part in Efik economic and political life.

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to define the economic advantages slaves had within Efik society and their role in house construction during the slave trade period.

The initial advantageous trading location of Old Calabar played a leading role in the economic history of Nigeria. However, the town's relations with people of the interior entirely failed to create any sense of an active local domination. Instead, the Efik conveyed their ties with other peoples in an idiom derived from slavery.

Slave ownership was therefore common in Efik land because possession of slaves was thought of as something inevitable. This ownership was based on absolute authority on the one hand and entire subjection on the other. Although the importance of slavery for the Efik can be seen in their language of various words that can be translated as slaves, Waddell (1847) tells us that this theory was only true in principle and not in practice and argues that the authority over slaves was limited in many ways because many slave owners had themselves been slaves, but after their freedom, now owned slaves.

Consequently, terms such as "master" or "mistress" did not exist in Calabar when compared with other slave-master relations in the Americas. Slaves in Calabar normally called their owner "ete" (father) or "eka" (mother).

Furthermore, Efik tradition demonstrated that a free man could choose to become a slave if he surrenders himself to a master. This was done to escape famine, to seek protection from powerful neighbour, or to improve his circumstances in life. In some occasions, a rich slave was much more respected than a poor free man.

In Efik land, children of slaves were automatically free, they could not be sold by their former owner without committing a crime. Hence economic fortunes could improve from one generation to the next. At the death of the owner, slaves secured their freedom in case they were not claimed by the relatives of their former masters. In such a circumstance, both the mother and children obtained their freedom.

Thus for this category of people the more appropriate term would be "bond servant". Bonded because he or she could not be bought or given away. But the new affinity between the former slave and his protector could no longer be regarded as a slave. For instance, it was necessary for the protector to have confidence in him in order to earn his loyalty. He normally provided a wife for him, gave him a plot of land to cultivate, and his children grew up and played together, regarding their protector's home as their home.

As far as slaves helped in the economic activities carried out by Efik, their activity was regarded as productive, representing human capital. The slaves particular value arose, not alone from what they produced but what they

represented. They therefore constituted a unique form of living. Capital used for economic, political, social and ritual transactions when the need arose.

As noted earlier, one of the main divisions in Efik society was between servile agriculturalists and free specialists in fishing and commerce. The employment of slaves in agricultural activities allow the Efik the freedom to engage in more prestigious activities such as trading.

From a strictly economic standpoint, agricultural and non-agricultural occupations in Efik society were complementary rather than conflicting. Hence fishing, a dangerous and often unprofitable undertaking was not viewed as more attractive than agriculture. But during the 17th century, fishing was the basis of Efik commercial activity, long before the advent of the Europeans, who introduced slave trading as an economic venture. Still during this period, coastal fish surpluses were exchanged for interior agricultural goods.

As the structure of Efik society was and still is based on kinship, determining a man's membership of family and compound, the slaves who were by then settled at Old Calabar were regarded as outsiders. They were considered to be the personal possession of their masters[1], attached to the basic framework of society, but without economic, social or political rights.

Since slaves were groups of strangers settled in Old

Calabar, their social identity was closely tied to their owner. They were expected to support and identify with the interests of their owners, for whom they had to work, or if required to fight. This gave them the opportunity to achieve both wealth and influence despite their lack of kinship ties. For example, those slaves born and brought up in Calabar became integrated into the Efik community, like Eyo Nsa, a former slave, who became a great warrior and so had the privilege of marrying a princess of Ambo. This was tantamount to being granted freedom because it gave him the kinship connection with the freemen by marriage. His active participation in the slave trade, made him a very rich man, and by purchasing slaves for business and prestige, he built up a large household.

The trading practice in which the Efik were engaged in during the nearly centuries brought slaves to the coast, and introduced a large number of European manufactured and semi-manufactured goods inland. One may question the fact how this small group of fishermen originally achieved this questionable prominence.

To what extent were the Efik and their neighbours slave holders before the arrival of the Europeans is still not clear. However, Watt's description of Old Calabar in 1668 shows that slavery (or something like it) already existed[2].

Cannibalism and human sacrifice were also reported,

---

1. Marwick, p. 325

which may suggest that slavery existed before the Europeans came, at least to provide victims for feasts or rituals. However, as the Efik as well as the Ibibio were not regarded as great slave holders, those eaten or sacrificed were believed to be prisoners of war.

The beginning of the internal slave marketing system, firmly established in the 1780's seem to suggest that it was connected with the origin of the Aro, who according to Laptham (1973), were the main suppliers of slaves to Bonny and Old Calabar. The reason for their commercial success was their possession of the Long Juju of Arochukwu.

But with the coming of the Europeans and the establishment of the Atlantic Slave Trade in the late 16th century, the slave servant system discussed earlier lost its importance. Some of these bond servants became victims of the caprice of the European Traders at the coast. Therefore, the bond servant became again slaves because of the decreasing privileges hitherto enjoyed by people of his class.

In Efik Land domestic slavery was not limited to the introduction and development of the Atlantic Slave Trade. In fact, it differed substantially from the triangular trade, both in intentions and out look. Nevertheless, some aspects of the privileges enjoyed by the bond servant continued. Under the new situation domestic slave still continued to enjoy some privileges than his counterpart in the New World. For example,

---

2. Harleian Collection 11. 512, 516.

the domestic slave still had the privilege of being a co-occupant of his master's household. They had the right to refer to their masters as "fathers" and were still committed to being entirely subjective to them and protecting their masters' interest.

Architecturally, this phenomena calls for a house form which allows collective occupancy. Hence, the stratification mentioned earlier could only be accommodated in the domestic house type developed by Efik society. However, it also becomes clear that the decay of the family structure affect the stability of this house form and led to the dispersal of the family and fueled later by Missionary activity in the area.

Slave Trade and Slave Economy

The exact time when the first European traders arrived Old Calabar is not known. Although the Portuguese may have known the Cross River, but it is not certain that they started trading there before the middle of the seventh century. Nevertheless, by 1668, trade with Old Calabar had begun. John Watts, an English sailor, recounted that the "Peach Tree of London" sailed to Old Calabar in the bay of Guinea[3], where she sailed into a river called the Cross River near Parrot island. Here she took on a load of slaves, which proves the atlantic slave trade was already established by this time.

English ships continue to visit Old Calabar. In 1672,

many European traders were said to have bought slaves and ivory tusks[4] in Calabar. Sailors such as Captain Reckord of the James, John Elliot of the Welcome and Andrew Branfill traded slaves for European goods in this region between the years 1675 - 1680. It is certain that the fully developed slave trade at Old Calabar during the last half of the 17th century reflected the attitudinal changes that were taking place in the pattern of trade along the coast of West Africa.

But it was the 18th century which saw a spectacular rise in slave export from this region which can be gaged by the following figures. Curtin[5] estimated the total number of slave export from this region between 1711 - 1810 to be 823,700. Figures suggested by other researchers, such as Buxton, Jameison and Antera Duke, give an indication that the actual number of slaves involved in the Trans-Atlantic transaction was substantial but is difficult to guess with any accuracy. The exact number has eluded the best statisticians and will probably never be known.

In like fashion, the degree by which the economy of Old Calabar was enhanced by the Atlantic Slave Trade is difficult to assess, because the number of slaves shipped from Calabar is unknown. It should also be remembered that during the hay day of the trade, quantities of other commodities like palm oil, ivory, bar wood and monkeys were exported as well.

---

3. LATHAM, A.J.H. p. 17
4. Elizabeth Donnan, Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America (Washington, 1930) p. 193.
5. CURTIN, Philip (1969) The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press).

However, an assessment of import into Calabar, will bring out this point.

For the more than 190 years that the trade lasted there is no information about the exact number of slaves exported from Old Calabar and there is no information about their purchasing price. The only information there is, is quoted in terms of "copper rod currency", a kind of payment then peculiar to the Cross River areas. According to Barbot, at the end of the 17th century, male slaves were said to cost from 38-48 copper rods and females from 28-37. These prices also varied depending on the health and appearance of slaves and on market forces at the time. Exact information about the prices for slaves is not available and very little is known about the equivalent in contemporary currencies. This fact, among others makes it difficult to assess the impact the trade on slaves had on the economy of Old Calabar.

Imports

As mentioned earlier, an assessment of the quantity of slaves exported from Old Calabar is difficult to make, mainly due to lack of adequate information. It is even more difficult to quantify imports because of lack of data. However, from the little evidence we have, goods imported into Old Calabar included among others iron, copper, gaudy cloths, gold finished handles of walking sticks, guns, salt and

prefabricated wooden houses[6].

Although these houses were not the basis of the trade, they were for the personal display as status symbol for particular wealthy men. The display of wealth was of great importance to many Efik men who had become African slave traders. This display of wealth also acted as a sign of credit worthiness, not only to their own people, but also to the European traders, and was a yardstick by which an Efik man could be judged.

Over the years, the goods imported changed to items such as guns and salt. The aim of this study is to identify the sources of wealth which led to the importation of wooden houses a few of which can still be seen in Calabar to this date.

The family structure and population rise of the Efik living on the lower cross river was hardly affected by the vast out flow of slave labour, since the majority of slaves exported came from further inland. The demand of slaves was favorable to the Efik since they could trade and accumulate slave to assist their farming and trading activities.

Likewise, it is difficult to judge how imports from Europe affected the Efik indigenous economy. There are indications that the importation of iron was undoubtedly the most important commodity since tools and weapons could now be made from iron and not as previously made from hard wood.

---

6. Williams, E. "Capitalism and Slavery" (Richmond, Virginia, 1944) p. 54. Duke, "Diary", p. 35-6; 7 and 11 July 1785.

Imported copper was mainly used as currency and for personal ornament. As earlier mentioned prefabricated wooden houses were imported by a few wealthy Efik chiefs. It was obvious that such houses created envy and led to more acquisition. It is obvious that such imported houses had profound effects on traditional architecture Calabar. The craze for the imported wooden houses resulted in tearing down a number of important traditional courtyard houses of the wealthy.

In about 1808 the British banned the slave trade, but the trade continued in Old Calabar for more than 30 years. Nevertheless, this ban had its effect on the volume of trade and from that year (1808), a vacuum was created in Old Calabar by dwindling number of British ships. However, this vacuum was filled by the change of trade, commodity and the more frequent route of French, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch ships.

It was not until 1821 that the British Navy involved in suppressing the slave trade first visited Old Calabar. It was obvious that the British settlement on Fernando Po did not totally stop the slave trade. But the trade did widely fluctuate as a result of the presence of the Navy in the vicinity. This suggests that the Efik chiefs were always willing to sell slaves so long as there were buyers.

In the end, Col. Nicolls, then governor of Calabar used first force and later persuasion to convince a leading Efik King (Duke Ephraim) to stop selling slaves. This agreement led

to the signing of treaties with Britain on 6th December, 1841, by two Efik kings, ending the external slave trade in exchange for five annual payments each of 2,000.00 Spanish Dollars[7] or the equivalent in goods. As a result the human trade finally came to an end in 1842.

THE RISE OF THE PALM OIL TRADE

The Palm Oil trade at Old Calabar became a substitute for the slave trade and developed into the main export business of the area. We will first consider what impact the palm oil trade had on overall economy in Efik land, which records show was the first palm oil port along the West African coast.

Palm oil has always been an important commodity in the West African trade and certainly increased in the region as slave trade declined. Indeed it has always been purchased by the Europeans, even as early as 1522[8]. Thus with the ban of the slave trade in 1808, an expected increase in oil exports occurred, with steady growth until the middle of the 20th century, when the export declined. It was at Old Calabar that the main expansion of palm oil export took place, after 1807, James Penny and Jones Bold being the first firms involved in the trade. It was the tough competition in this trade which forced both Bold and Adams to complain that the number of

---

7: Bloom to Tucker, 7 December 1841, FO 84/439

8: Alan Ryder, Benin and Europeans 1485-1897 (London 1969) p. 56

competitors was forcing prices to unprofitable level[9].

There was an indication that like slave trade, the palm oil tarde was generating profit for the Efik traders. But as Latham[10] remarks, it was most likely a myth that excessive profits were to be made in the palm oil trade before the 1860's in Old Calabar. Available records show that despite the changes, the profit remained the same when local prices were set against the London ones.

For the Efik, traders as in earlier days the most noticeable categories of goods imported were textiles, bar iron, copper rods, hardware, guns, gun powder as well as a variety of spirits. And although salt was still being produced locally at Tom Shotts island in 1805, it was an important commodity for the purchase of palm oil.

Effects of Palm Oil Trade on Domestic Economy

The Efik were not the producers of palm oil. It was produced by people in the hinterland. Hence, little is known about how the expansion of the palm oil trade affected the economy of the people who produced it. Imports as a result of these two external trades existing for a time side by side the slave and palm oil trade was a continuation of what had been taking place before. For example, cloths imported had at first little effect on local industry, as none was in existence except raffia cloth woven from palm tree fronds.

---

9. Adams, Sketches, p. 109; Bold, p. 78

Effects on other commodities such as earthenware, spirits and salt also show that it did not stop the local production of these items rather they were enhanced by these imports. It may therefore be suggested that European imports did not have any immediate adverse effects on indigenous economy, instead, beneficial effects were felt by the introduction of more efficient tools, a wider choice of cloths and goods.

But to what extent this benefit was enjoyed by the Efik in the housing sector is questionable. Thus, Latham's contention that ".... as the volume of exports and imports grew during the 18th century, more people were able to benefit"[10] cannot be extended to the housing sector since only a few privileged and rich Efik chiefs could afford to import those wooden houses.

EUROPEAN TRADERS AND HOUSE FORM IN EFIK LAND

The European Traders, like the Qua and Efut communities are peripheral to the evolution of Efik social and political life. These groups were independent of Efik society. In the case of the European traders, each ship was a self-governing unit, with European Officers and a mixed crew of Europeans and Africans. Their relationship with the Efik was purely commercial. In most cases, ware houses were rented on shore while the Europeans and their men lived aboard ship.

10. LATHAM, A.J.H. p. 72

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTACT WITH EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES:

MISSIONARY PERIOD (1846 - 1889)

When the white man came, he gave us the Bible and said "let us pray", when we opened ours eyes, we had the Bible, and he had the land.[1]

INTRODUCTION

Before the year 1846 when the Scotland Mission was established in Old Calabar, no Europeans had resided in Calabar for any appreciable length of time. Nevertheless, some Efik chiefs had at this time already "acquired" two-storey wooden houses built in Europe and shipped down to Calabar. These houses on the one hand marked out top politicians and trade barons of Old Calabar; while on the other hand stood as testimonies of success and as a defeat of their political rivals. They were further signs of continuous struggle for trade monopolies.

Historically, Efik traditional house form represents the social importance of the extended family. Its physical lay out is the replica of the cosmos in which one can relate to the universe. It also represents a society in a micro scale; where one knows one's place and behaves accordingly. Consequently, changing political, social, religious and economic systems alter, this form of housing.

In addressing the issues on transformation and fragmentation of house form in Efik land, it is intended to investigate the basic determinants which constitute the major

changes and the causes which took place after contact with the Europeans Missionaries. It is to inquire into how Efik traditional houses became transformed into what is seen today. The argument is that cultural influences and family relationships created the traditional house form. But since contact with the European missionaries and other non-Efik elements, there had been many changes, which have affected Efik traditional house type. Hence, a gradual disintegration of this house type began to be noticed. To what extent this disintegration can be attributed to contact with European Missionaries will be highlighted in this chapter.

THE MISSIONARIES AND ABOLITION OF SLAVE TRADE

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade is one of the familiar themes of West African history. While this trade lasted, the treatment meted out to an African slave defied description. Unlike his domestic counterparts like the bonded servants, he had no right to property, not even to his wife, husband or children. He was regarded as beast of burden to provide cheap labour for his master. His lot was pitiable in the extreme, and this misery was eventually to excite sympathy from some quarters.

In Europe for instance, a few people began to decry and condemn slavery and slave trade as inhuman. The pioneering effort was made by a small group of christians called the

1. Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Johannesburg, quoted from Peter Enahoro (1992) The Complete Nigerian, Malthouse Press Ltd p.26

Quakers who enjoined their members not to participate in slave trade. There is also the example of individuals like Las Casas who wrote about the horrors and atrocities of the slave trade.

What may be regarded as the landmark in the crusade against slave trade was the 1772 court decision. In it, the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield ruled in Sumerset versus Knowles that slavery was not permissible by the laws of England and that any slave that set his feet on British soil ipso facto became a free man. Thus, towards the end of the 18th century, a well organized abolitionist movement came into force. Led by William Wilberforce, Thomas Clerkson and Granville Sharp - all famous names in the battle against the slave trade. It was due to the force of their conviction and perseverance that the British Parliament prohibited Britons in 1807 from engaging in slave trade. The abolition finally came into effect in 1833 throughout the British empire.

At this point, it is possible to ascribe a commercial economic factor to the abolition of slave trade - first from the point of view of Britain. At her new industrial revolution, Britain would benefit from increase in population in overseas markets such as Africa rather than from a depopulation brought about by slave trade. Thus there was a demand to halt the slave trade.

For the Efik middle man, this abolition rocked their economic base, apart from leaving on hand an uncontrollable number of slaves. How was this commercial vacuum left by the

slave trade to be filled? This economic problem was what drew the attention of the Efiks to yearn for a new pattern of trade if they were to survive.

Thus, King Eyo Honesty II had to address the following letter to Commander Raymond on December 1, 1842:[2]

".....I am very glad you come settle treaty proper, and thank you for doing everything right for me yesterday. One thing I want for beg your Queen (Victoria), I have to much man now, I can't sell slaves, and don't know what for do for them. But if I can get some cotton and coffee to grow, and man for to teach me, and make sugar cane for me country come up proper, and sell for trade side, I very glad. Mr. Blyth tell me England glad for send man to teach book and we understand God same white man do. If Queen do so I glad too much, and we must try do good for England always ....."[3]

The economic down turn which followed the abolition of the slave trade, drastically reduced the potentials of the Efik chiefs and trade barons. This development adversely affected their ability to purchase and own European imported wooden houses. This situation was further worsened by the fact that they could no longer act as middle men in the oil palm trade which later replaced the slave trade. The reason for this was that the British trade policy was to penetrate, as much as possible the west African hinter land. The Efik therefore sort solace in a technological development of their region, hence, the invitation stated above.

MISSIONARY ARRIVAL IN EFIK LAND

The advent of the Presbyterian Mission (the United Free

---

2. Three days later, on December 4, 1842, King Eyambe was quoted as writing in the same tone, requesting for assistance to be able to rehabilitate the surplus slaves in his country.

Church of Scotland) to Calabar in 1846 arose from appeals to the British government in 1842 by King Eyo Honesty II of Creek Town and King Eyamba V of Duke Town. After signing treaties with Britain to abolish slave trade, both chiefs now sought new uses for their slaves and appealed for teachers and facilities to grow, manufacture and sell cotton and coffee.[4]

This request which was understood by Britain to mean evangelization of the African race received great response especially from Jamaica and West Indies where newly emancipated Africans, encouraged by the Presbyterian missionaries from scotland, saw this as an opportunity to bring christianity to their benighted brethren in Africa. Thus, in 1846, a team led by Hope Marsterton Waddell, (an Irish clergyman) left Jamaica for Calabar. Other members of the team were Samuel Edgerly, an English printer and Mrs. Edgerly; two Jamaican blacks: Andrew Chisholm, a carpenter and Edward Millar, a teacher. This mission team was later joined during the rest of the 19th century by Rev. and Mrs. Hugh Goldie (1847) and Rev. and Mrs. William Anderson (1849) from Britain. When in 1858 poor health conditions forced Hope Waddell to leave the field work, a most distinguished worker, Mary Slessor, a Scottish lady, joined the field work in September, 1876[5].

Among the Efik and their neighbours, the reception of the Presbyterian Missionaries varied. It varied among

---

3. Aye, E.U. (1967) Old Calabar Through the Centuries. Hope Waddell Press, Cal. pp. 111
4. Ibid

individuals, and social classes, according to their differing or changing perception of the missionaries and their work. It also varied according to the methods, doctrines and attitudes of the missionaries themselves towards the Efiks, their traditions and customs.

Reception by the leading Efik chiefs also varied from an initial warm welcome to general resentment bordering sometimes on open hostility or conflict. They had hoped to use the numerous skills acquired from the Europeans to develop their land. They later realized that the christianity the missionaries introduced subverted Efik government and religion. For instance, the mission premises harboured fugitives from Efik justice and runaway slaves. People under mission influence defied ekpe laws and other aspects of Efik traditional authority. Missionaries denounced as barbaric aspects of Efik government and justice - like trial by ordeal (with the poisonous esere bean), ekpe laws and judicial punishment.

In 1855, following this souring relationship between the Efik and the Missionaries, some Efik chiefs contemplated expulsion of the missionaries from their land. They were latter deterred by fear of reprisals by the British Consul, T.J. Hutchinson, whose intervention on the side of the missionaries with a gunboat and a threat to destroy Duke Town obliged the Efik to co-operate with the missionaries. This

---

5. Ogarekpe, M.O. (1976) Mary Slessor: Centenary Celebration, Calabar Nigeria 1876 - 1976. pp.3-5

actual or potential support of the missionaries by British arms ensured the survival and triumph of the missionary enterprise in Calabar[6] and generally switched Efik reactions to the mission from hostility to tolerance, acceptance and empathy.

Nevertheless, the missionaries found receptive ears and hearts among the oppressed classes, notably slaves and women suffering political, social and matrimonial disabilities. The slaves for instance welcomed mission doctrine of equality of man before God and condemnation of Efik practices like the immolation and burial of slaves with their masters[7].

An outstanding fact remains that while the missionaries regarded religion as an individual matter, the Efik regarded it as a concern of the community "whose customs and practices could only be changed when the community becomes generally convinced of the need for change"[8]. This development shows the communal, nucleated nature of most African communities before the advent of the Europeans. The Efik chiefs had contended that their people needed sufficient time to decide (not individually) about christianity. When it became obvious to them that christianity will become antithetic to their religion, many men forbade their wives; and many parents their children from attending church services and embracing christianity at school. Hence, most of the initial progress of

---

6. Ayandele, E.A.(Prof) (1971) The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842 - 1914: A Political and Social Analysis. Longmans Group Ltd.
7. James, B. (1980) "The Expendable Mary Slessor" The Saint Andrew Press, pp. 41-42
8. Ajayi, J.F.A. (1969) Christian Missions in Nigeria: 1841 - 1891: The making of a New Elite. Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd. London pp. 102 - 103

the missionaries in Efik land was in education.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN EFIK LAND

The primary evangelical activity of the missionaries were supported by educational classes, healthcare dispensation and various social services. Most missionaries, like Rev. Hope M. Waddell held daily clinic and dispensed medicine. The mission women took active part in the education and trainning of women and girls. They visisted women yards, taught the new religion literacy and crafts like sewing, childcare, hygine, home economics, embrodery and patch work. In addition, the women also ran the mission houses with iron hands.

For instance, the chiefs of Duke Town referred to Mrs Louisa Anderson as "... them women be best man for mission"[9]. This was because she scolded them profusely, settled quarrels, treated the sick, advised in the building of mission houses and trained girls in domestic work for 34 years before she died in 1882.

Due to the missioanry insistence, supported by the European traders, British Counsuls and Gun-Boats, various treaties included clauses against certain practices which hitherto the Efik had considered as their way of life. Among such practices were the practice of human sacrifice and the killing of twin children. The mission women provided support and shelter for the oppressed, slaves, criminals, twin

9. The Story of Old Calabar: A Guide to the National Museum at the Old Residency, Calabar.

children and mothers, accussed of witchcraft as well as the poor. For this reason, the first christian convert tended to come from the socially deprived groups. The elders and well to-dos often vehemently oppossed christianity as it threatened their status in the community.

Under the missionaies' encouragement, social revolts developed - such as the slave Blood Brotherhood of 1851 in the 1870's; the women's rebellion against excessive seclussion of widows in 1862; the Henshaw Town Youth Movement in 1872 and the Eyamba Town separation of 1882.[10]

If European missionary activities in Efikland segregated the Efik's sense of community, formal or western education did much more. For instance, when the Efik rulers and chiefs invited the missionaries to establish in Old Calabar, they did so hoping "to have their children taught in English learning". The principal aim of craving for this formal education was to use the knowledge acquired as an effective instrument to dominate commerce for which they were very famous in the 18th and 19th centuries. To worship the God of the white man according to the chiefs simply meant to learn the mysteries behind the white man's technological superiority, which had nothing to do with christian religion.

MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN EFIK LAND

---

10. The Story of Old Calabar (1986) A publication of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments; Calabar, Cross River State.

The introduction of western education into South Eastern Nigeria was pioneered by the missionaries, who regarded western education as a chief means of effecting social transformation.

Contrary to their demands, the formal education introduced by the missions upheld a narrow concept of education. Great emphasis was placed on religious instructions - arguing that the best people for the propagation of christianity were men without literacy pretensions. For this reason, they reluctantly founded secondary schools. The products of the normal schools as they were then called became school teachers, catechists and priests. They provided education bearing little or no relevance to the economic needs of the people.

Generally, the missionary education propagated by the European Missioanries did not meet the satisfaction of the Efik Chiefs. Consequently, about 1890's a delegation was led by the chiefs to the High Commission requesting Government to open up a government school at Duke Towm. This led to the establishment of the Presbyterian Mission Training Institute at Calabar in 1895. Initially located at "Obot Thompson" or Thompson Hill, named after the first superintendent of the school - Rev. Risk Thompson.

A look at all the schools (primary, industrial and grammer schools) established and run by the missionaries were all ideological centres for the propagation of Religion,

European type of civilization and the myth of the European superiority. Religious institutions went together with attempts to impose British morals, manners and dress and with pompous exhibits of European supremacy at suitable occasions like royal events and other state ceremonies.

The missionary education helped raise the economic and political standing of the Calabar towns. They placed emphsis on the ideas of brotherhood of man, honest and dedicated service, total commitment and the pursuit of excellence, which maintained an atmosphere of tolerence and intra-ethnic understanding. But at what cost were the Efik offered such an elevated educational standard? It was at the expense of their traditional values, culture and traditions.

THE MISSIONARIES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

From the foregoing, can we believe that the social changes that took place in Efik society can all be attributed to missionary activities there? This may not be since Nair (1972) upholds that in the studies of social change where the elements or units to which change is attributed can be clearly identified, it is fairly easy to differentiate between internal and external causes of change. But in the study of a complex society such as Calabar, there arises a difficulty in identifying the frequent interactions in such a phenomenon.

Furthermore, it is extremely rare that single causes are followed by single effects; so that the search for an

understanding of social change is by no means an easy task.

In the case of the Efik, it will be totaly misleading to conclude for instance that the European Missioanries single handedly succeeded in weakening the traditional religious beliefs of the Efik people. It was however revealed that there appears to be a correlation between the decline in traditional religious values and increase in affluence. For example, so importatnt was the juju priest E(ndem) in Efik cosmology that it found a place in the political system. It was the nden priest who performed the traditional ritual ceremonies during the coronation of the King. Only when the ndem priest had placed the crown, called ntinya, on the head of the king, did the latter becomes acceptable to the people as their legitimate ruler.

But it is amazing that while the acqusition of wealth had become a major preoccupation of the Efik, the office of the ndem priest had:

> " ..... fallen into disrepute and the emoluments were so trifling that only a decayed gentleman could be found to accept the honor. A poor little, old man, who often got his dinner as an alms at the mission house, was the dignitary at the time of which we write ....."[11]

What this shows is the fact that even for such important religious institutions, changes associated with them may not have been a direct consequence of missionary activity nor education. Rather, as can be recalled, changes take place at different pace in different spheres - rapidly either in

---

11. Waddell, H.M. Twenty Nine Years et. seq. p. 315

politics and economics and less rapidlly in areas like marriage customs, traditional religious beliefs and rituals.

Consequentlly, it will be naive to believe that missionary education in Calabar was wholely responsible for the changes seen in Efik house form; since much of the missionary activity in Calabar was unrelated to the world in which the Efik lived. Instead the educated elite missionary education produced in the area later came to exert greater effect on Efik social change.

Let us briefly examine the extent to which education, as the christian missionaries understood it, was used as an agency to promote social change. The fact has already been highlighted that it was the Efik who sought for formal education. But an analysis of what happened later revealed that the education the Efik sought had strictly utilitarian or pragmatic intent.

As a trading people, the demand was for a system of commercial education aimed at producing artisans, clerks and men educated in the life and language of the coast with English as the medium of communication. The missionaries were expected to continue the tradition of the merchants. They wanted to be taught English and be instructed in the proper accounting and management of trade returns - which by this time had already been initiated by the European traders.

To the dismay of the Efik, commercial education was systematically replaced by a system of quasi-religious

systematically replaced by a system of quasi-religious education.[12] This was so because the schools were conceived by the evangelists as the nursery of the church, and so received an essential place in the missionary activity.

Apparently, the heavy emphasis placed on religious instruction partly explains why the Efik, who initially were so keen to receive the missionaries, latter became unenthusiatic about European education. To this end, most children were not allowed by parents to stay long in the schools, rather, as soon as the boys could learn to speak, read and write a little English, sufficient to conduct small negotaiations with the European traders, they were immidiately removed from school and put into trade.

That girls were not sent to schools can be argued from the fact that the Efik saw education as being synonymous with trading. They contended that girls were not actively engaged in commmerce and therefore were less anxious than the men for regular schooling.

When the missionaries latter turned away from teaching in English and concentrated on Efik as a medium of instruction, a further blow was delivered to the hopes of the Efik elders. Consequentlly, whatever achievements missionary education would have recorded had became blurred in the eyes of an Efik man.

Generally, the advent of European explorers/travellers,

---

12. Nair, p. 67

missionaries and traders marked the opening for colonization of the African continent. And from that time on, studies on African history had taken a form dictated by external influences. This is not to say that Africa lost all she had in terms of her traditional culture. Some parts of the African Continent still retain some of the purest examples of traditional culture. Nonetheless, this contact began a trend of events which culminated in the importation of western ideas and the ultimate westernisation of most African societies.

There can be no denying the fact that western culture has become part of the ecological environment of the African existence, especially in Efik land. This is because African culture, like any other cannot remain in isolation. Thus, since cultural contact is so inevitable, in Calabar for instance, the ecological setting is a blend of western civilization and Efik traditional culture.

Consequently, the extended family system, which is an off-shoot of the collective philosophy pervading traditional life style, as well as the communal ownership of community resources and collective responsibility for the well being of the community has suffered a blow through cultural contact. Furthermore, the increasing cry for economic self sufficiency comes with it consequences of economic transformation.

Little wonder that the traditional rulers' initial resistance to European acculturation was so loud, clear and direct.

"... not one of the coastal states in touch with Europeans for so long adopted the religion or the system of government, taxation or justice of their European customers and traders. Rather, while continuing to trade, coastal peoples deliberately erected barriers to shut off European cultural influence....."[13]

It was only the anti-slavery slogan coupled with the evangelical campaigns that successfully paved the way for European acculturation of the coastal peoples. Which in the case of the Efik of Old Calabar, started showing imprints in the traditional architecture of this one time native community. Thus, since architecture is an expression of culture, any change in traditional culture is tantamount to similar change in architecture.

It was the Efik who made repeated appeals to the European traders to help in the education of their people as well as the industrialization of their country. It was not until about 1841, after the British Government concluded treaties with the Efik Chiefs abolishing the slave trade that the chiefs seized that opportunity and tagged their earlier rejected requests to the slave trade abolishment package. The chiefs insisted that they wish to become planters of cotton and coffee, and enlightened in order that they may be able "to worship the God of the white man".

To the chiefs, to worship the God of the white man simply meant to learn the mysteries behind the white man's technological superiority, which had nothing to do with

---

13. ADEYEMI, A.E. (Prof) (1976) "Changing Tradition Culture in Morden Architecture". Ahmadu Bello University Public Lectures, 1974 - 76 Sessions. p. 43.

christian religion. This in fact was what Foote[14] misunderstood, hence his plea that christian missionaries be sent to Calabar.

It was a hard and difficult bargain before the Efik chiefs finally agreed to give land to the missionaries to set up their churches. The situation got worse when the missionaries placed much and undue emphasis on religious, rather than mathematics and reading instructions. Thus, as it would be expected, it was not long before the missionaries and the Efik chiefs disagreed. For instance, Jack Egbor's son was reported to have frankly told Hope Waddell that his father did not send him to "come to school to 'sabi' (know) God, but to 'sabi' trade book".

Generally, the central issue of missionary influence was Efik custom. For the missionary influence to be felt, it was necessary to suppress the customs of the people. Their plea that the Efiks denounce wealth after the example of Christ could easily be accommodated by the wealthy chiefs who knew quite well that they were not going to be banned from trading as long as there were merchants at the coast.

Christianity demanded change from traditional ways which the missionaries saw as abominable, sinful, full of fetisism and superstitions. For instance, Waddell's sabbath preaching focussed on polygamy and the insurrectionary creeds which highlighted man-servant relationship were what completely

14. Captain John Forte communicated his discussions with the Efik chiefs to Honorable Sidney Herbert of the Foreign Office, December 12, 1842. F.O. 84/495.

disgusted the Efik chiefs and they submitted that:

" ... Calabar was not like England, where all the people have one king, and all gentlemen from every town meet yearly, to make laws for the whole country. Every little Calabar town must have its own king, and every man was a king in his own house, to do as he liked with his own people ...."[15]

The fact remains that it was at the arrival of the missionaries that Efik customs became labelled as barbaric, sinful and superstitious; and the only basis for this labelling was because they did not fit into western practices.

The missionaries were therefore only judging Efik customs on the basis of western modalities. Otherwise, how could one imagine how stable the society was in spite of these bad practices and custom? If for instance a society accepts polygamy, live in ill-ventilated houses, had narrow winding streets and yet accept all these as the basis which keeps that society together, there is nothing wrong about that as far as that society is concerned. What is rather bad is that the schools which further became the forum for attack on the people's customs educated a few privileged class - privileged because they felt themselves above the Nigerian diet, above the Nigerian attire, above the Nigerian form of marriage, above the people ceremonies and other customs; all they cared for was to have beautiful mansions and many servants. This class, earlier identified was greatly responsible for the social changes that took place in Efik community during the missionary enterprise.

---

15. Waddell, H.M. (1863) Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa. London, p.378.

On the abolition of slave trade, freed slaves living in Sierra Leone and Brazil migrated in large numbers to Lagos[16]. There was a similar movement into Calabar - Efik Land, except that these slaves, apart from the local troubles they caused, had little impact on the cultural or political life of Calabar. For instance, some had become church members, while some (Fergusson, a Cape Coaster) did some teaching in the early 1840s. It was therefore in education that their impact was most felt.

Consequently, the local traders preferred to send their children to these men for lessons, as the English and Arithmetic they taught were more useful, for business than the Efik and Bible studies the missionaries concentrated upon. Nevertheless, the wave of reaction which overtook the Efik community culminated in moves to eject the freed Africans.

On their part, the freed Africans had had cases of deciding that local laws did not apply to them - declaring themselves British subjects and claiming immunity from Efik laws on that ground.

A direct influence especially in house form was therefore not very obvious from these freed slaves, except that their spirit of freedom engineered such spirit also in domestic slaves, a situation which later created awareness among the slaves (Bloodmen Phenomena). Worse still, operating under the umbrella of the missionaries, which also enjoyed the

16. Adeyemi, E.A. (Prof) (1974) "Changing Traditional Culture and Modern Architecture". Ahmadu Bello University Lectures 1974 - 1976.

protection of the colonial government, much damage was done to Efik customs and traditions, especially those viewed as being obnoxious and anti-christian faith.

Some of these men were no doubt trained as crafts men - carpenters, gold and copper smiths - whose services the rich and those who could afford would have employed. They assisted in the erection of the one-storeyed houses, a trend which had a damaging effect on Efik traditional house form.

No doubt, these effects could be interpreted in many ways. But in the context of our discussion, two such effects and their influence on house form were studied - namely, the effect of christianity on slave and the educational system introduced by the missionaries. For missoionary influence to be felt it was necessary to suppress the customs of the people and the attempt to do so was marked by increasing confrontation. For example in a society that was highly stratified between the free born and the slaves, while the Efik would allow their women to go to church wearing suitable dresses, they would not like to see slave women dress like free women. But to the missionaries, all men, wheather slave or free born, are equal before God. So as the liberal philosophly of the missionaries began to take root, especially among the servile popuplation, it generated waves of social revolution which before this time, was unknown in Calabar. The subsequent refusal to acknowledge the authority of one family head later led to the disintegration of the house form.

Furthermore, the missionary education introduced in Old Calabar was another forum for attack on Efik customs. For example, the educated became contemptuous of the culture and the life style of the people. They lost all respect for all kinds of labour, in fact, they scunned at manual labour . Hence, the educated class, whom the Efik had anticipated were coming to enhance the technological and agricultural development of the society turned out to prefer clerical jobs.

The effect of this on house form was obvious. This class of Efik now saw themselves above living in such traditional houses. More so, when the housing policy of the colonal administration was to provide "government quarters" for such government workers. Consequently, this new breed of educated Efik class, a very essential and supportive arm of the tradtional compound house type became alineated from this one time cheerished tradition.

NEW VALUES, NEW ARCHITECTURE

It is clear that a changing culture has effect on the physical environment. Consequently, it will be noticed that if old values in any given tradition change, they do so rapidly in urban living, and not necessarily always from the benefit of modern education.

As a sea port, a trading centre and one time capital of the southern protectorate, Calabar had had the greatest exposure to all new objects and ideas from foreign sources

with many old traditional values being replaced by other values.

This chapter has shown that both missionary education and educational policies were not designed for the industrialization of Efik land, nor for the preservation of traditional values. For this reason, the following premises must be stated; that culture as a way of life of a people is the agreed man-made method that society has adopted to aid survival in a given environment and in as far as possible to help enjoy a good life as defined by the arbitrary consensus of the members. This aid consists of the material expressions of tools and artifacts to satisfy the basic natural, physical and biological needs, and the non-material expression of rules and norms of behaviour, ideas, beliefs and values to satisfy the artificial - social, cultural, spiritual and moral needs of individual and social living. Traditional culture is therefore permanent only in a static environment or after an unchanging definition of a good life. Right from inception, Efik society exists in a changing environment with constantly modifying definition of the good life. Consequently, changes in house form development are not surprising as a result of this changing phenomena.

There is no denying the fact that the most significant social changes in Calabar society were due to an internal restructuring of economic, social and political relationships brought about by missionaries. It was also the internal

factors, among the Efik themselves, that were responsible for uprooting those aspects of tradition no longer functionally related to the central characteristics of the social structure.

External factors were not frequently permitted to disrupt rapidly the evolutionary social changes in Efik society. For instance, during the reign of King Eyo, it was remarkably demonstrated that it was possible to modernise without becoming either westernised or christianised.

In fact the Efik were so sensitive to the conflict between the old and new social principles as they felt the discrepancy between the method of life required of them by the newly emerging values and the traditional scheme of life to which they were already accustomed. It can be argued that since the Efik society was a very dynamic one, and in keeping with the constant nature of change, much of what was responsible for the social changes experienced in Efik land came as a result of the need for change by the Efik people themselves.

MISSIONARY INFLUENCE ON EFIK HOUSE FORM

A house is generally defined as the totality of the residential environment, characterized by the presence of internal and environmental facilities, which make for a conducive condition of living. Housing therefore holds a place of singular importance in the general strategy of development

for its socio-economic advantage. Still very disturbing in this regard is the fact that in Nigeria, a large percentage of its people still live in substandard houses or neighbourhoods. This way, architecture has always reflected the society in which it is built.

To emphasise the role of the traders on Efik house type is not to deny the claims of others. Missions and philanthropists played their part, although not without criticism. For instance Osadebe was quoted as saying,

> "..... the missionary has made African soil fertile for the growth of imperialism.... when African historians come to write their own account of the adventure of Africa with imperialism, they will write of the missionaries as the greatest friends the African had."[17]

Generally the full extent of the influence of christian missionaries on general development of Nigeria is difficult to access. Part of this difficulty arises from the impossibility of drawing a clear dividing line between missionary influence and political, cultural and economic influences. For instance, while the missionaries primary motive and inspiration was "seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness", they also believed that if this injunction were followed, " all these other things shall be added unto you". So in spite of their pious theology, the early missionaries came from a culture which kept only one eye fixed in heaven, while the other was focussed quite firmly on the earth. And while regarding the comforts of this world as

---

17. Galloway, A. D. (1960) Quoting D. Osadebe in "Missionary Impact on Nigeria". Nigeria Magazine. October, 1960.

possible distractions from an ultimate heavenly destiny, at the same time they were regarded as indications of the goodness and providence of God.

In an attempt to access missionary impact on Efik domestic architecture, it was rather found out that the mission schools were probably the greatest single missionary factor influencing the life and culture of the Efik. This was done by creating christian virtues of industry and productive prosperity which became highly valued at this time. Consequently, mission schools were established in every mission station, thus laying the foundation for a modern educational system.

Furthermore, there is the fact that no religion survives as a matter of words or doctrine alone. Action is called for. The sick had to be healed, orphans had to be cared for, poverty had to be relieved and so the beginning of a modern social service was born.

Although christianity came to Nigeria generally through a European filter it would be mistaking to think that the missionary movement was a purely European affair. It is necessary to recall that at the end of the slave trade, many communities of Nigerians living in various corners of the world as emancipated slaves turned their thoughts to their homeland. And those who had become christians thought of bringing the benefits of the Gospel to their own people. Thus in Calabar the first impulse which led to the formation of the

great scottish missionaries did not come initially from Scotland but Nigerians living in Jamaica. The return of these freed slaves also added impetus to the foreign influences felt on Efik traditional Architecture.

In chapter three, it was shown that the Efik did not allow the Europeans to build onshore. For instance, the case of Messrs Inglis and Smith, who, when they arrived Old Calabar in 1857 in order to buy palm oil tried to live in Old Calabar is interesting. First, unable to find suitable local accommodation, they were given a place to stay at the mission. Later they obtained permission from the king to build their own house. This information on getting to the ears of the villagers, they became strongly opposed to the king's decision and were moved to hold a "great" meeting and advanced the following points:

> "all the mischief (observed), arose from the missionaries living on shore. They lived too long and showed others how to live long also; and soon they would see all the white people living on shore, and more would come, till they would be too many. Before time white people lived all on ship-board; and while they lived in their ships the country was safe. They used to get sick and die soon, and were afraid to stay one year in the river. Now they won't die; the missionaries teach them to live long; so they stop in Calabar two or three years, and fill two or three ships before they go back to England....."[18]

Thus following the accusation that the missionaries were encouraging the European traders to live ashore, there was also pressure that the missionaries be sent home. This did not happen, but the general antipathy to the traders settling on

---

18. Waddell, H. Twenty-Nine Years p. 612

shore led them to choose instead to live on hulks.

This study has therefore shown that the change of traditional life style in Efik land, and the redefinition of family relationships brought about by European ideas contributed to the current apparent lack of Efik traditional house form. Consequently, the characteristic cluster organization of house form which was formerly predominant in this part of the country became either totally destroyed or has disintegrated.

The dictates of the polygamous way of life demanded that the house form should consist of groupings of dwellings arranged in such a way that privacy is ensured and communication facilitated. Traditionally therefore, the courtyard was a symbol of communal life, a concourse for family discussions and gossips[19], as well as an arena for sharing moments of joy, sorrow and a space for rituals such as marriage, birth and death ceremonies.

For this reason, the single family house intended for the nuclear family in the European sense is an imported culture and the need for such housing type has never existed in Efik land[20] before the advent of the Missionaries.

At the time of writing only ONE compound - Etubom Effiwat's House at No. 6 Offing Square, Calabar, (already illustrated in Fig. 2.6) could pass as a patrilineal compound

---

19. Gossiping is an age old practice which does not necessarily have strong bearing with whether one sits in a courtyard or in the market place. Along the streets, even at home, right inside ones bedroom, gossiping could be done - and is not confined to one society alone. (1 Thimoty 5:13).

20. Late Etubom Effiwat (interviewed 23rd January, 1992) stressed the practice of collective living among the Efiks. Though much has be 'borrowed' European norms, the pattern of living for a very long time has continued to be based on family or house

existing in Calabar municipality[21]. This too is not without obvious signs of disintegration and modernization. Evidently, the patrilineal compounds in Efik land have all lost their typical closed structure as a result of the filling up of the courtyard (anwa essien), irregular extensions, dilapidation or structural deterioration. The study also found out that these changes in the compound structure are not only limited to disintegration of the extended family system, but also caused by overcrowding and the poverty of the householders. Inadequate headship, especially to carter for the family members financially and otherwise has thus resulted in this break down.

Generally, this development later gave rise to the disintegration of Efik traditional "courtyard" house form. Evidently, since such imported houses or forms could not compete with the nucleated compound house types, in most cases, some parts, especially the front, of these compounds had to be demolished to create space to site some of these imported houses. Another outstanding example is Prince Archibong's house shown in Plate 4.1.

It was fashionable during the Missionary time for such additions to the traditional compound house, since there existed no special areas (sabon-garis) or new towns where such houses could be assembled.

---

ties.

21. In the course of my discussion with the Ettubom, (may his Soul Rest in Peace), he told me of his repeated appeals to the National Commission of Museums and Monuments, through the National Museum, Calabar, to take over this compound for preservation as listed buildings. We belief his appeal is genuine in view of the fact that if nothing is done especially now that he is dead, no record of such compounds will exist any longer in Calabar Municipality.

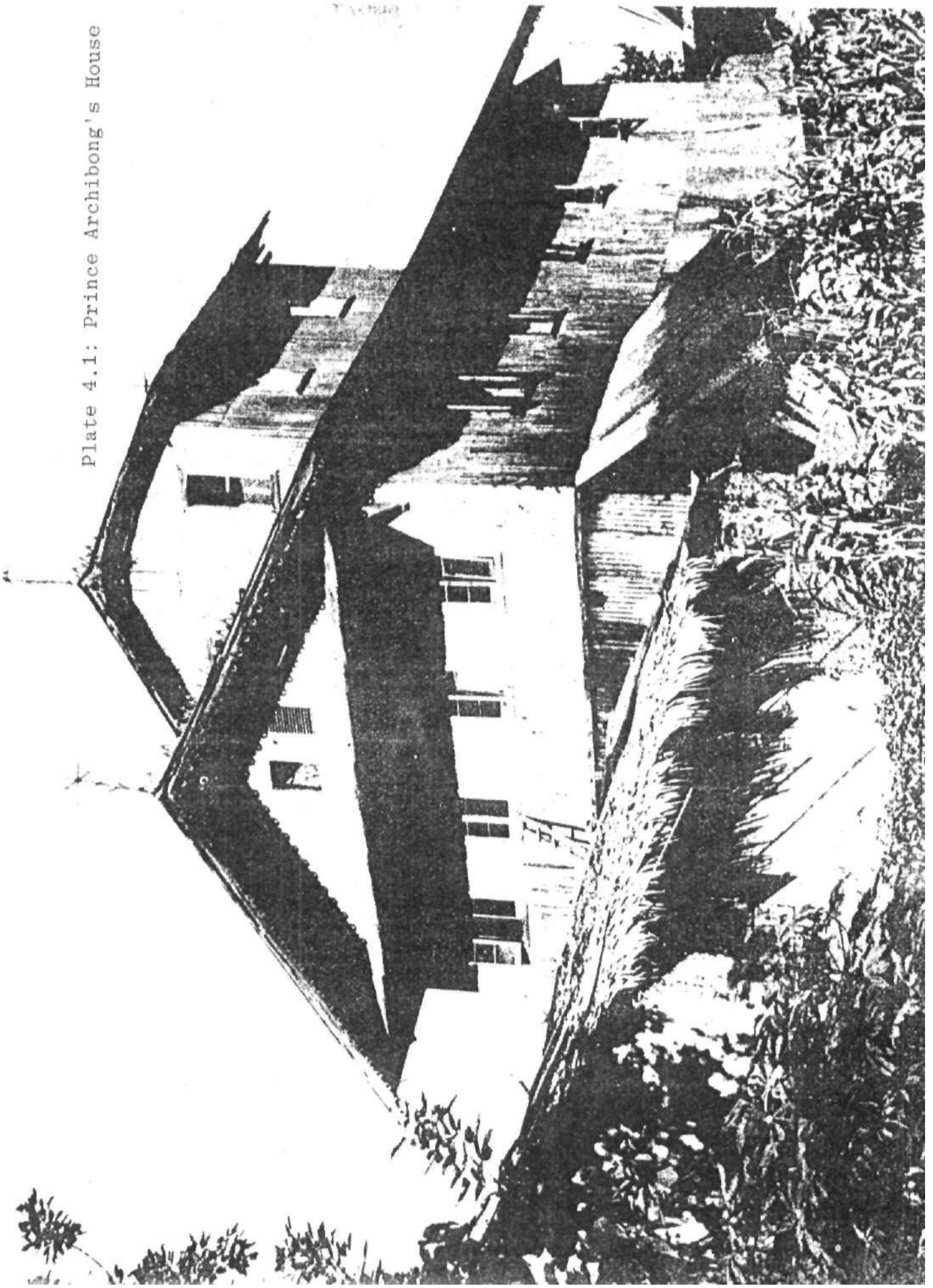


Plate 4.1: Prince Archibong's House

Some other outstanding examples of imported wooden houses during this period include:- Chief Ekpo Udo Iko's House at Creek Town (1898)[22]. The interior of this house, like many others, was stocked with numerous prestigious articles and furniture of foreign manufacture - which were used in the entertainment of European visitors "in considerable taste and splendour".

King Eyamba's Iron Palace

King Eyamba's Iron Palace, (Figure 4.2 and Plate 4.2), *prefabricated in 1843 by Messrs Leycock and Co. Iron Merchants* of Liverpool, ranks as one of the most famous prefabricated structure due to much publicity.

The King is believed to have ordered this two-storey palace for two reasons:- first, it was in keeping with the new fashion in the country, a yearning for imported wooden houses. Secondly, King Eyamba V is said to have heard that a neighbouring prince had obtained a handsome house of wood from England. So determined not to be "outdone", he gave order for the palace.

Made of wooden beams (which had to be introduced to reduce cost), and iron poles (columns) and sheets, the palace was erected at King Eyamba's compound in Duke Town - Old Calabar. The house had a central hall - state room 12.2 x 4.3 meters (40 x 14 feet) and four corner rooms on the ground

22. See also Figure 4.1, another colonial house in Creek Town.

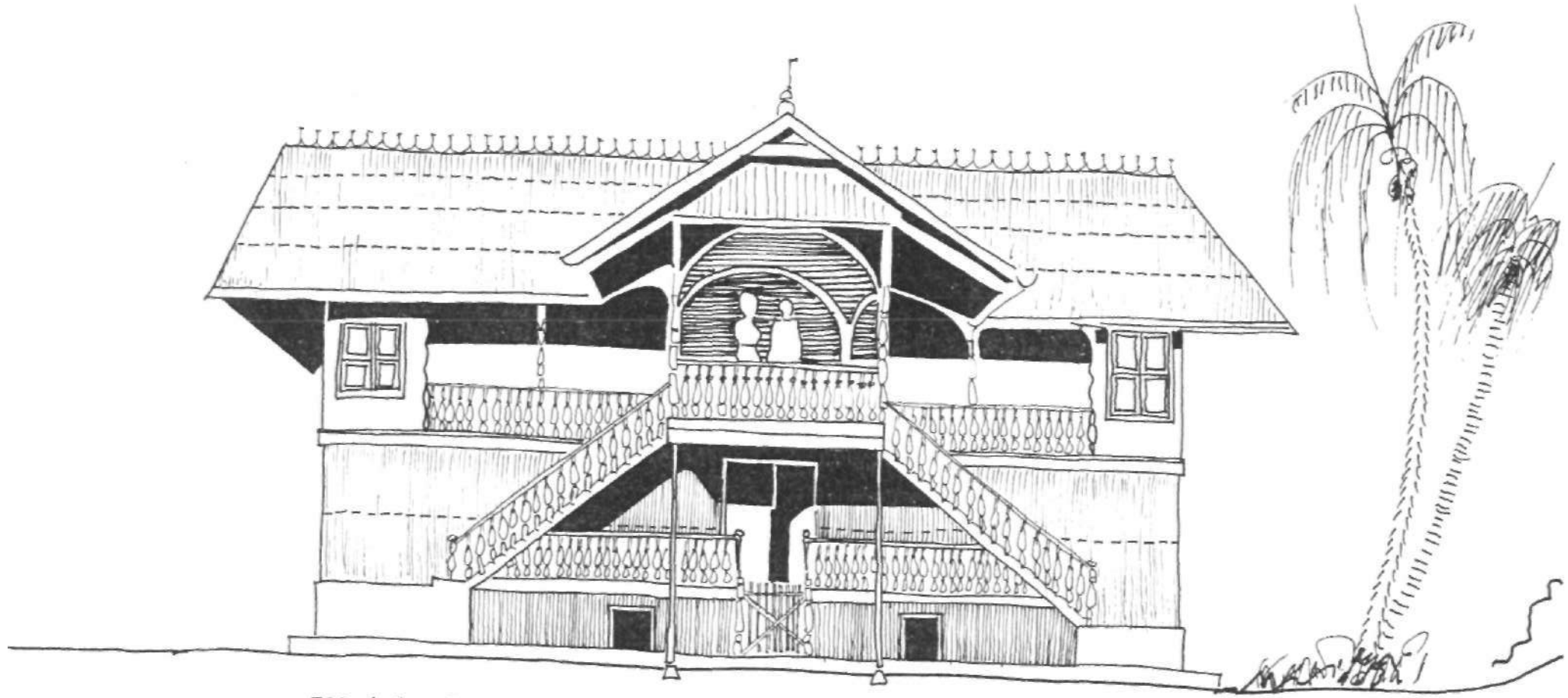
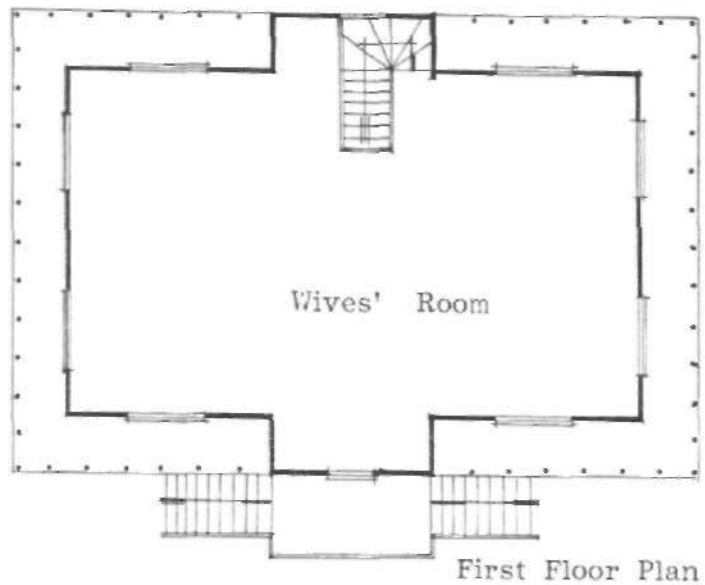
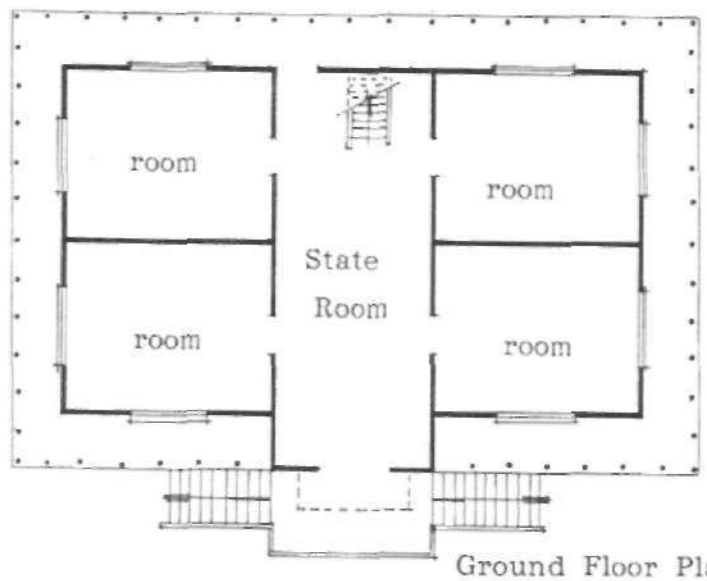


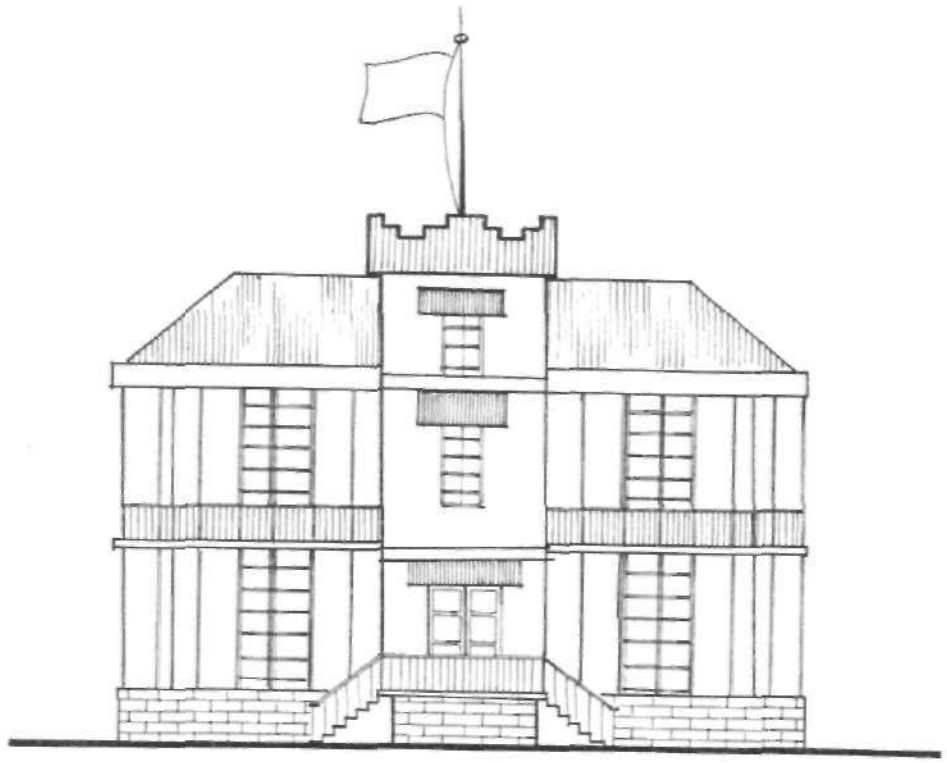
FIG. 4.1 Colonial Residence at Creek Town (1884)



First Floor Plan



Ground Floor Plan



Front Elevation

FIG.4.2: KING EYAMBA'S IRON PALACE

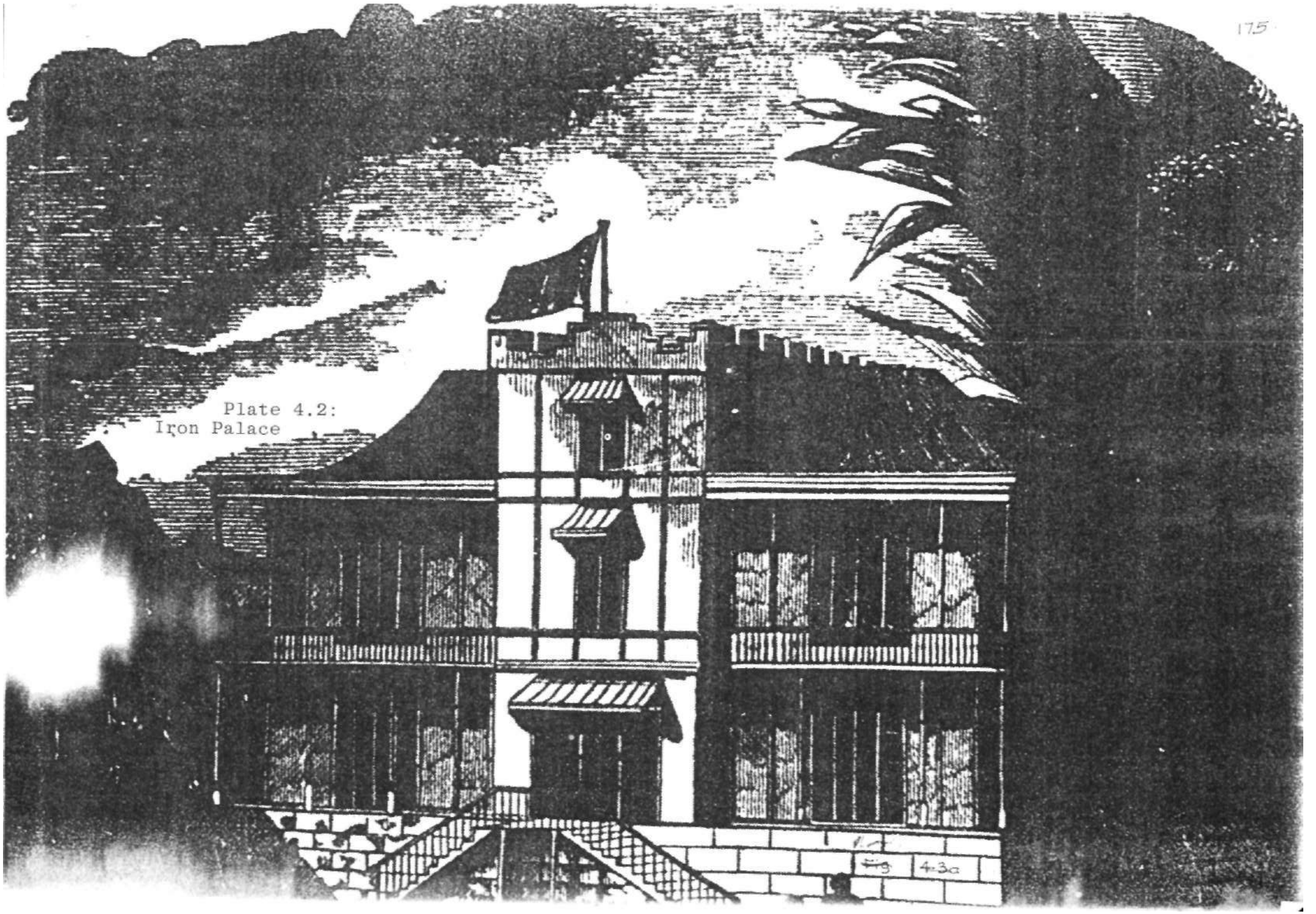


Plate 4.2:
Iron Palace

Fig 4.3a

floor; with an upper floor of un-partitioned space, 10 x 15 meters (30 x 50 feet) for his 320 wives.

The Builder Magazine published in 1843, May 13th, currently on display at the Old Residency Museum, Calabar, has this to say about the palace:

> "..... of its style, as of the style of many things that pass before us, we must be tender in our remarks; things of much more pretension, however, are less to our taste than this; and are infinitely more obvious to the cannons of sound criticism."[23]

Obviously, an outstanding criticism against these types of construction is the fact that they paid less attention to the nature of the materials used, vis-a-vis the climatic conditions they were to be built in. The functional requirements of these structures were also at variance with the traditional pattern of space utilization in Efik society.

Like other buildings during the Missionary period, no amount of criticism would have had any effect on their owners. For instance, King Eyamba is said to have loved his Iron Palace so much that weekly feasts were held in the `state room'. Such feasts were often heralded by booming gun fire on the beach.

Standing at the centre of Duke Town, this Palace fascinated both the local chiefs and visiting Europeans with its appearance and furnishing. It is not surprising then that when King Eyamba died in 1847, his successor, King Archibong II revealed in 1864 that he saw King Eyamba V without a

---

23. The Builder Magazine, published May 13th, 1843.

shelter, in a dream; and so he ordered the "Palace be pulled down in order to provide the late King with a house in the world beyond".

Boco House

Situated at No. 19 Boco Street, Calabar, the late Obong Egbo Egbo Bassey Boco's two-storey building (Plates 4.3a and 4.3b) was erected about 1883-1886. It is a prefabricated, rectangular timber structure with a projecting porch on the first floor. The entire structure is supported by cast iron pipes located on a 3 meter grid all along the ground floor. These pipes functioning as columns support a floor joist which in turn supports a tongue and grooved jointed wooden floor.

The structural pillars are on the ground floor encased by corrugated iron roofing sheets; while the upper floor has double wooden walls of overlapping boards. The floors, as well as the ceiling are finished in the same wooden fashion, surrounded by decoratively moulded skirting. The doors and windows are all lined by various elaborately moulded and decorated architraves. The glass panels to doors and windows are decoratively stained in various colors. An outstanding feature of this building is its double stairways at each end of the sitting room leading to the bedrooms[24].

The roof has a sharp pitch as well as generous eaves; with wooden purlins and rafter network which is finally

---

24. ENYI, Ban-Eboh (1987) "The Boco House Museum, Calabar"; An Unpublished HND Design Dissertation, Polytechnic, Calabar.



Plate 4.3a: Obong Egbo Egbo Bassey Boco's House
(Photograph by the author)

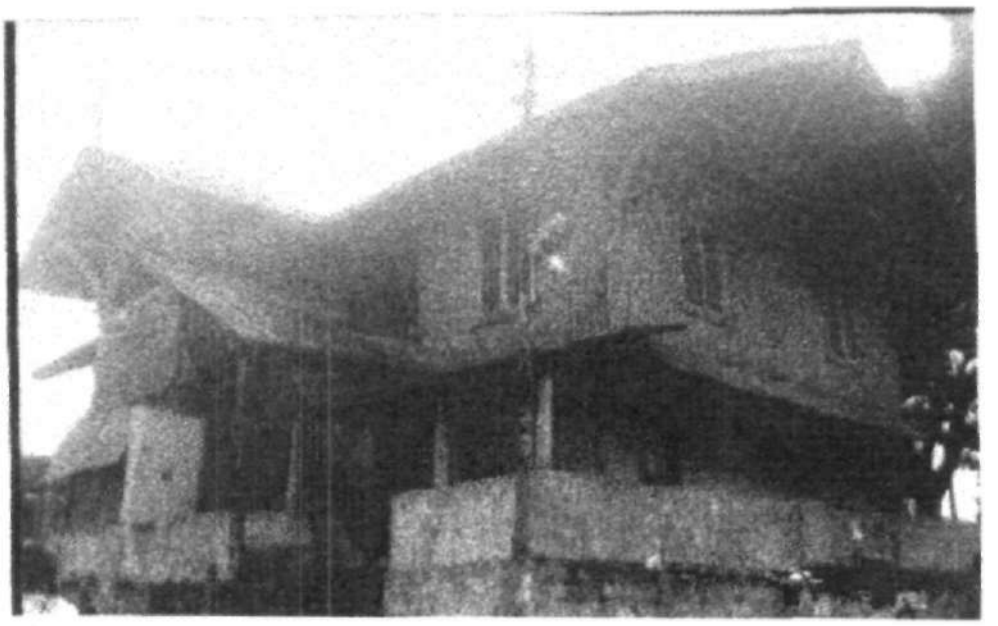


Plate 4.3b: Obong Egbo Egbo Bassey Boco's House
(Photograph by the author)



JOHN BOCO COBHAM'S HOUSE



Plate 4.3c: Prince Ansa Efiom Ekeng Ita Villa (1918)
Ekeng Ita Street – Henshaw Town - Calabar

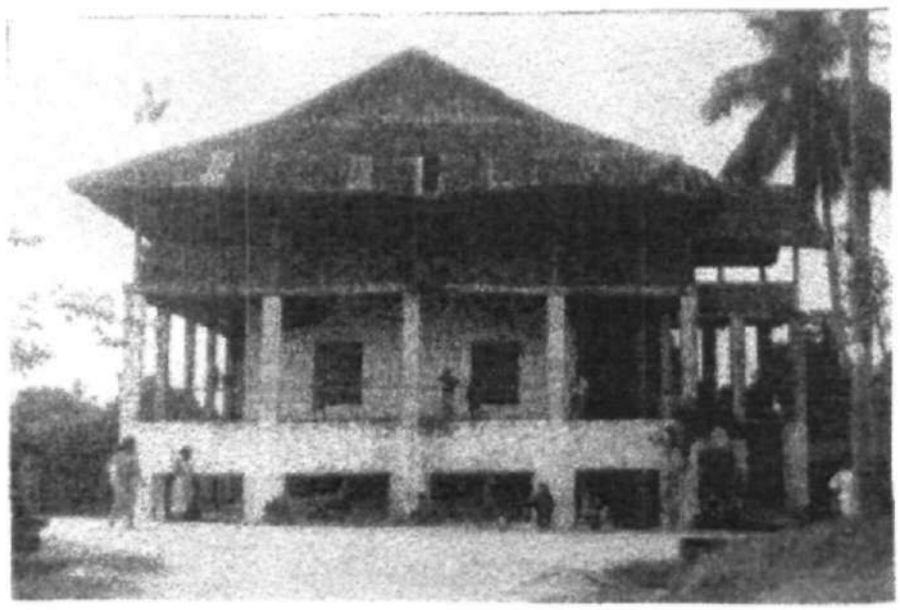


Plate 4.3d: Prince Ansa Efiom Ekeng Ita Villa (1918)
Ekeng Ita Street – Henshaw Town - Calabar



Plate 4.3e: Prince Ansa Efiom Ekeng Ita Villa (1918)
Ekeng Ita Street – Henshaw Town - Calabar



Plate 4.3f: Old Bank of West Africa (Now Serving as Offices for the Judiciary)
Another example of European Architecture in Calabar. Photograph by the author.

finished with corrugated iron roofing sheets. The roof ridge is adorned with cast iron ornamentations. A wind vine - bearing the insignia of a flying bird - also adorns the top of the porch gable. The main building is on the ground floor linked at the back to a block-work structure which was used for toilet and kitchen facilities. Erected almost at the same time is John Boco Cobham's house, shown in Plate 4.3c. See some other illustrations on pages 141c - 141d

REFERENCE

1. Adeyemi, E.A. (1962) "The Early Architecture of Lagos". The Architectural Student, Vol. 1. Department of Architecture, Nigerian College of Technology, Zaria. p.3.
2. Akinsemoyin k & Vanghan Richards A. (1976) Building Lagos, Pengrail Ltd. Jersey USA.
3. Kingsley Mary, "Travels in West Africa".
4. Labelle, P. (1974) "An Introduction to Indigenous African Architecture". Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians". Vol. xxxiii, No. 3 October 1974, pp. 183.
5. Laotan, A.B. (1961) "Brazilian Influence on Lagos", Nigeria Magazine. No 69, August 1961. pp. 156 - 165.
6. Lewis, M. (1965) "The New World Promise". First Purves Memorial Lecture, 1965 AIA Annual Convention and the XI Pan-American Congress of Architects, Washington. DC.
7. Lloyd, P.C. (1967) "Africa in Social Change", Penguin Books.
8. Nair, K.K. (1972) Politics and Society in South Eastern Nigeria 1841 - 1906: A Study of Power, Diplomacy and Commerce in Old Calabar. Frank Cass, London.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE COLONIAL PERIOD AND THE INTRODUCTION OF EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE (1885 - 1960)

INTRODUCTION

Architecture in Efik land witnessed another phase of its evolution with the advent of colonial rule. The territory of Nigeria, as we know, was colonized by British traders and explorers who brought their style of prevailing tropical Victorian architecture, and constructed houses, schools and administrative offices to reflect their taste, cultural values and space perception. This marked the beginning of cultural change in the field of architecture in Efik land. The local craftsman and the artisans who later acquired the basic building skills of the new architectural style now saw little need to employ the indigenous technology. This marked the beginning of a decline of the rich building art and indigenous architecture of the Efik.

Along with other imported values, the educational programmes of the colonial administrators concentrated more on the training of basic literary programmes to get able-bodied servants and clerks to assist in their domestic and administrative functions. The children of the rich, as well as the local chiefs who had the privilege of attending schools were taught with the concept of "3 - Rs" - Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. The system had no place for technology-based courses. That was why very few European houses were designed

and constructed in Old Calabar. A greater percentage of these buildings were thus imported and simply re-assembled on site. This phenomenon forms the bases of this chapter, giving a few examples where such buildings still exist in the town. Before we go further, it may be necessary to highlight, briefly, the historical development of European rule in this part of the country.

THE BEGINNING OF EUROPEAN RULE

Although European imperial Design in West Africa predated the so called Scramble for Africa, it only gained moment in the 1880's. Before this time also, the greater part of West Africa was still under African rulers. Thus it was only in the next two decades that most of West Africa fell into the hands of imperial Europe. What may be some explanations for this feverish search for colonies in Africa was an economic necessity. It also had something to do with the international situation in Europe. This thinking will help throw light on our path to an historical understanding of this situation.

The changes taking place in African are capable of many interpretations. Among the many challenges was the search for new markets; industrial Europe regarded Africa as a potential outlet for European goods and surplus production. Europe also needed the raw materials of tropical Africa such as palm oil,

groundnut and cocoa. Hence, European colonial powers moved in the direction of European trade. Christian missionaries and European traders consistently urged their governments to take over Africa. And so, what happened eventually was that the flag followed trade in most parts of West Africa.

It may be wrong to believe that Africa was partitioned at Berlin. It is incredible that some European Statesmen gathered round a round table and run their pencils over maps of Africa whose geography by this time was so vague. Partitioning of the continent had in fact already commenced before the thought of some round table talks. What transpired at Berlin Conference were certain resolutions on a number of issues. For instance, it was agreed that any prospective colonial power should endeavour to prohibit slave trade and promote free trade in its colony. It was also decided that a colonial power was obliged to convince other European powers that a territory has been occupied before annexing other areas.

Hence, the Berlin Conference proved a signal for massive occupation of African territories with consequent parcelling out among European powers. This way, the Southern Proctectrate or the protectorate of the Oil Rivers came into being on June 5th, 1885. However, the declaration of European rule in Africa was not without incidents although in some places pacification as the alternative method proved successful.

Generally, how Nigeria became a British Colony is an

interesting study. Opposition to the imposition of British rule manifested itself in different ways and in different places. In southern Nigeria, west of the river Benue, it was passive, while it became more active and violent in the area east of the same river[1].

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Social services such as communication, health, sanitation and education were conceived primarily as aids to make the administration process easier for the colonial administrators. They were not solely meant for development of the local society, for most of these services were not appreciated by the local citizens. Old Calabar witnessed a policy of social segregation, even before the 1914 amalgamation and Lord Lugard's political memoranda. This was expressed in the existence of sperate European and Native settlements, hospitals, cemeteries, sports clubs and shops - selectively restricting the native Efik from too close a contact with the Europeans.

Furthermore, as the British government took over the sovereign powers from the local rulers, the heads of houses became dependent members of the native councils and the house system lost its economic, political and social prerogative.

During this period therefore, the social pattern of the Europeans, which was new became much treasured and longed for

1. Noah. M.E. Old Calabar: The City States and the Europeans 1800 - 1885/ Scholars Press (Nig) Ltd.

by the native Efik. This development had a substantial effect on Efik house form.

Calabar, like many other traditional towns in Nigeria, share the problem of having a large indigenous population whose natural interest in the land and affairs of the towns tended to conflict with the requirements of planned growth. From the early days of colonial rule, the central challenge to the colonial administrators had been how to devise a system of local government which in addition to being effective in management, would appease local apprehensions about interference with land and customs. This section therefore focuses on the evaluation of colonial policies for managing and developing the town during this period.

The pre-colonial history of Calabar has already been discussed in this study. But it might be necessary to restate that the initial settlements - the Qua, Efut and Efik - which make up Old Calabar, consisted of small compounds of extended families, separated by wide stretches of unused land. Over the years though, they spread to cover a large part of the habitable sites in Calabar - which were noted to have impediment to planned growth. And in addition to this set back, its topography, especially the inconvenient location of the Calabar and Kwa Rivers on opposite sides of the town, imposed severe constraints on its physical expansion.

Although the growth of Calabar to commercial prominence owed much to the advantages of its location in relation to

coastal trade, the early colonial officials and the European commercial houses - used this to their advantages. They were therefore more interested in sites near the water front and the adjoining hills, close to the sea-breeze, their ships and the gun boat. The sites acquired for this purposes were in small parcels, used for unrelated purposes and were hardly ever projected beyond a limited number of years.

Kingsley (1854) noted the influence of a Scottish carpenter who constructed attractively unfamiliar two-storey houses for the commercial and political elites of the town; but she complained that:

> " ..... these houses being erected haphazardly among the surrounding native built houses did not lend that air of importance to the town they night otherwise have done if the chiefs had studied more uniformity in the building of the town, and arranged for wider streets in places of alley-ways ....."[2]

Because of the pull of trade, the native settlement tended to gravitate towards the water front; and as the government residential areas and the commercial establishments expanded east and northwards from the water front, the native settlements were closing in on them, making physical segregation or zoning of the different functional areas of the town impossible. This near chaotic pattern of development shows the haphazard and ad hoc nature of early colonial administration in the area.

Consequently, when in 1902 the "European Reservation"

---

[2] Nweke, Geoffery (1986) "Colonial Calabar: Its Administration and Development". Seminar Paper on the History of Old Calabar, July 29 - 31st, 1986.

policy[3] was established nation-wide, it could hardly be translated on the ground in the case of Calabar. There was little money for planning except small ad hoc grants made to local officials for health and sanitary purposes.

Furthermore, although the early administration of Sir Claude MacDonald and Sir Ralp Moor adopted the policy of indirect rule, and recognized that the cosmopolitan nature of Calabar, required special attention, there was no formal system of municipal government distinct from the provincial administration especially after 1906 when the Headquarters of Southern Nigeria had moved to Lagos.

At this time there was even less planning expertise beyond the amateurish endeavour of untrained officials. For these reasons, the settlements were allowed to sprawl towards each other, while the factories and ware houses of European firms were strewn randomly along the entire length of the water front. Roads and tracks crisscrossed without any system, some of them slopping across the natural contours of the town[4].

HOUSE FORM AND DEVELOPMENT

Since colonial planning did not anticipate urban growth, current plans for rapid urban expansion have to contend not only with numerous problems resulting from past neglect but also with the inadequacies of existing policies and

---

3. Ibid

institutions for urban development. As mentioned earlier, Calabar witnessed very little formal town planning beyond the haphazard enforcement of a few variety of sanitary regulations during the colonial era. Planning was piece meal and ad hoc in nature, carried out in an amateurish fashion by local officials and private persons with the rudimentary skills and resources available at the time.

The colonial officials seemed content then to ensure that the small community of Europeans was safely protected in segregated reservation areas which insulated them from the realities of urban conditions. Government housing activities and policies then encouraged mainly the provision of quarters for the expatriate staff and for selected indigenous staff in some specialized occupations. This period has been aptly described as the era of "housing reservations". No efforts were made at this time to build houses either for sale or rent to the general public and little was done to order the growth of settlements outside the European reservation areas. This was not surprising because even in Europe, it was not done.

In all respects the houses built at this time by the government contrasted sharply in quality and design with other houses in the community occupied by the Efik. By design, the government reservations meant many things to the indigenous people of Calabar. For instance, many thought that only the best is good for Europeans, and only the expatriates deserve

---

4. Ibid

and need public housing assistance[5]. As far as housing was concerned, the colonial government felt it should cater for needs of only the expatriate colonial masters and essential staff. This in itself created an elitist class among the few privileged members of the Efik community, a phenomena which still exit in some Nigerian towns, including Calabar.

CONSTRUCTION METHODS

Generally, European architecture in Efik land revolved around the concept of prefabrication. To fabricate is to make the parts of a building or house in a factory so that construction consists mainly of assembling standardized parts. This in effect made the process of construction a seemingly simple, fast and straight forward one for the staff of works depratment, allowing them ample time to carry on other duties rather than spend such time supervising the same projects.

Consequently, site preparation for such construction only entails casting of wooden or steel piers to support the wooden flour beams upon which the wooden structure is erected. This structure is later covered with corrugated iron sheets or wooden boards as the case may be. This in turn supports the wooden roof truss finally carrying the corrugated iron roofing sheets.

In some other cases the ground floor is constructed of burnt bricks columns which support the wooden floor beams. In

---

5. Achunine, B.O. (Dr.) (1988) "Housing and Urban Development" in Nigeria, The First 25 Years' Uma Eleazu (Gen. Editor),

both cases, foundations are dug to support bases of these columns. Their stability is most times enhanced by casting rich concrete mix round their bases. In the case of both timber and brick columns, it will prevent decay and decomposition respectively, due to dampness. Where cast iron columns are employed, this layer of concrete enhances their stability and reduces the occurrence of rust.

Traditionally, in Nigeria, the question "what do we build our buildings with?" hardly arises because of the limited number of choices available to the builder. In the past, each region utilized its natural resources to the limit permitted by the technology, experience and wealth of its inhabitants. Where resources, climate and technology were combined most successfully, long-life, low-maintenance buildings resulted, eg. Europe, North Africa, Middle East, North America, Asia. In other regions, the climate, resources and technology produced only short-life, high-maintenance buildings, eg. most of South America Central and South Africa, Malaysia and Indonesia.

It is important to realize that in a number of cases long-life buildings have been achieved by peoples possessing a fairly high degree of technology using quite perishable materials, eg. Zaria Friday Mosque (1840 - date), Japanese North American Timber buildings. This therefore accounts for the variation which existed in the use of European building

materials, different from that which the indigenous Efik community used. This higher degree of technology aided the European designer in protecting the building material from the combination of physical and biological forces of destruction of this particular region.

Consequently, the materials adopted for construction ranged from burnt bricks to corrugated iron sheet together with steel and timber and logs. This choice no doubt led to the long-life span observed on these materials. For this and other reasons, European house type became a source of envy to the Efik and other communities.

EXAMPLES OF EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE IN CALABAR

European activities in old Calabar for more than half a century culminated in the erection of colonial houses around 1891. Other records further show that the first permanent houses of European architecture on the shore of old Calabar were built between 1884 and 1909. These and some of the bigger king's Houses were normally prefabricated (as earlier mentioned), and shipped out from Britain and re-assembled on site. We would like to discuss some examples of such buildings, in some cases using institutions, such as St. Margaret Hospital, Hope Waddle Training Institution and the old Residency Building, all in Calabar.

Saint Margaret Hospital

The saint Margaret Hospital, named after one of the first sisters to visit Calabar, Margaret Graham, had its foundation stone laid in November 1897. It was built with red bricks shipped from Britain - See Figure 5.1.

Two long wards run parallel, with an administrative block connecting them to form a courtyard or compound in keeping with the tradition of the first era. The wards were raised on brick columns connected by arches of the same materials[6].

The Hope Waddlle Training Institution

> "..... today, the life of Old Calabar has been married to that of the Hope Waddell Training Institution. It is an Institution that has greatly transformed not only Calabar, but Nigeria as a whole. If there had been a quicker initiative on the part of its founders, it would have been the second oldest western established seat of learning in Nigeria. But it never came soon enough"[7]

The Hope Waddle Training Institute, which was built by "the Technical Missionaries of the Church of Scotland" is another noteworthy example of the early colonial architectural development in Old Calabar.

When in 1893 Drs. Laws and Thompson arrived in Calabar, they selected a lovely and imposing site overlooking the river between the government hill and Old Town for the Hospital. The design and construction of the initial buildings were handled by the same company, Glasgow, who had earlier handled

---

6. Nnimmo, Bassey (1996) "The Architecture of Old Calabar". Seminar Paper presented at an International Seminar on the Story of

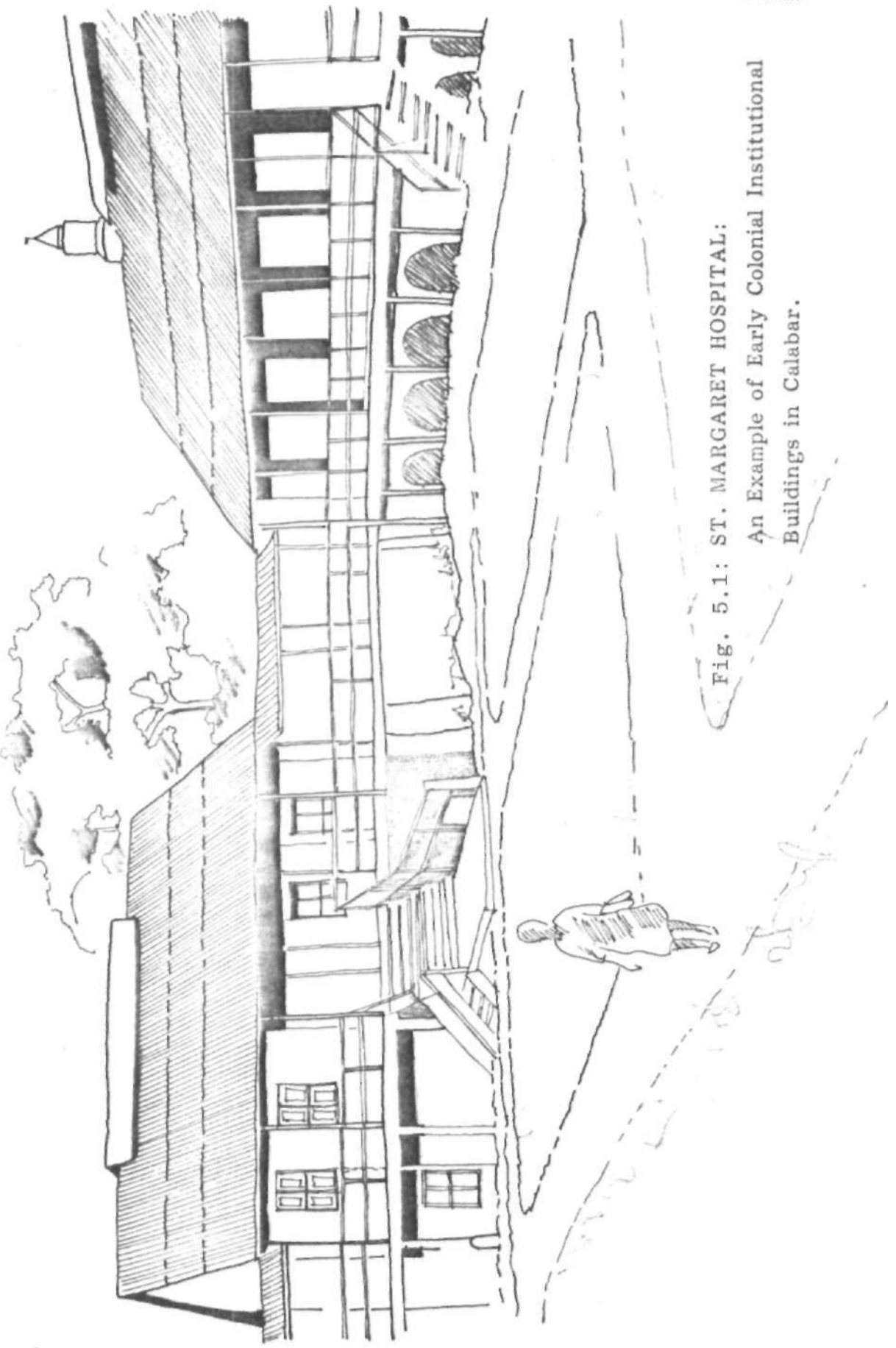


Fig. 5.1: ST. MARGARET HOSPITAL:
An Example of Early Colonial Institutional Buildings in Calabar.

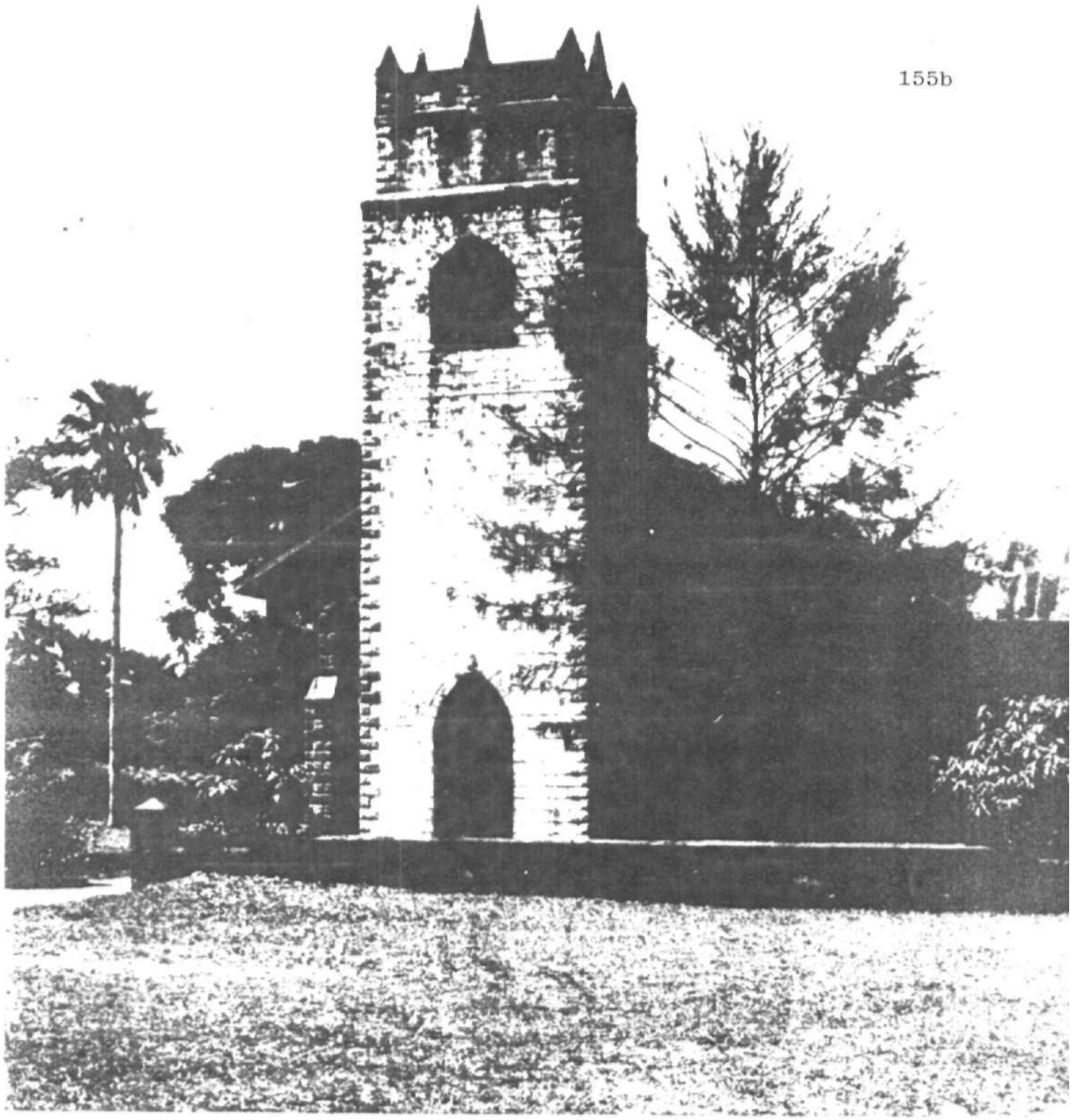


Plate 5.1: Hope Waddell Chapel-Calabar

the Old Consulate building.

Measuring about 15m x 33m, the building was two storeys high and was built primarily of Scandinavian pitch pine raised on pillars. This building was however demolished in the 1950's to give way for the present office/bookshop.

At the establishment of the Public Works Department (PWD) in about 1902, which was to assume prominent role in colonial constructions, the students' dormitories for the institution were designed in 1903. From 1910 onward, W.H. Shine, the Head of the Carpentry Section of the PWD made the design for most of the buildings in the school including the chapel.

> "...an assessment of colonial architecture at this time reveals an abnormality in structures which were informed in their designs by the misunderstanding of the tropical climate. For instance, habitable rooms were usually raised above the ground because the designers believed that this would keep them away from the "mala" (bad) and "aria" (air) meaning (bad- air) which they thought was the cause of malaria."[8]

This assertion might not be very correct since evidence has shown that such colonial buildings, most of which are still in existence are still climatically sound. The abnormality Nnimmo may be talking about could be that of the excessive height which characerised most European buildings at this time. As a result, most buildings had lost their aestethic value. The Hope Waddell Chapel (Plate 5.1) is an outstanding example.

Old Calabar, July 28th - August 1st, 1986, Calabar.

7. Aye, E.U. (1967) Old Calabar Through the Centuries; Hope Waddell Press. Calabar. p. 141.

8. Vide. Nnimmo Bassey (1986) "The Architecture of Old Calabar....."

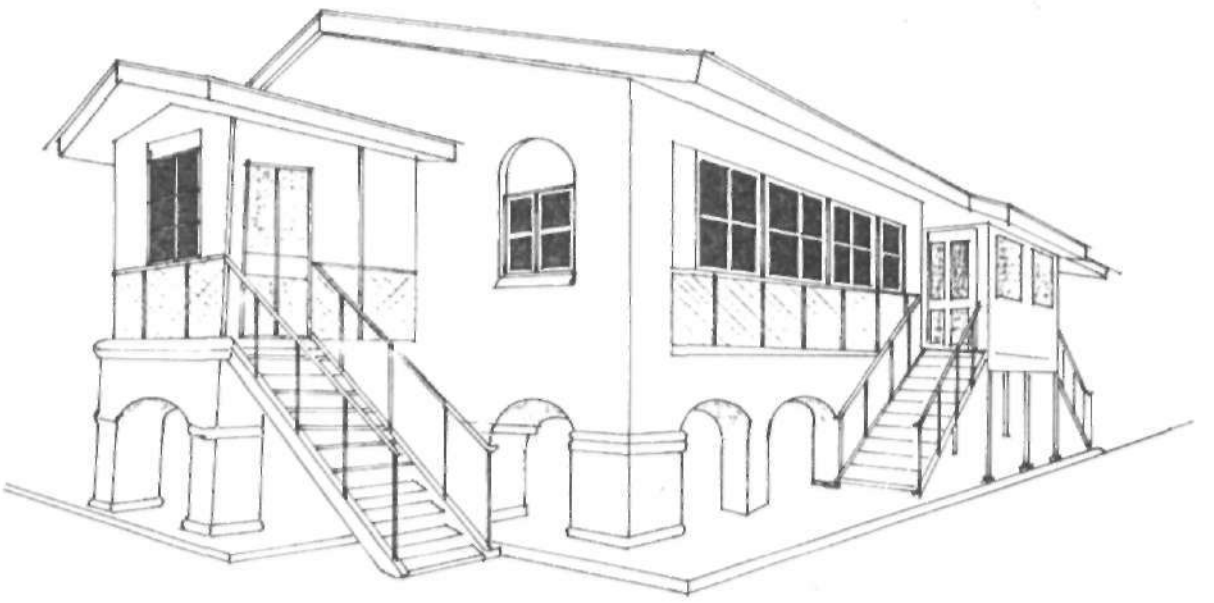


FIG. 5.2: STAFF RESIDENCE:
HOPE WADDELL INSTITUTE, CALABAR.

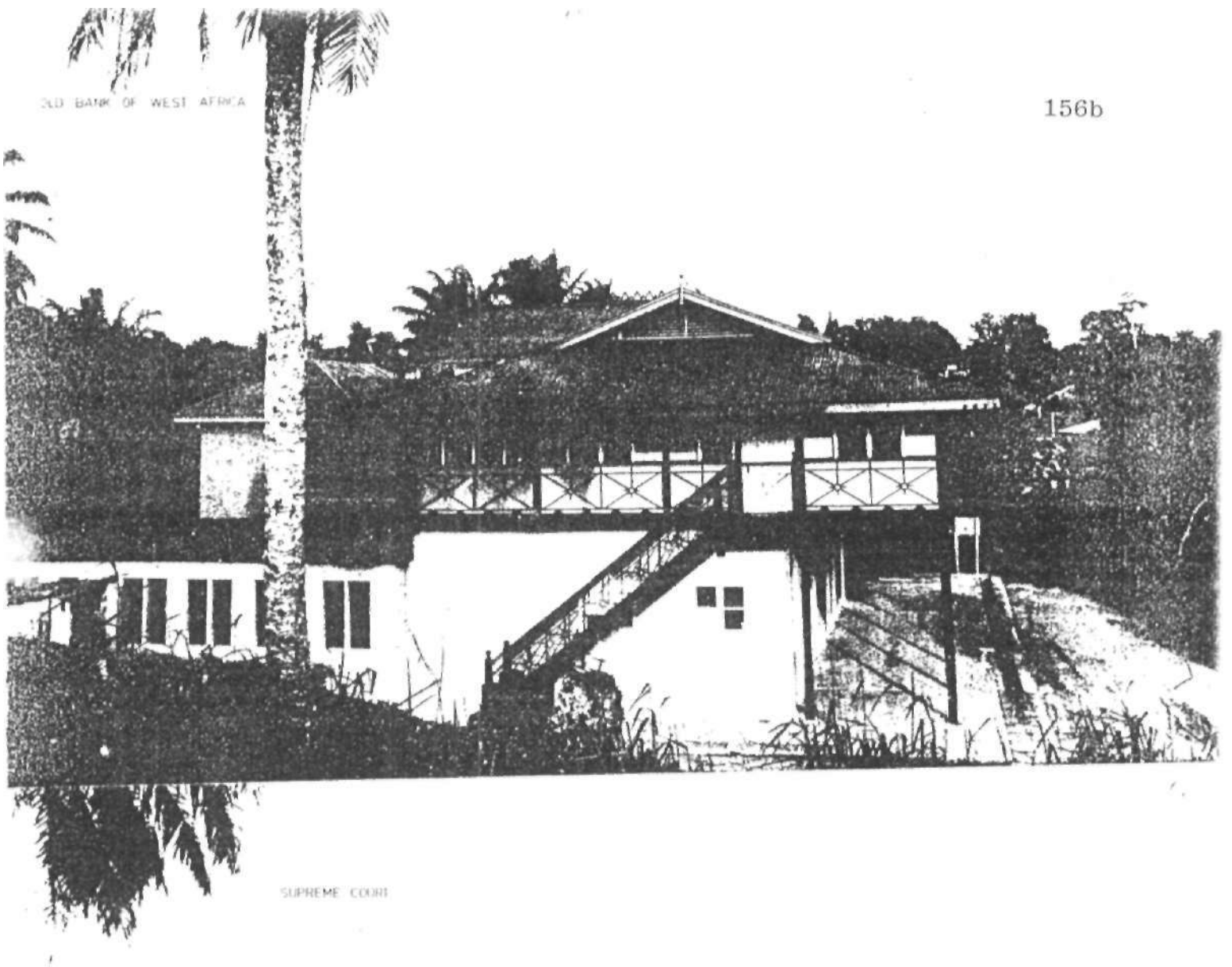
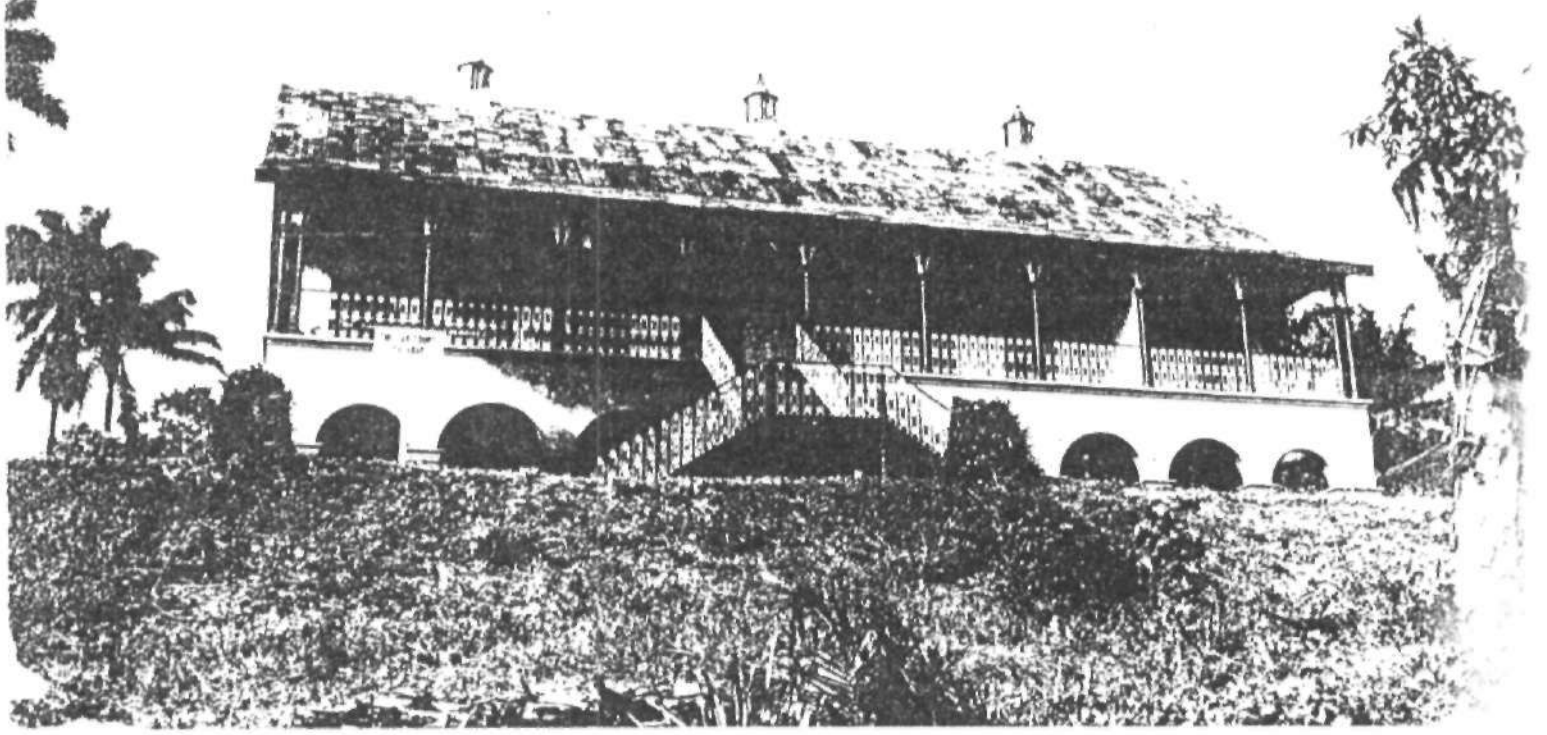


Plate 5.2: Old Bank of West Africa/Supreme Court



Generally, the colonial buildings had brick walled ground floors where they were not raised on piers and wooden and corrugated iron sheets upper floor walls. In some cases, as shown by an existing staff quarter's building in Hope Waddell Institution (Fig. 5.2), the building is supported on brick columns. The same materials are also used to erect the gable ends of the building except the entrance porch which is of timber with metal steel railings. Ceilings, raised to heights of 3m in a bid to lower room temperature, were usually wooden; and only occasionally metal grills - example, Old Bank of West Africa and the Supreme Court, Calabar. Plate 5.2.

Finally, in the absence of electricity, the roads in Calabar were lit by paraffin lamps set in ornate cast iron lamp stands - traces of which can still be found today around the St. Margaret Hospital and the Old Residency Museum, Calabar.

Old Residency - Calabar

The Old Residency Building (Figures 5.3 - 5.6) now housing the National Museum - was erected in the late 19th century on the hill top between Duke Town and Old Town, in an area which latter became known as Government Hill. Designed and completely prefabricated by a Glasgow Firm around 1884, the two-storey building is primarily of Scandinavian pitch pine.

The walls and entire top floor are made of such timber,

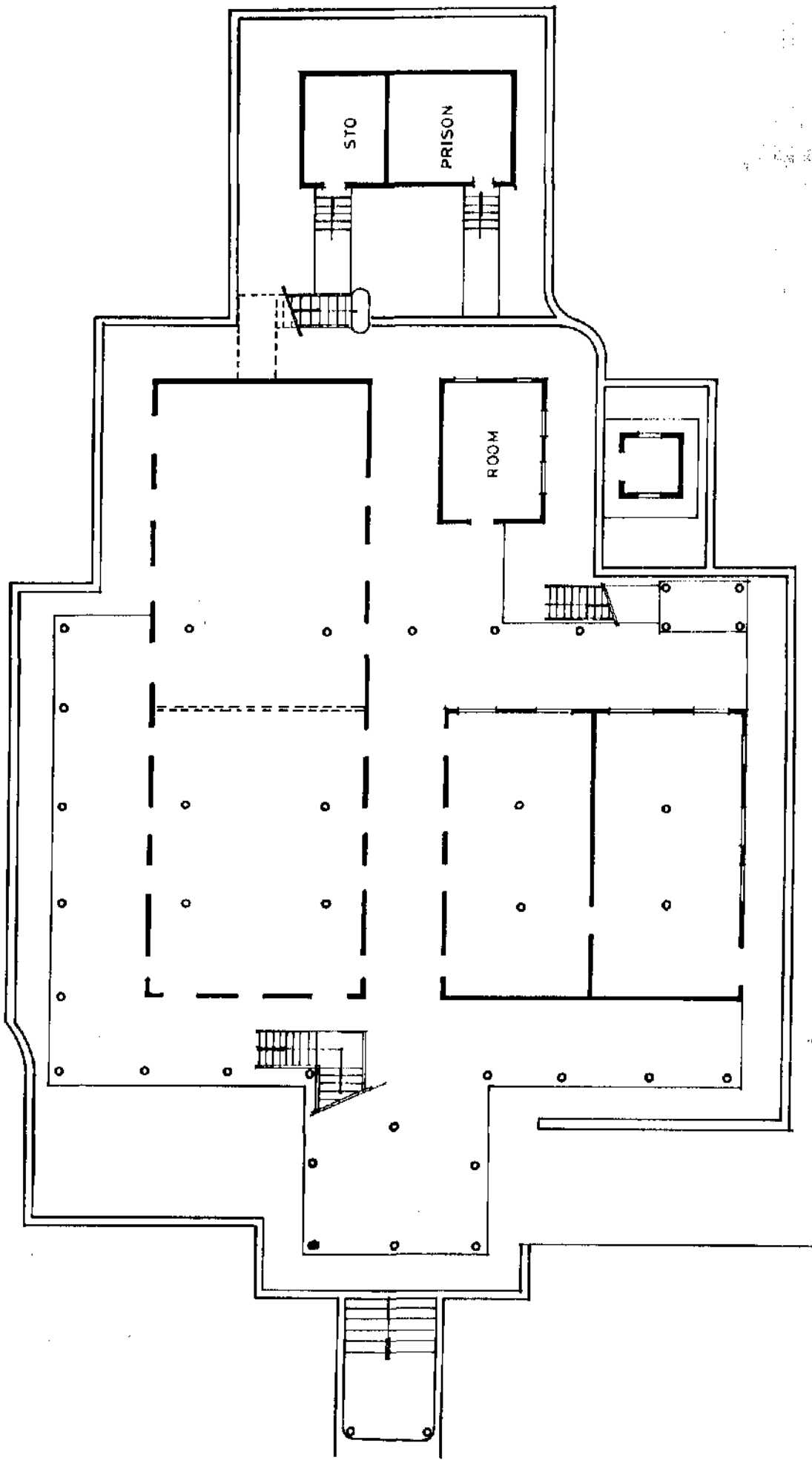


FIG.5.3 OLD RESIDENCY, CALABAR: GROUND FLOOR PLAN

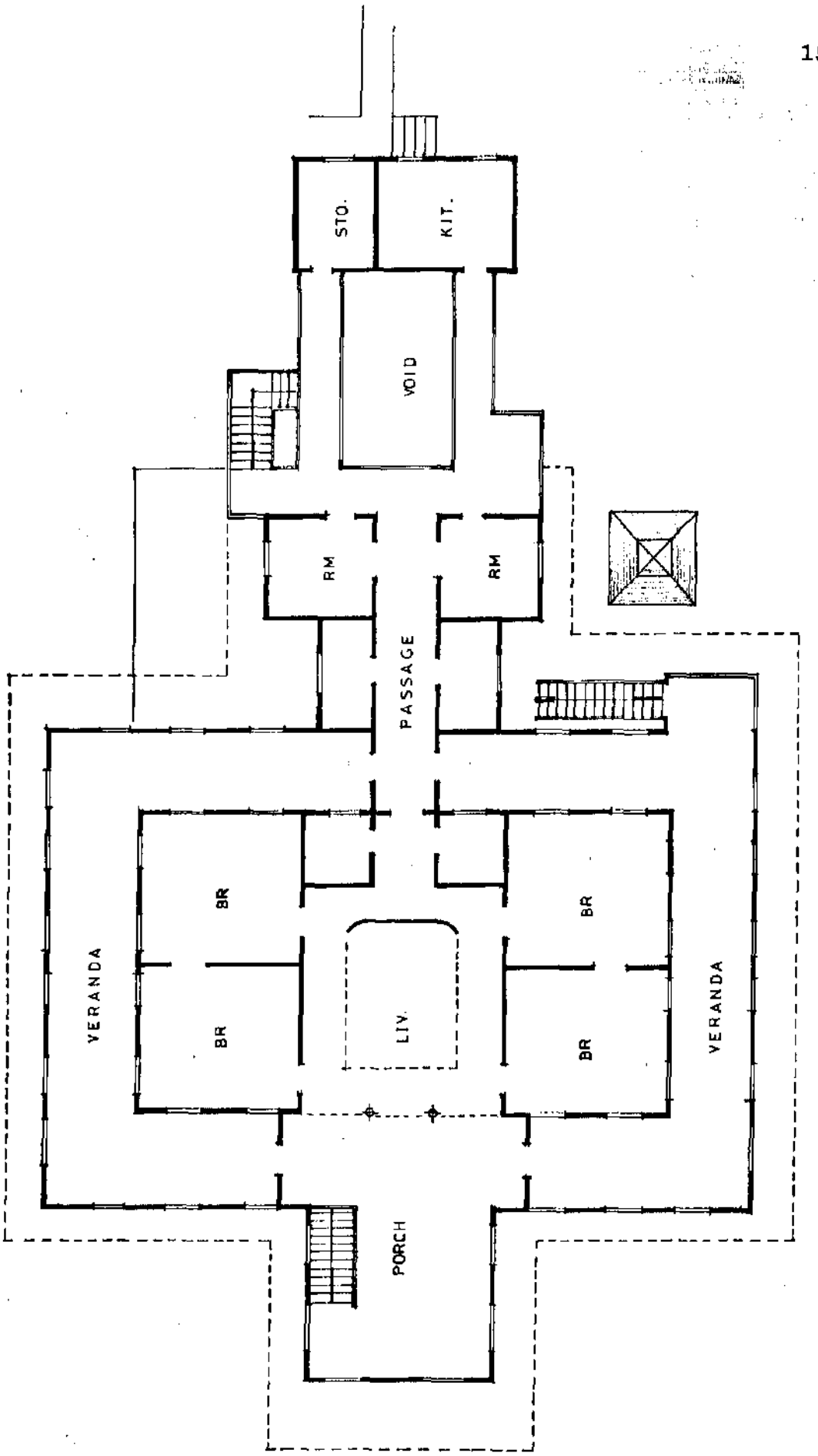


FIG.5.4 : OLD RESIDENCY, CALABAR. FIRST FLOOR PLAN

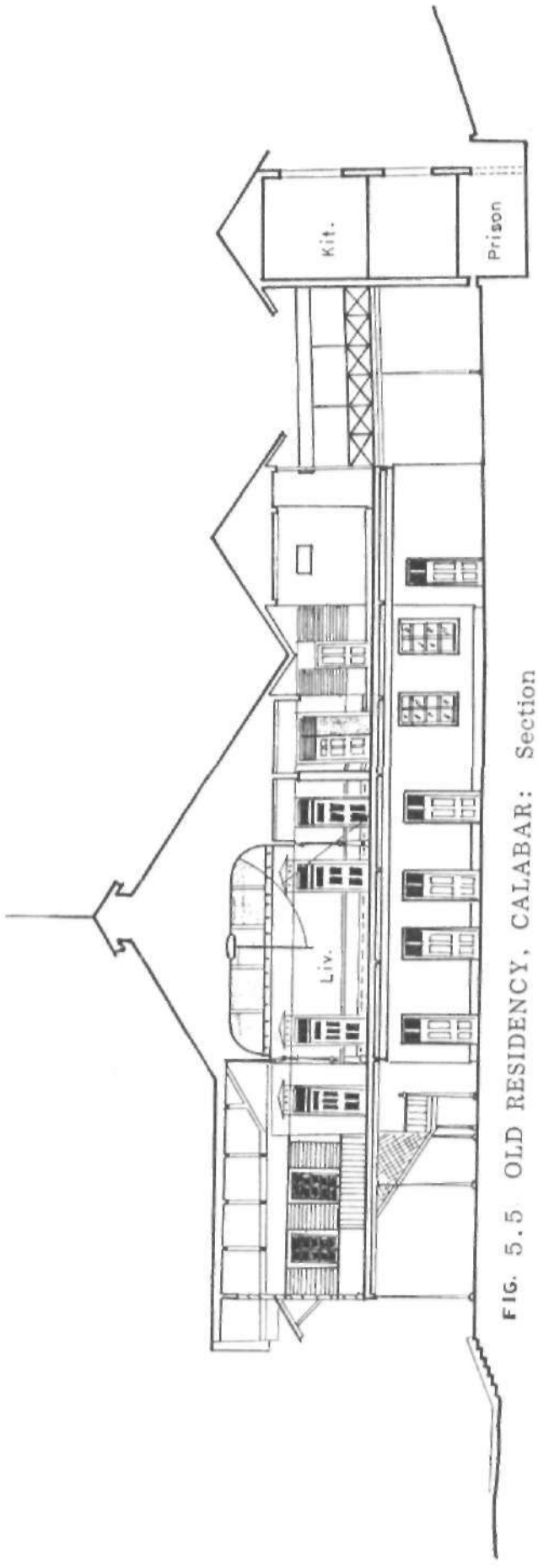


FIG. 5.5 OLD RESIDENCY, CALABAR: Section

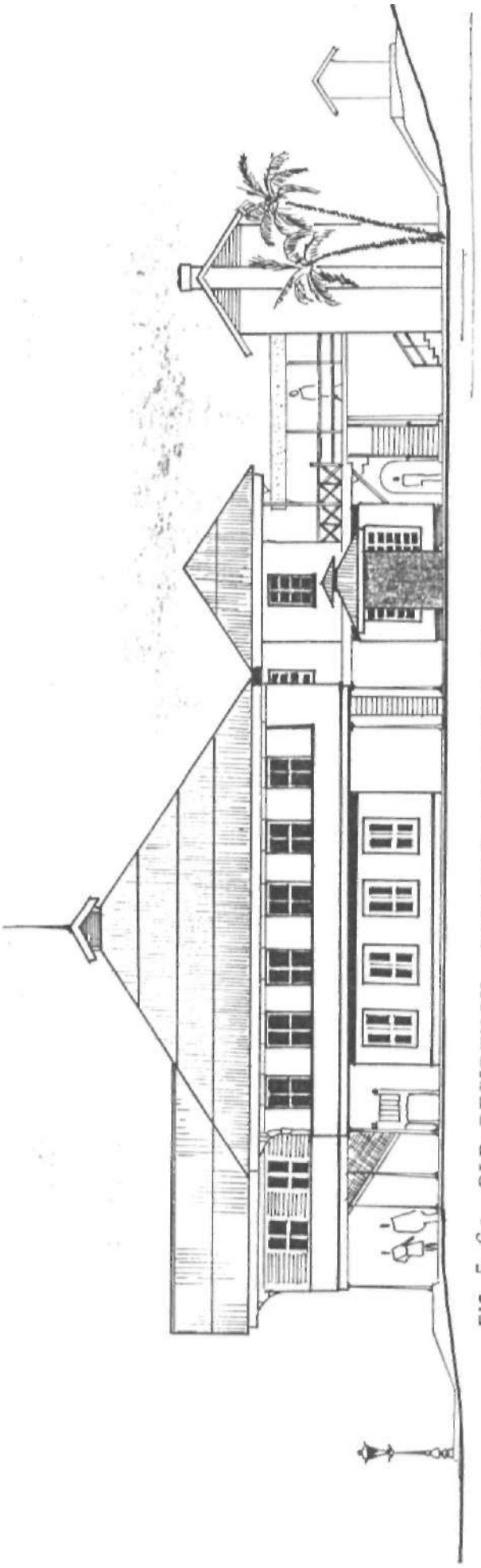


FIG. 5.6: OLD RESIDENCY, CALABAR : West Elevation

which over time has proved to be more resistant to termite attacks and other boers than locally available hardwood.

The ground floor and verandas are concreted to isolate moisture and pests. The wooden floors are double, made of tongue and grooved jointed boards, encasing the structural frame work from within and without. The windows are fitted with sliding-sash type corrugated louvres having polished brass fittings.

A network of cast iron columns and beams form the structural framework which support the structure while brass nails keep the corrugated iron roofing sheets in place. Ornate lattice work and wooden steps emphasize the front staircase. The deep porch of about 4.2m high overlooking the Calabar River has iron pillars, with bituminous coating.

The roof structure has three layers of wooden plank weighed down by slabs and covered by corrugated iron sheets. Rain water was originally collected in curved iron sheet gutters attached along the eaves and emptied through pipes into water tanks over the cement gutter around the building.

At the back of the house, the top floor is bridged through two roofed passages to a storey brick annex which served as kitchen and store rooms. Two arched sentry boxes provided place for the guards watching over the detained prisoners at the basement of the brick building. A visual contact or control over the movement of detainee is achieved by a special gap over the door.

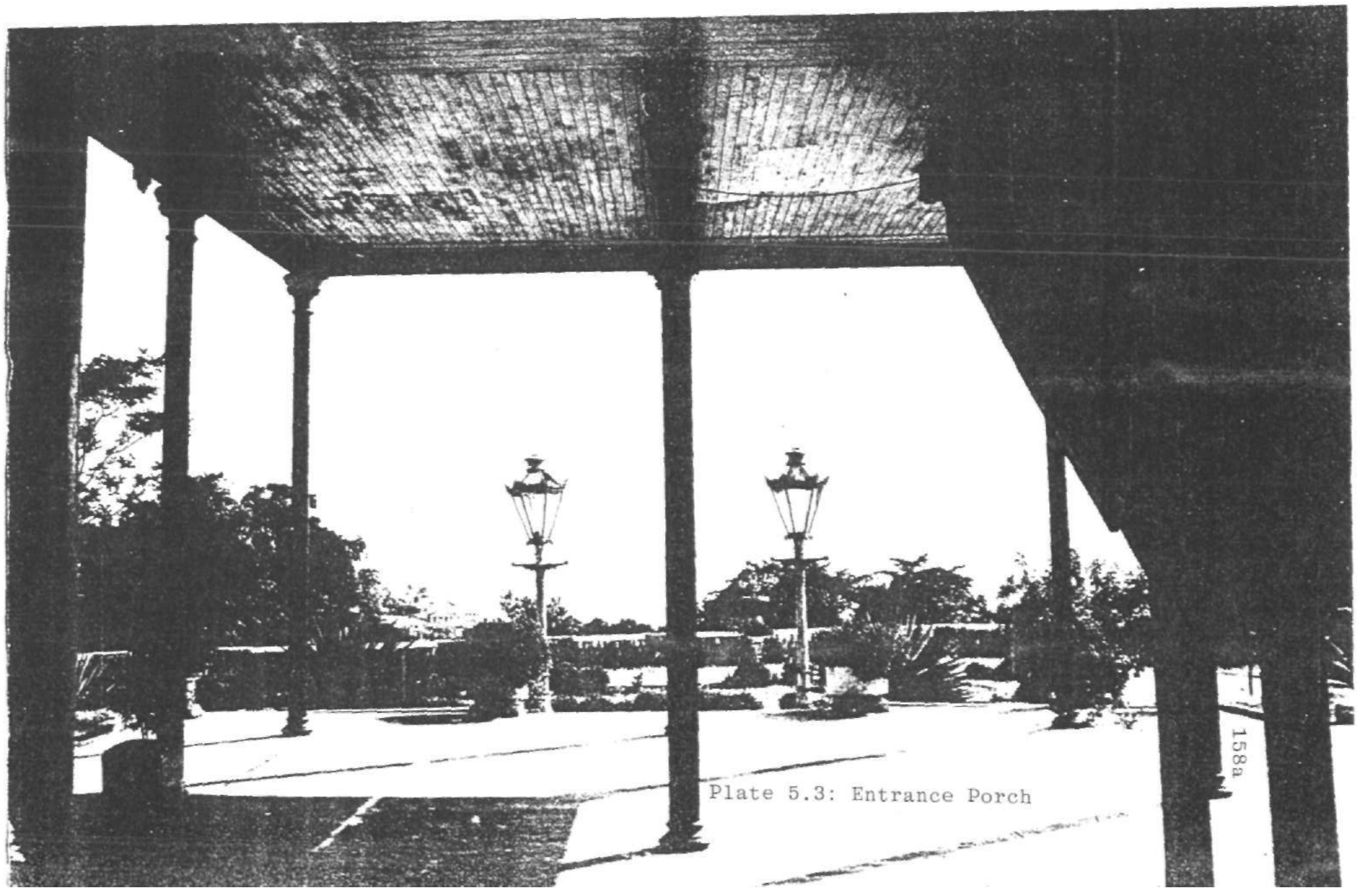


Plate 5.3: Entrance Porch



Plate 5.4: Old Residency (Entrance)



Plate 5.4a: Old Residency, Calabar (North View)
(Photograph by the author)



Plate 5.4b: Old Residency, Calabar (East View)
(Photograph by the author)



Plate 5.5: Roman Catholic Church - Calabar



Plate 5.6a: Private Residence along Ekeng Ita Street, Calabar (Note the House Form)
(Photograph by the author)

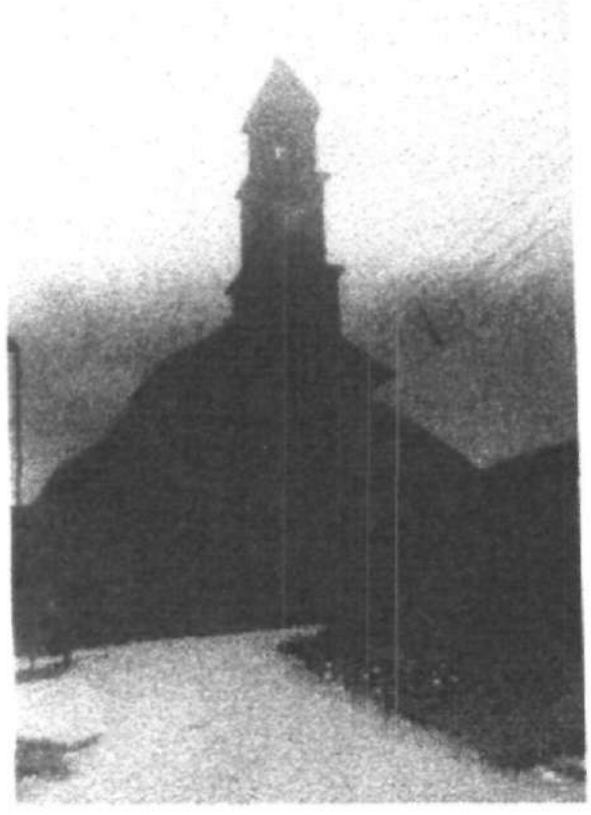


Plate 5.6a: Duke Town Church
Calabar

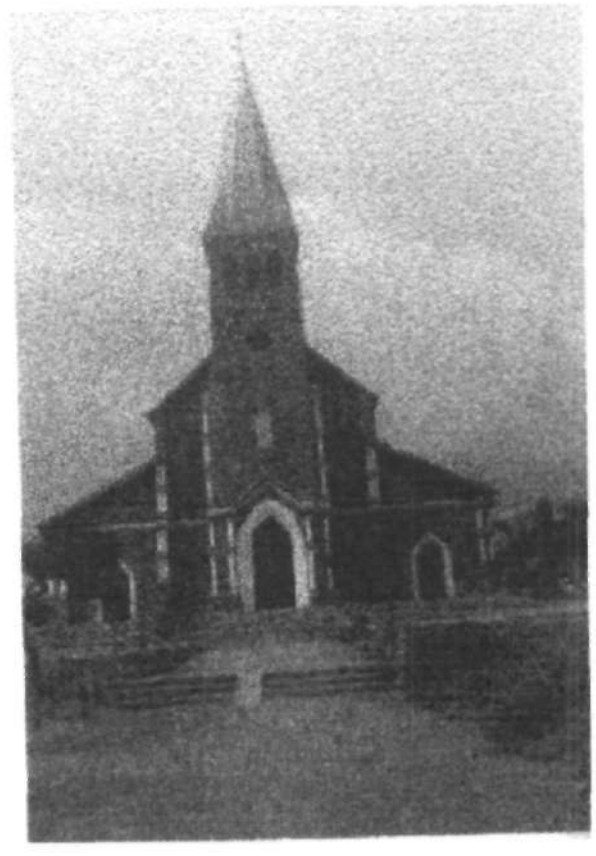


Plate 5.5a: Roman Catholic Church
Calabar.



Plate 5.6: Duke Town Church - Calabar

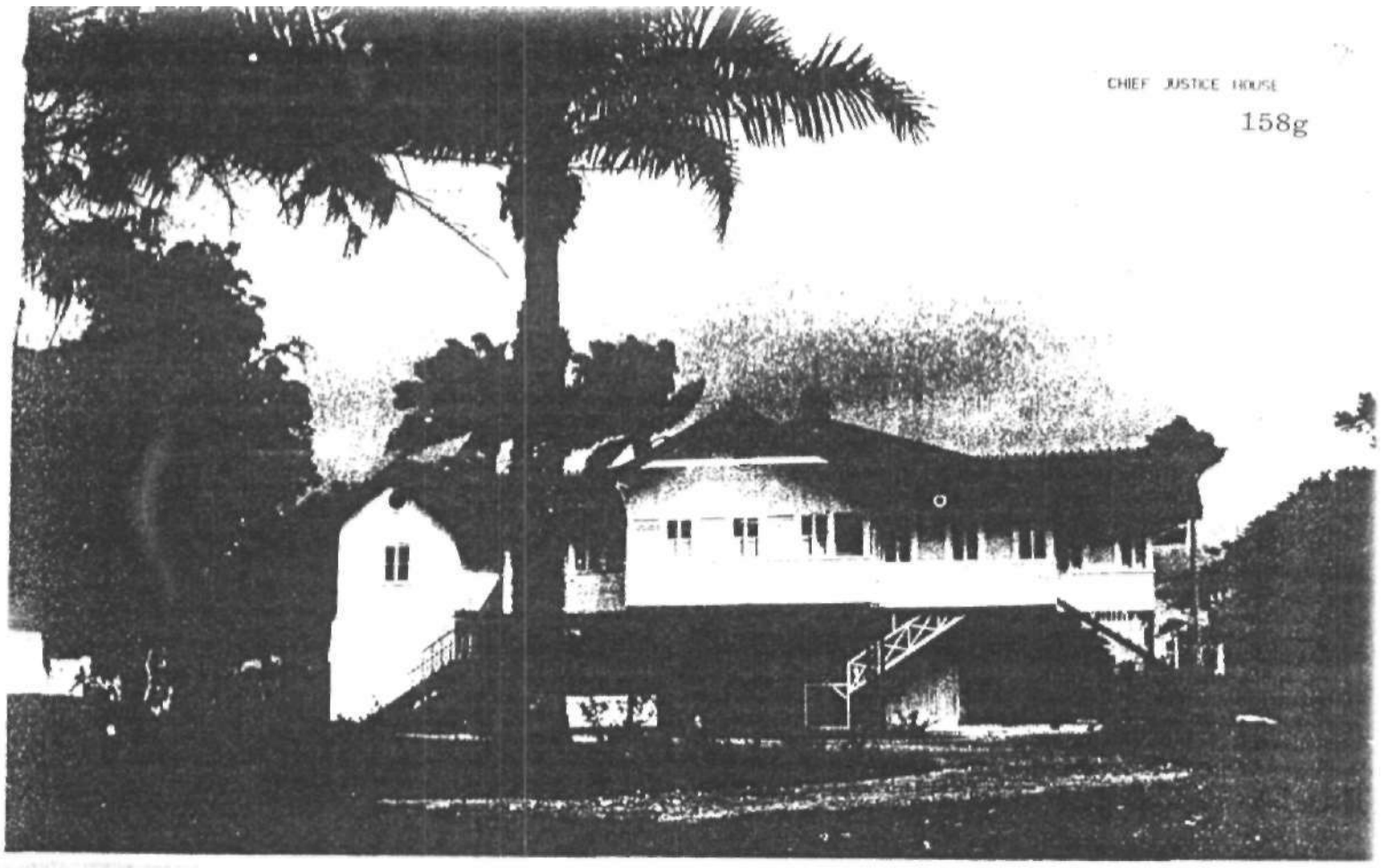
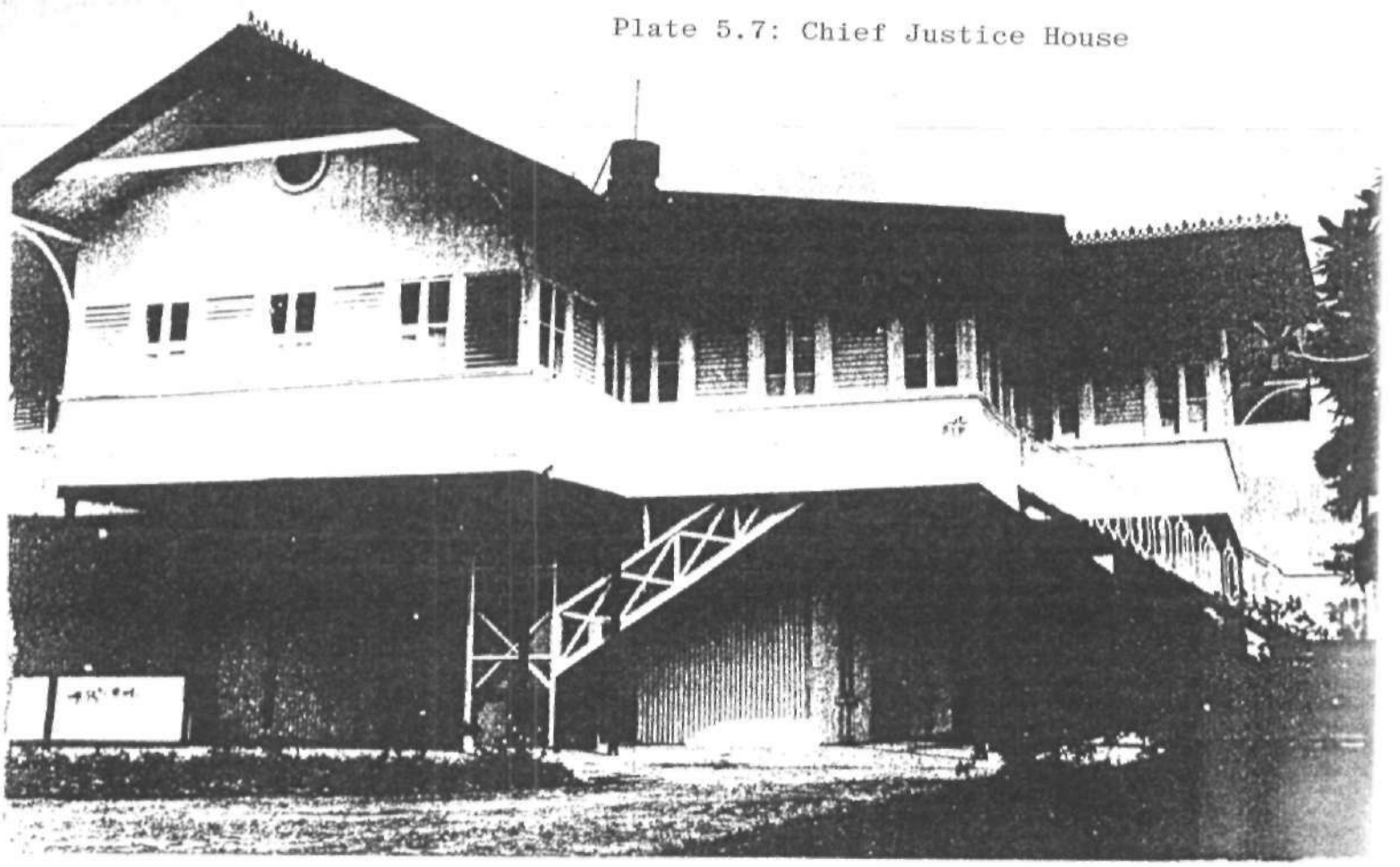


Plate 5.7: Chief Justice House



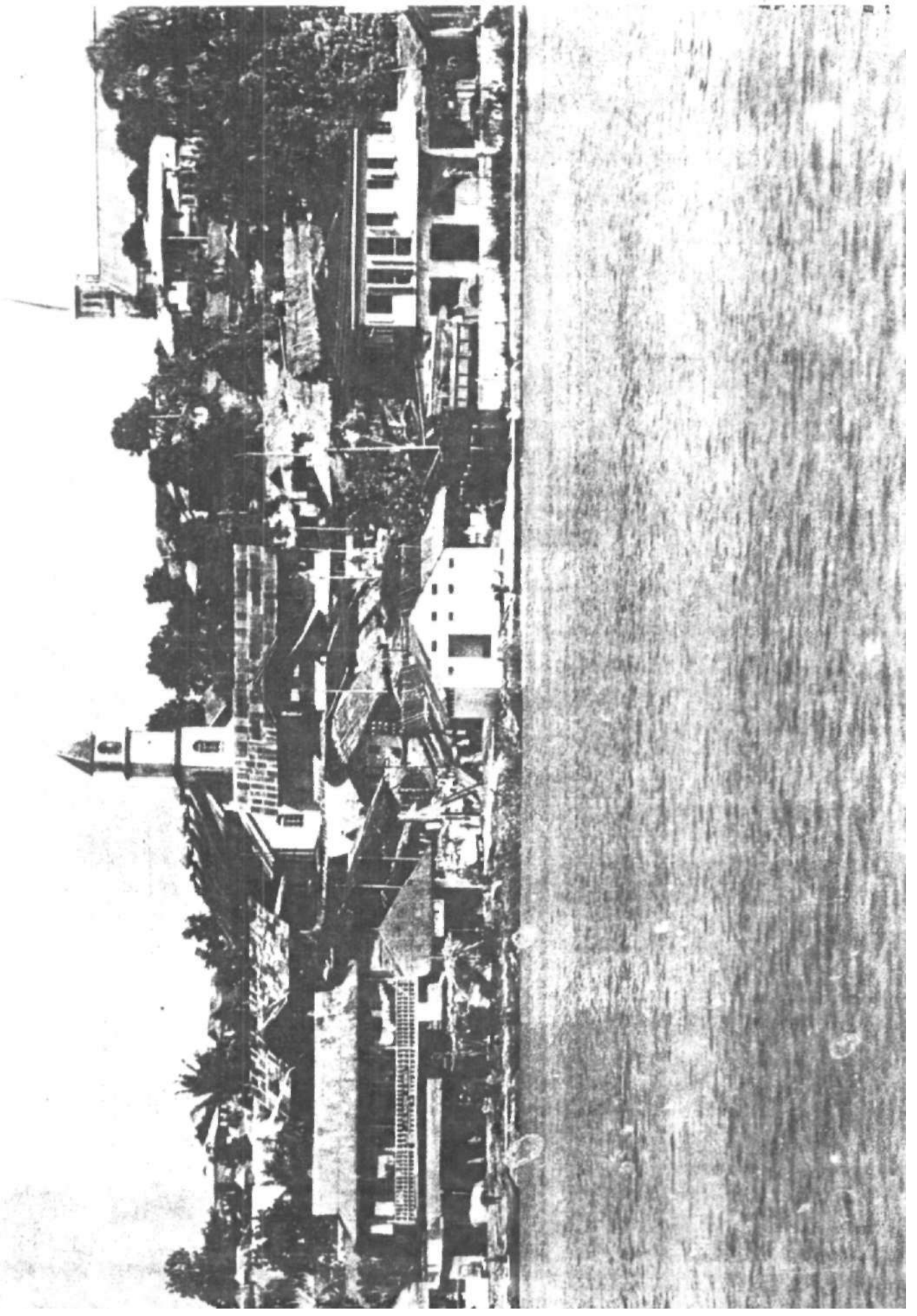




Plate 5.8a: Present View of Old Calabar to the River.



Plate 5.8b: View from the Govt. Hill Towards Mechantile Bank.



Plate 5.8c: View towards St. Margaret Hospital
(Viewed from top of Mechantile Bank)

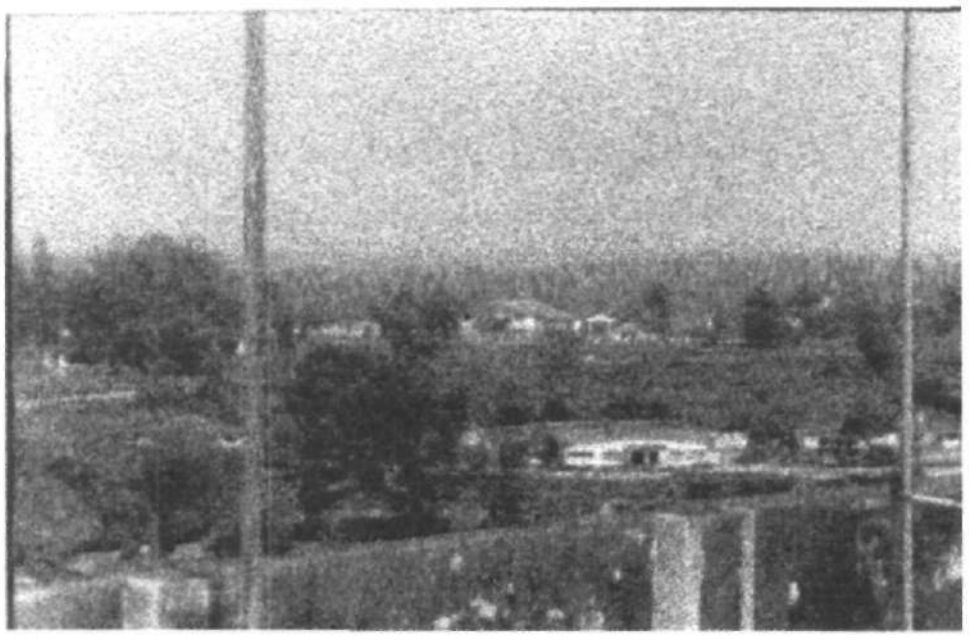


Plate 5.8d: View towards Government Hill-with Deputy Governor's Lodge at the background (View from of Merchantile Bank)



Plate 5.8e: Etim Edem Motor Park – Calabar.

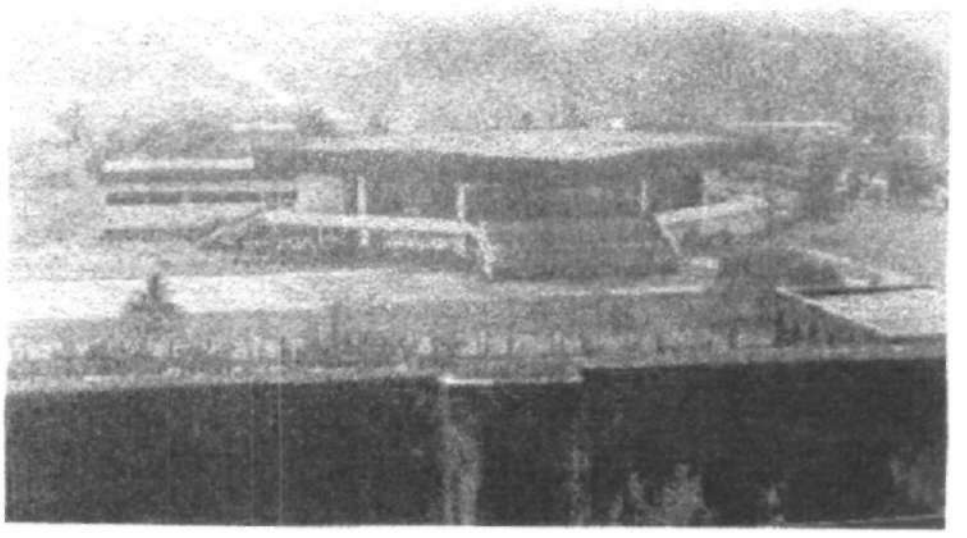


Plate 5.8f: Calabar Cultural Centre
(Photograph by the author)



Plate 5.8g: "Modern" Ekpe Hall – Calabar
(Photograph by the author)



Plate 5.8h: "Modern" town Square – Duke Town, Calabar
(Photograph by the author)



Plate 5.8j: Watt Market Ephigy – Calabar
(Photograph by the author)



Plate 5.8k: Duke Town Ephigy – Calabar
(Photograph by the author)



The Author (Mr. Anthony A. **MBINA**)



His Wife (Mrs. Comfort A.A. **MBINA**)

Generally, the whole structure stands on an elegant environment with most of its contemporary furniture reconstructed. Other fittings, contemporary to the time, such as security (gas) lamps and canons still stand on their original positions. See also Plates 5.3 and 5.4.

Other examples of missionary and colonial architecture in Old Calabar include the Roman Catholic Church (Plate 5.5), the Duke Town Church (Plate 5.6) and the Chief Justice House shown in Plates 5.7 and 5.8 showing a view from the beach.

In a class by themselves were the European built houses in Efik land. Describing a house typical of this period, Kingsley (1897) noted that there were two dreadful faults in the European built houses, gloom and discomfort. She says:

> ".....the abominable structure is made of corrugated iron, roof and all, with just its skeleton and floors made of wood. Some-times the underpart of the house is closed in and used for stores and offices. Some times it is left open. But always the living rooms are on the first floor and open out on the veranda. The sides of this veranda are usually kept closed in by venetian shutters and windows usually have to be closed up on an average twice a day. During the wet season they are kept closed most of the six months spell....."[9]

Consequently, the veranda which became the living room for the inner rooms are:

> ".....as dark as ignorance and the venetians only keep out a percentage of rain and divide the fierce tornado winds into strips which cut into you and send papers flying: while the tornado or wet season rain plays like fifty thousand devils on the tom - tom roof....."[10]

Actually, European houses in Calabar were not as bad as

---

9. Kingsley, Mary (1897) Travels in West Africa. 3rd ed. (with a new introduction by Dr. John K. Flint; Frank Cass, ndon 1965).
10. Ibid

Miss Kingsley had described them. The main rooms were placed on the first floor because it is generally breezier and because malaria was thought to come from the swamp mists (hence the name "mal air").

However, another characteristic of the houses is the paucity of accommodation for the area covered and the number of staircases. The latter was partly due to the type of closet used which have to be emptied by the "night soil man" and necessitated a special access to the rear of the closet through a flight of stairs. One could also give credit to these houses for the fact that they were constructed of comparatively more durable materials. Little wonder that a handful of them still exist in Calabar town to date.

REFERENCES

1. Achunine, B.O. (Dr.) (1988) "Housing and Urban Development" in Nigeria, The First 25 Years' Uma Eleazu (Gen. Editor), Heinemann Educational Books (Nig) Ltd.

2. Adekunle Ojelabi (1970) A Text Book of West African History, Educational Research Institute. P.O. Box 277, Ibadan - Nigeria.

3. Aye, E.U. (1967) Old Calabar Through The Centuries; Hope Waddell Press, Calabar. p. 141.

4. Kingsley, Mary (1897) Travels in West Africa, 3rd ed. (with a new introduction by Dr. John E. Flint; Frank Cass, London 1965).

5. Nnimmo, Bassey (1986) "The Architecture of Old Calabar". Seminar Paper presented at an International Seminar on the Story of Old Calabar, July 28th - August 1st, 1986, Calabar.

6. Noah, M.E. Old Calabar: The City States and the Europeans 1800 - 1885; Scholars Press (Nig) Ltd.

7. Nwaka, Geoffery (1986) "Colonial Calabar: Its Administration and Development". Seminar Paper on the History of Old Calabar, July 29 - 31st, 1986.

CHAPTER SIX

SYNTHESIS OF EFIK AND EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE

"Architecture is not the product of materials and purposes - nor by the way of social conditions - but of the changing spirits of changing ages. It is the spirit of an age that pervades its social life, its religion, its scholarship, and its arts. The Gothic style was not created because somebody invented rib-vaulting; the modern movement did not come into being because steel frame and reinforced concrete construction had been worked out - they were worked out because a new spirit required them"[1].

In this Thesis we have explored the theoretical framework of the various factors underlying the influences on Efik Traditional House Form following contact with the Europeans. To be able to assess "the changing spirit of changing ages" in Efik Land, the three research approaches adopted (Historical, Comparative and Participant Observation Methods) aided in the identification of some of these factors. These include the people's historical and social life, their religion, economic background, scholarship (education) and arts. These in turn created the basis for assessing the effects early European contact had on Efik Traditional House Form

Like other places in recorded history, apart from factors that are geographical, there have been other motives, mostly economic, social and political, that have forced towns and countries into decline. Similarly, Old Calabar, like a tree which has thrown out roots in all directions, could not be brought low by an attack for one reason alone. Nonetheless, among the factors that contributed to what has influenced Efik

---

1. PEVSNER, N (1968) An Outline of European Architecture, Penguin Books Inc, Baltimore, Maryland, USA. p. 17.

Traditional House Form, some require more studies and emphasis than others.

And in doing so, care was taken not to ascribe all changes in Efik House Form due to the influence of European contact alone. Other factors which accounted for these changes have also been discussed. For example, the period of self rule from 1954 - 1960, care was also required to avoid any misguided generalizations.

This part of the research therefore focusses on what had been responsible for the changes experienced in Efik traditional house form during the period under review. What affected Efik house type both came as direct as well as indirect factors. Direct from European contact and indirect as a result of the changes in society.

This chapter therefore focusses on these factors, making a case for and against a few misguided ideas such as blaming all that went wrong with the Efik community to the contact with European. This study has disproved the argument that the Europeans are wholly responsible for all that went wrong with Efik society. Rather most of what happened, to derail the train of development in this part of the country was found to be insatiable greed on the part of some rich middlemen in the community.

For example, christianity would not have had the strong hold it had on Efik community if the Efik chiefs did not

---

Baltimore, Maryland, USA. p. 17.

cooperate with the slave traders or the missionaries. Much of Efik traditional house form would not have been changed totally if some of the Efik themselves did not start the process of demolishing their compounds to be replaced by imported wooden houses of European type.

Consequently, factors incidental to greed and the new philosophy that what is foreign is better had much to do to account for the break down in Efik traditional society and its house form.

EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN TRADE

The peoples of Old Calabar were approached by Europeans from three different angles: economically, as traders to make a profitable exchange with slaves and later the commodities produced in the hinterland of the Calabar towns. Socially, as missionaries seeking to replace these institutions and values which had in the past maintained the social and religious fabric of the society, with christian morality and an alien religion; politically, as representatives of the colonial government to promote the British commercial interests in the Bight of Benin and the rivers on the coast.

Economically, just as it was in the days of the slave trade, the principal categories of goods imported into Calabar were textiles, iron bar, copper rods, hardware, guns, powder, and spirits. Salt, described by Bold (1850) as "a very profitable and commanding article" started being imported into

Calabar by 1812-17 although it was still being produced locally at Tom Shotts island in 1805.

These importation notwithstanding, it is only possible to speculate about the influence imports had upon local economy. For instance both European earthen ware and cloth imports did not seem to have any adverse effect on the locally produced earthen ware. Only copper and brass rods had some influence on the local economy, for these "coppers" (okuk) were used as currency.

Generally, early European imports do not seen to have had an adverse effect on the indigenous economy. On the contrary they had a beneficial effect by introducing more efficient tools, and a wider choice of cloths and other goods.

It is also hard to conclude if the benefits of European imports had a wide spread effect since the internal economy of Efik community was managed by various ranks of chiefs or heads of families on a corporate basis. The principle was that all Efik traders traded through their house heads who in turn dealt with the king of the town. Wealth was therefore distributed through multiple reciprocal obligations based on kinship and other socio-economic ties. To this effect only a handful of the Efik Kings and Family Heads could afford European imported wooden houses. Such building were often conspicuously cited and the envy of rival family members.

MISSIONARY IMPACT

Records of Missionary activities in Old Calabar show that their involvement in the local history, culture and traditions of the people was restricted at first. They spent years studying the local language and putting it into writing to further their evangelical endeavours.

The mission-educated elites were to take over from the European missionaries at the beginning of the 20th century. Although the missionaries were not ready to hand over the control of the missions to the Africans, it was certain that the spirit of change had already been planted in the minds of these new converts.

Consequently, this elite class now propagated the new culture which later had effects on house form, for example, when polygamy was discouraged for all christians, it consequently affected the size of a family thus eliminating the need for a compound house. Other Efik traditions and customs believed by the missionaries to be anti-christian also affected the concept of Efik house form; for example the killing of twin children and their mothers, the seclusion of widows and the circumcision of girls.

Attempts by the missions and the colonial office to abolish these customs often met stiff resistance from the Efik chiefs. Consequently, such women often fled and took refuge in mission houses, thereby inaugurating for Calabar what now is womens liberation. This development also had disinterating

effect on Efik tradtional house form.

When Calabar came under Colonial Rule after 1891 there were changes in the political set-up or structure. The chiefs became powerless losing most of their rights as trading agents and middlemen. The political and economic basis of the house system suffered when in 1901, two ordinances were passed. The first was the abolition of domestic slavery and the second - the Native House Rule Ordinance, intended to keep the house intact even though domestic slavery had been abolished. This disturbed the delicate balance which existed between the house heads and their members.

A new power structure thus emerged with a new category of Efik with authority not derived from the chiefs and kings in society. The missionaries welcomed Colonialism because it facilitated religious change by shedding an aura of prestige and authority. Colonialism in itself did not totally wipe out all the old traditions, few aspects of the past still remained in certain areas of Efik life. For example, the land tenure system was still left under the control of Efik. Also their economic position as middlemen in the commodity trade system was not tampered with. Consequently, apart from the misunderstanding which led to the destruction of Old Town in 1767, the traditional settlements of the Efik were not physically tempered with by the Colonial Power.

The liberated African slaves who migrated to the town had little impact on the Cultural and Political life of

Calabar. The only concern the chiefs had about them was that sometimes they wanted to live above Efil law. The Chiefs were so concerned about the situation that they wrote to the Consul seeking advice. For example King Duke Ephraim of Old Calabar was reported to have written:

" ...to know from you the following, a number of Sierra Leone men and others have come here to reside in my town, now these men say they are English men and British subjects and are not amenable to any law of mine, I do not understand when man do bad thing, he keep no law, that he say he be Englishman. You must tell man come for any town for live that he live for my country law when he live here. Some carpenter, sawyer come for do work for we, we like that and pay them but they must have law for keep, but plenty other Sierra Leone man come here have nothing, and have only thief for do, to get chop, you must tell all man to go away he no use for we and only bring palaver. He steal bullock from Egbo Tom and plenty goat from other man and when we go talk he say he be British ....."[2]

A direct influence in house form by these freed slaves was minimal. For example, some of them were trained craft men, carpenters, gold and copper smiths, whose services were used by the rich and those who could afford them. Thus they assisted in the erection of most of the one storey imported wooden houses. Their other area of influence was that they engineered a similar spirit of freedom in the domestic slaves.

IMPACT OF WESTERN CULTURE

The Efik were a society of distinct culture and custom. Nair (1972) points out that in political relations, the Efik were similar but smaller to European idea of the Nation States. Barbot further described Old Calabar as being well

furnished with villages and hamlets and good civilized people.

Generally, early contacts with Europe had a positive influence on the social and cultural development of the Efik. European ideas have thus been tailored into the new Efik custom. To this end, the Efik are today in many ways europeanized[3].

However, it needs be mentioned that this influence had different impacts on a number of institutions. For example, while some cultural institutions have not felt any outside impact, others were greatly influenced and changed accordingly. These include among others, the fattening of girls in preparation for womanhood and marriage; funeral and morning ceremonies including human sacrifices; Ndem Cult and Ekpe fraternity.

But within the scope of this study, we intended to summarise only those cultural values which have bearing on or something to do with Efik house form. To this end, emphasis is placed on how European Cultural attitudes affected Efik marriage system, the concept of Education and the conduct of socialization. It further highlights the effects these changes in value had on Efik concept of Religion and religious icons.

---

2. Duke Ephraim to Consul Hutchinson, May 6th, 1858. F.O. 84/1061. Quoted from Noah (1980) ... p 115 - 116.

Marriage Customs

According to Akak (1982) marriage among the Efik can be divided into three phases: The Pre-slave, the slave and the post-slave periods. Although his work contains detail descriptions of these different types of marriages, his approach has little or no bearing on the scope of this thesis. What is of interest and worth re-emphasizing is the fact that in spite of the various impacts on Efik traditions, Efik marriage customs still has no provision for alimony and there is nothing in existence to show who takes over the custody of the child or children who are free to choose to be with either of the parents in the event of a divorce.

Thus in both the pre-slave and slave trading era, Efik marriage institution was polygamous and the number of wives a man could marry depended on his means and social status. For economic and political reasons, most marriages were contracted. Wives could trade or farm and proceeds derived from it were brought home for husband and children to benefit. For political reasons members of the royal line in one town would choose royal wives from other towns in order to establish some form of political links among themselves.

This marriage practice entails the erection of courtyard houses with rooms to accommodate the large family. At the advent of christianity and the introduction of monogamy, this trend was to be replaced by bungalow type small houses for the

---

3. Akak (1981) Efiks of Old Calabar: Culture and Superstition, Vol. III, Akak and Sons, 6 Aba Street, Calabar.

nuclear family type.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The missionaries pioneered the introduction of western education into Nigeria and they regarded it as the chief means of changing social habits and norms. The Efik rulers and chiefs who invited the missionaries to settle in Old Calabar did so because they hoped to have their children taught in English learning. Some rich traders even sent their sons to England to acquire a knowledge of the English language.

Contrary to the motives of the missions, the reason the Calabar traders had for a formal education of the children was to use it as an effective instrument to perfect and increase commerce for which they were famous. To the locals, the acquisition of the christian religion seemed to be of little consequence, hence their strong opposition to the missionaries attempts at converting the youths to christianity.

The Calabar society was divided into two broad classes of people, the nobility and the commoners. Each of these two groups had quite different concept of the role of the missionaries and of education. For example, by inviting the missionaries, the noble were primarily interested in providing education for their children in the hope that once they had acquired the necessary educational tools, they would become good traders as well as technicians, which will in turn create wealth for them.

Contrary to these expectations, the missionaries used schools as forum for lunching their attacks on Efik customs for which the nobles stood. Consequently, the mission schools became filled mainly by common people, some of whom had escaped from their masters to seek refuse in mission quarters.

Furthermore, the nobles did not like the idea of having their children flogged by school teachers, since according to Efik custom, punishment is reserved and for people of servile origin.

The educated elite lost respect for all kinds of labour other than clerical work. All manual labour was scorned. Calabar being the earliest centre of education in what later became Nigeria, the average "educated" Efik man would rather starve than to fish in the rivers. For once one had to become an "educated man", for one to feel contempt for traditional habits and institutions. Demand for better houses was regarded as being in keeping with the newly acquired status by the educated elites. See Appendix V.

SOCIALIZATION

Sule (1982) Prof. suggests that while there are obvious cultural differences among countries and peoples, recent social development has brought about an underlying similarity in the fundamental behaviour patterns of people in an urban environment. People in urban areas he maintains, have the

same requirements and are confronted with the same types of problems no matter where they live.

Within the community of any large city, there are common denominators of human needs for space, light, clear air, safety and social unity; which transcends differences in language and historical background.

This was not the case in Efik land following the advent of the European slave traders, then the missionaries and finally the colonial administrators. The European social pattern, including the common need for housing were at variance with the native Efik. The Europeans did their best to widen the segregation. For example, as everywhere in the British Empire, there were European and native clubs separately located; European and native hospitals; as well as European and native cemetries. Thus even at death, Europeans and native Africans had no common grounds. With time therefore, the European life style, which became the envy of a great number of the inhabitants of Old Calabar started infiltrating the realms of Efik social structure.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Polygamy and idolatry have long been established in Africa, and both are opposed to Christianity. Thus a lot of Africans who became christians found it difficult to do away with their wives and concubines in order to become good Christians. People who could read found ample evidence of

polygamy in the Old Testament, eg. King Solomon and used it rightly in self-defence. In an attempt to impress the ideals of Christianity on the people, the work of the missionaries was made difficult by the behaviour towards women by some fellow European Traders, who kept a number of concubines on the Coast and supported the Africans by saying the Bible was divine but man-made.

In Efik society, it is strongly believed that polygamy is a sign of success, economic prosperity and not as a result of religious education. Noah (1980) thus contends that even before the missionaries tried to change the traditional ways of worship, the idea of God (Abasi), sin (idiok) and other Christian religious ideologies had always formed part of traditional values in Efik land.

For economic reasons rather than religious, the Efik man started to copy the practice of monogamy. This gave rise to nucleated family pattern no longer requiring the multi-courtyard houses.

OTHER IMPACTS

It does not need much efforts to note what changes have taken place in most traditional cities in Nigeria including Old Calabar. The town grew spontaneously and it was trade and agriculture that shaped its size and growth pattern. A change of any of the above mentioned factors will no doubt result in an interruption of its growth. The consequence could be

likened to what Horace, the Roman poet of the first century BC tells us in one of his verses, that:

> "though you drive out nature with a pitch-fork, still she will ever return, and, furtively victorious, will break - through man's unhealthy caprice"[4]

This saying still stands as a challenge to all things man has created for his own comfort. Calabar was built by people, with local building materials, cared for and tended by man.

This section therefore discusses other factors which might not have been a direct consequence of European contact with the Efik, but which no doubt have affected the structural composition of Efik community.

Decline in Trade and Agriculture

This factor which worked towards the collapse of Efik traditional house form has been evident since that period of professional re-orientation of the Efik themselves. The reduction of commerce and agriculture, especially in agriculture, left a vacuum within the economic structure. This development started to affect the very core of existence of society when for example, an average Efik family head could no longer cater for his large extended family members.

Commerce and Agriculture require a life that is stationary at home, which in turn could lead to an advanced and permanent business structure. The opportunity of gaining

---

4. Ibid

the required business acumen through experience on the other hand needs permanence. But since the Efik community was nomadic, having moved, fist from Creek Town down to Henshaw Town, these constant movements resulted in their abandonment of commerce. As a result the foundation upon which the society was founded became shaken. The consequence was the break down of institutional norms which later affected the physical realm, the house form. For instance, maintaining a large extended family became problematic leading to nucleation and segregation.

Witchcraft

There is a strong belief that the Efik are sensitive to the menace of witchcraft, and this is abundantly conveyed through the annals in Efik history. Aye (1965) discusses the fact that:

> "when the death toll of their eminent citizens swept through the community in the thirties, a large section of the panic-stricken population forsook their homeland and drifted abroad to save their necks".

This development had been an age old phenomena, especially after the inclusion of domestic slaves into the free citizen strata of the society. Witch-haunting, became the order of the day - especially after the death of some family heads. These facts have been responsible for the abandonment of some compounds around the Henshaw and Duke Towns.

It was learnt that at the peak of its practice, witchcraft was responsible for the abandonment of their home land by some Efiks for long periods. There is no town throughout recorded history that has ever escaped decline in the face of a steady emigration of the "flower" of its population. This development gave rise to gradual disintegration of the traditional Efik courtyard compounds.

Family Economic Interdependency

A family is only one aspect of the society, responding to the changes taking place in it. As the Society transforms, in modern times, the family and its members begin to feel the impact of such changes.

In a society where family economic interdependency is practiced, each member feels the effect of changes taking place in the wider community. Child rearing under such condition is done as an investment to support parents when they become old. This development became a very desperate gamble for a number of Efik households.

The effect of this development on house form is that the traditional Efik man who had looked up to his child or children to take over the burden of running the house was disappointed. The greater awareness and spirit of freedom now enjoyed by the children created no obligation on such children to maintain such economic practice.

Rather than see the need to support such a train of

dependents in an extended family set up, the young man abandons home leaving behind a family encumbered by the burden of lack of proper inheritance. The result was a social and even physical break down of the house form and society.

Social Transformation

The Nigerian Society is changing at an alarming rate. These changes are creating conditions that make it impossible to predict the future. Food is scarce and can no longer be gathered from the farms.

It has been argued before that these changes will necessarily take place. In the case of the Efik, it is evident that such changes came too soon in the architectural development of the region. For this reason, the demands of society along with family responsibilities became too burdensome for one person, even of noble birth to shoulder.

As a family head, and probably at an advanced age, it became difficult for them to run the family successfully coupled with the frequent demand for repairs and maintenance of the traditional houses. In this aspect also a physical deteriorations of the house form was noticed giving rise to nucleation.

Shift in Status of Old Calabar

Up to the period up to independence Calabar served Southern Cameroon as an important port for exporting its

produce. Cameroon used to bring her oil and kernel and other products, either by land or sea, to Calabar for export. But situations developed in the late 1950's which made it difficult for the British and other foreign firms in Calabar to continue this business. The Cameroonians, for political reasons, had to leave Nigeria, and that reduced Calabar's commercial importance. Fewer products than before were now shipped through Calabar, and fewer ships had to call to collect them.

This situation brought in its wake a wave of retrenchment of African employees in various companies. It also created a wave of emigrants leaving Calabar to fend for themselves elsewhere. Many Efiks lost their income from these firms. Hence, they were reduced to poverty, some even dying in the process. This development affected the house form as some elderly owners had no other means of subsistence than to rent rooms.

As this study had earlier shown it was not difficult to find out what was responsible for why the Efik built the way they did-trade. As a result of its position by the sea, Calabar benefited a lot from the economic transaction between her and Eruopean slave and palm oil traders. The enormous wealth gained from this trade enable the Efik to build the type of houses found in this Old town.

Consequently, when Calabar lost its economic status, it was obious such a shift reflected or had effect on house form

in the city. In fact it was even difficult for these who already had these big traditional houses to maintain them.

Individual Aloofness

Individualism and personal aloofness from the affairs of ones homeland makes co-operation difficult and exposes the community to dangers of rapid ossification and intellectual lethargy. The Calabar community has since the advent of Europeans been exposed to dissolution through the growth of too much of this phenomena.

Before the advent of the Europeans, the close-knitted traditional society made an Efik man act consciously regarding his house within the cultural system of which he is a part. But with the transformation of the society under the pressures of development, the stable equilibrium within the system became lost and the house form and design process imposed new models.[5] The newly acquired freedom, to act and express oneself without reference to social norms becomes reflected also on house form. As we are all aware individualism is the opposite of community. In the case of old Calabar, traditional architecture could be described in relation to community approach. This was no longer the case after contact with Europeans.

Thus as this study has revealed the individualistic approach adopted by the Efik no longer saw the need to

5. Levin M.D. (1971) "House Form and Social Structure in Bakosi", in Paul Oliver (ed), Shelter in Africa, p. 143, Barrie and

cooperate in running large palatial traditional compound houses. Rather families became nucleated.

REFERENCES

1. Akak (1981) Efiks of Old Calabar: Culture and Superstition, Vol. III, Akak and Sons, 6 Aba Street, Calabar.
2. Akinsemoyin, A. and Vaunghan-Richards, A. (1976) Building Lagos; Pengrail Ltd, Jersey, USA.
3. Genesis 3:19. The Holy Bible.
4. Levin M.D. (1971) "House Form and Social Structure in Bakosi", in Paul Oliver (ed), Shelter in Africa, p.143, Barrie and Jenkins, London.
5. Obadan, M.I. (9195) "Development Planning Process in Nigeria: Retrospect and Prospects". Paper presented at a Local Government Seminar, Abuja. September 25 - 27, 1995.
6. Oni, Bankole (1995) "The Problems of Plan Implementation in Nigeria: Paper presented at a Local Government seminar, Abuja. September 25 - 27, 1995.
7. Waddell (1847) "Twenty - Nine Years", in Aye (1967) Old Calabar Through The Centuries, p. 104. Hope Waddell Press, Calabar.
8. Waddell, Twenty - Nine Years, p. 376 - 377, in NOAH (1980) Old Calabar: The City States and The Europeans, 1800 - 1885, p. 108. Scholar Press (Nig.) Limited.

Jenkins, London.

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

Until recently, historians have always emphasized external influences, when analyzing the economy and society in Africa and the emergence of urbanism. At a time when self-development and indigenous traditions are becoming valued once again, it seems useful to review the development of these local traditions in terms of internal factors, for example, which is not to deny the existence of external influences.

The traditional Efik family, like most other Nigerians has an extended family structure. In most cases, it is patrilineal in descent. It embraces both the nuclear and the polygamous families and is the basic unit of economic, social and political organization in Efik Society. This family pattern corresponds with the residential unit the compound, which is made up of economically independent households, but all households acknowledging the authority of one compound head.

Long before the introduction of slave trade, the traditional Efik society derived their livelihood from agricultural economy and a division of labour according to the sexes. A married man works the farm or fish with his household. Although he is the principal breadwinner, the wife is expected to supplement the efforts of her husband for the benefit of all family members. As a result, a wife was entirely dependent on her husband for livelihood and looked up to him to give her food. She was to play a very complimentary role in the compound.

CON.

This situation was what charaterised Efik society before the introduction of slave trade as a commercial venture. However, history has shown that for a long time, millions of people have endured the burden of slavery. For example, when describing the effect of Slavery in some parts of West Africa, Allister Macmillan said:

> " .... hunted in his native forest like a savage beast of prey ..... with his wives and children, both with chains and led away. Mid the curses of his captives and the blows of knotted whips, to the distant, sobbong ocean and the holds of filthy ships ...."

So great was the agony of the slaves from which other individuals made a living. So great were the pains, yet the glory and prestige slavery brought to Efik chiefs. Or how else could one describe the inhuman treatment some Africans received which on the other hand was the cause of wealth enjoyed by a few others? It has been revealed that the predominant source of riches accummilated in to Calabar after contact with the Europeans came, not from agricultural ventures, but from the selling of fellow human beings into slavery.

However this study has gone beyond the fact concluding that slavery had beneficial effect on the Efik community. Rather it has also looked into other disadvantages caused by this trade. For example, it is believed that the European entrepreneurs were able to accumulate part of the capital either cash or manpower needed to launch the Industrial

Revolution in their countries without slave trade. But the African coastal settlements of Old Calabar, playing the role of middlemen, and in the process growing into a rich city state with their rulers controlling a wide spread of network of trade routes and markets. This later degenerated into centuries of insecurity, increasing social polarization and violent upheavals.

In the situation, it was only natural that a shift on the economic policies of the western world will no doubt affect the economic base of Calabar. Little wonder then that when the economic system based on slave trade was discontinued, the Efik economy became shaky.

Furthermore, when an Efik man leaves his family to take up wage labour in an urban area, he leaves a vacuum in the family he leaves behind. If he is not himself a family or compound head, he removes himself from the authority and protection of the compound head. If he is the compound head, the other members of the family not only lose a protector from outside aggression but also the family head.

Apart from urbanization, which acts as a major factor to social change in Nigerian towns, other factors have been assessed which have hastened the change in Efik family structure and contributed to the loss in authority of the compound or family head. For instance, their involvement in the slave trade, contact with European Missionaries and

CON.

---

subsequent European activities exposed the Efik society to new economic ties, European mannerism and other religious beliefs and change the position of the compound head as sole intermediary for compound members in spiritual matters.

It is again the influence of the missionaries and their teachings, which are in direct contradiction to traditional religious beliefs and social ideas of the Efik. The converts to the christian religion or those who have been exposed to their influence do not regard as serious the threats of sanction by the Compound head. Bearing in mind that religious institutions are the best means of social and political control, the introduction of a new religion and doctrines and teachings which are in direct contradiction to the traditional religious and social ideas of the society. This will not only bring conflict but will ultimately undermine the authority and position of traditional rulers, whose position and authority in the society are based on fear of the individual of religious and social sanctions. Thus the teachings and influence of the christian missionaries undermined the traditional religions, social and political organization and are contributory factors to the weakening in position and loss of authority of the compound head.

In addition, the colonization of Efik land gave a firmer base for the propagation of christian religion and social ideas and the introduction of European customs, European

CON.

---

methods of government, new methods in the education and socialization of the individual, marital custom and European economic and political systems. All these factors undermined the traditional religious, social, economic and political organization, and led to a loss of authority of traditional rulers and hastened the change in the Efik family structure and house form pattern.

If old values in any given tradition change, they do so rapidly in urban area, and not necessarily always for the benefit of modern education. As a sea port, a trading forth and one time capital of the Southern Protectorate, Calabar had had the greatest exposure to all new objects and ideas from foreign sources, with many old traditional values being replaced by other values associated with imported urbanization.

This assessment has led to the conclusion that if people are to be helped to grow in self-awareness and self-confidence, they must be encouraged to organize according to their own norms and values for their own ends, not in terms of some predetermined goals. Self reliance mean exactly that through group action people will develop the self assurance that they can indeed control their future to a significant degree and therefore plan for it with initiative.

Hence, apart from the Efiks' reaction to these changes, other factors - economic change, missionary activities,

CON.

---

colonization and urbanization and change in the education and socialization of the individual have contributed to the change which has occurred in Efik family structure so that it is futile to look upon either urbanization or European contact alone as the factor which has brought about change in the Efik traditional House Form.

The effect contact with Europeans had on Efik Traditional House Form was investigated under four broad periods between 1800 - 1960; these are the pre-colonial; the slave trade, the missionary and the colonial periods.

For instance, during the pre-colonial period, the study investigated Efik traditional architecture. Predominant architectural styles, features and methods were studied. The study was conducted at both Efik rural and urban communities as a basis of authenticating information which may seem to be at variance with established truth.

Findings from this era were then used as a basis of comparison with architectural features after contact with Europeans. A remarkable trend of change associated with both European traders and missionaries was noticed.

Furthermore, an analysis of the cultural, social and economic conditions of the Efik during these periods was conducted. The study was able to obtain facts on how and why the Efik of Old Calabar were able to build and/or buy the types of houses they owned. It was also shown how the economic

potentials of the Efik rose through contact with European traders and how slavery became an economic venture. Although before this time, slavery (domestic bound servants) had been practised by the Efik, its economic viability only became obvious after the advent of the European slave traders. The effect this development had on Efik traditional house form has been shown and it reveals a gradual disintegration of the traditional concept of house form the courtyard house type to nucleated single family approach.

In the course of this study, it was found out that although European contact actually laid the foundation for the changes experienced in Efik traditional architecture, the period of self rule also acted as a significant turning point.

Identifying the fact that there was a significant influence on Efik indigenous architecture during this period is already a step in the right direction. This has aided in avoiding any misrepresentation which would have led to inappropriate conclusions.

Now busy, crowded and developed almost to the point of losing the link with its unique past, Calabar still boasts of relics revealing the history of its association with other parts of the World; and the influences of successive cultural intercourse and revolutions. Through some buildings in the town, one can glean the history of its past and realize that Calabar has a character, all of its own.

CON.

Once characterized by several autonomous settlements populated by different ethnic groups, now form the present-day Calabar Municipality. These were the Efik settlements of Old Town, Duke Town and Henshaw Town. The Efuts of Efut Abua and Efut Ekondo as well as the Quas of Akim and Big Qua Towns. These settlements expanded after independence to include the nearby smaller villages to form what is today the Cross River State Capital.

Before independence though, the administration of city government was an exclusive duty of each Efik kinship (House) segment, acting independently of each other, with a few provisions - namely, ceremonial which allow for two or more segments to act in concert on certain occasions.

When the Efik later adopted the "Ajagham Mgbe" or leopard and after a few reformations, refinement and development into "Ekpe Efik", it became a trade - regulating form of central government, a means of control among the Efik as well as acting as a unifying factor among the people of the Cross River Basin.

With time, especially from the beginning of the 19th century, the adopted "Ekpe" cult became the symbol of identification of the Efik sons of the soil, who were guaranteed of special privileges and elements of financial insurance, hence the Efik saying "Ekpe edi Udia", Ekpe is Food.

CON.

That was before contact with Europeans. What one sees of the Efik in 1960 therefore was a highly developed, distinct cultural pattern, evolved in total dependence on the prolonged European presence in the area. Such primary traditions as chieftaincy, burial rites, masquerades and secret cults, the seclusion and training of girls or "ufok nkoho" and coronation ceremonies incorporated new ideas in paraphernalia, in pattern and materials.

Status in the affluent Calabar society was expressed through the acquisition of material goods - objects made of brass becoming highly rated and came to be regarded as manifestation of high rank and wealth.

The wealthy and influential Efik of Old Calabar, conscious of their economic, cultural and political positions in the society often lived in palatial homes or large compounds, guarded by armed guards on choice sites. Their homes were maintained by large households of servants and slaves, sometimes numbering into the hundreds. Imported furniture and homes became a prestigious necessity. Imported wooden houses emphasized their prestige in the eyes of their peers and subordinates, impressing both their African and European trading partners.

Although much is talked about the prosperity of Old Calabar, there were very few people who could be called middle class since wealth at this time rested with a small minority -

CON.

Heads of families and Houses.

LAND USE MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL

On matters patterning to land, it is obvious that before the advent of the British Government, Nigeria operated customary land tenure system which was indigenous to the people. Like all other customs, it varied from place to place depending on the local circumstances. This system continued even after the arrival of the British Government. Although there were statutory erosions in customary law, the system was allowed to maintain its essential character[1]. This of course was not without attempts by the British Government to propose Legislation for land use control[2].

As far back as 1944, attempts were made by the then Chief Secretary to the Government via the Southern Provinces to furnish him with a memorandum suggesting a land use control legislation for the provinces. The series of correspondences on this matter suggest that while the need for such legislation was most welcoming, care had to be taken to avoid "any curtailment of the full rights over land by the land owners" since such "would almost certainly be unpopular".

Consequently, the land policy pursued by the Colonial Government in the Southern Provinces has been to leave to the

---

1. See Lewis v Bankole (1908) 1 Nigerian Law Report, 1981.
2. See Appendix I, II and III.

CON.

Africans the full title in and use of his land, although the public Lands Acquisition Ordinance empowers Government to acquire land needed for public purposes upon the payment of compensation"[3]. This had been the situation up to when Nigeria gained her independence in 1960.

Thus before the enactment of the Land Use Act, the three systems of land tenure had been in operation. These were the Customary, Non-Customary and the Special System of Land Tenure in former Northern Nigeria[4] - which was an amalgamation of both Customary and Non-Customary land tenure.

In many ways Old Calabar proved to be the melting pot of races, languages, cultures and ideas. Thus it is not certain how the code of Efik law emerged. Characteristic of all African oral traditions, the Efik laws that defined the rights and limitations of government, courts and provided legal devices such as citizenship, were rather fluid and very dynamic.

Hence, as a result of long contacts with European traders and Missionaries, European norms became the way of life of the Efik. These have had profound influence on the people's mode of dress, behaviour and attitudes. Evidently at the end of the 19th century, the traditional Efik attire of "ofon isin" or waist cloth and "ofon idem" or top cloth were

---

3. H.P.James (1944) Senior Resident, Calabar.
4. See Land Tenure Law, 1962, Cap 51; Laws of Northern Nigeria.

CON.

---

being replaced for ceremonial occasions with the fineries of the Victorian era[5]. Officially, and for other special occasions, during the days of colonial rule, English attire became a status symbol.

The influence on the female folk of Calabar has been described thus:

> " the female traditional costume, hands and body decoration were widely influenced by outside elements, which combined with the traditional features, contributed to the development of the "oyonyo" dress peculiar to the Efiks"[6]

Furthermore, the traditional ways of dressing as well as speech, serving and entertainment were blended with 19th century English influences to form a unique fashion, creating a reputation for beautiful and well mannered girls spread throughout the region.

Architecturally, status in the affluent Calabar society was expressed through the ownership of material goods. Hence the prefabricated wooden architecture of the city became its hallmark, treasure and pride, together with the traditional structures; contributing to the unique character of this ancient city.

---

5. The pride of an Efik attaches to good clothing can be gleaned from this Efik proverb: Eti ofon inmake uyom ke ekebe, ipa isadoho anam. (good cloth, poplin, does not produce any sound in the box, except only the checked calico)

6. AKAK, Chief (Dr.) Eyo Okon (1982) Efiks of Old Calabar: Culture and Superstitions; Vol. III, Akak and Sons, 6 Aba Street, Calabar.

CON.

The Transformation of the Efik Courtyard House Form

The general features of the courtyard lay out of Efik traditional dwellings has already been discussed in chapter II. The discussion had made it apparent that the designers of houses bought by some Efik chiefs as status symbols in Calabar diverged significantly in their adaption of the traditional courtyard patterns. They were neither involved in interpreting the form of the courtyard nor were they interested in the courtyard concept. Thus in avoiding to adopt the courtyard concept, exterior features - style, structure, and use of materials - were treated in ways superficially related to "modern" styles.

This study has further shown that the imported wooden houses had a pattern different from the Efik traditional house type. And as such have altered the social and functional pattern of Efik traditional house form. Thus the importance of the relationship between form and planning of the houses and associated cultural attitude and values became lost.

The courtyard idea as highlighted in this study has various advantages with regards to Efik cultural background. But this important facet of the society was not manifested in the wooden houses; which later gave rise to "adulterated" half-completed compounds. It can therefore be argued that at the introduction of the imported wooden houses, the courtyard house type no longer offered any vital cultural heritage to

CON.

---

modern Efik community despite the advantages associated with courtyard houses discussed earlier.

To find answers to reasons why this abandonment prevailed and what basic advantages or disadvantages such trend had on Efik vernacular architecture, we shall examine the spatial domains established by the traditional courtyard pattern.

As we mentioned previously, the courtyard constituted the outdoor domain of the traditional house. In most cases, the boundary between the courtyard domain and the rest of the house was not well defined. Since some of the wooden supports or pillars of the house stood independently with no walls explicitly dividing indoor from outdoor space, there came to be no clear limit between indoor and outdoor living. In fact the functions of indoor and outdoor spaces were sometimes interconnected and interchangeable according to circumstances, climate and the desired degree of interpersonal formality. This is one reason why the courtyard could either be internalized or externalized in recognition of its function and applications.

In the Calabar model, the courtyard idea has failed to diffuse into modern Efik dwellings - both in translation and interpretation. But if the courtyard idea portrays the Efik tradition in dwelling, why this failure? From investigations, the reasons could be summarized as follows: private builders

---

and foreign wooden houses did not conceptualize the functional aspects of the traditional house form and design. Internalization of the courtyard concept had in most cases not even been known or thought of. Furthermore, some Efik elite were no longer interested in the traditions of Efik domestic space perception and traditional forms. On the other hand, they saw these traditional forms as outdated and old fashioned. It was also noted that this concept ceased prematurely at the advent of the Europeans with their design concepts which seemed to be the new method of doing things.

When illustrated graphically the spatial organization of the traditional Efik house compared with the organization of the "modern" house within the framework of the traditional courtyard idea can be shown as follows:

Traditional House: Entrance Gate - Courtyard - Rooms

(open) (destination)

See Figure C.1

Modern House: Entrance Hall - Living Room - Rooms

(covered) (destination)

See Figure C.2

Within this overall framework, one may note the distinct difference between the ways European domestic house form recognized the courtyard idea. The courtyard has totally been relocated-only within a house lot. Figure C.3.

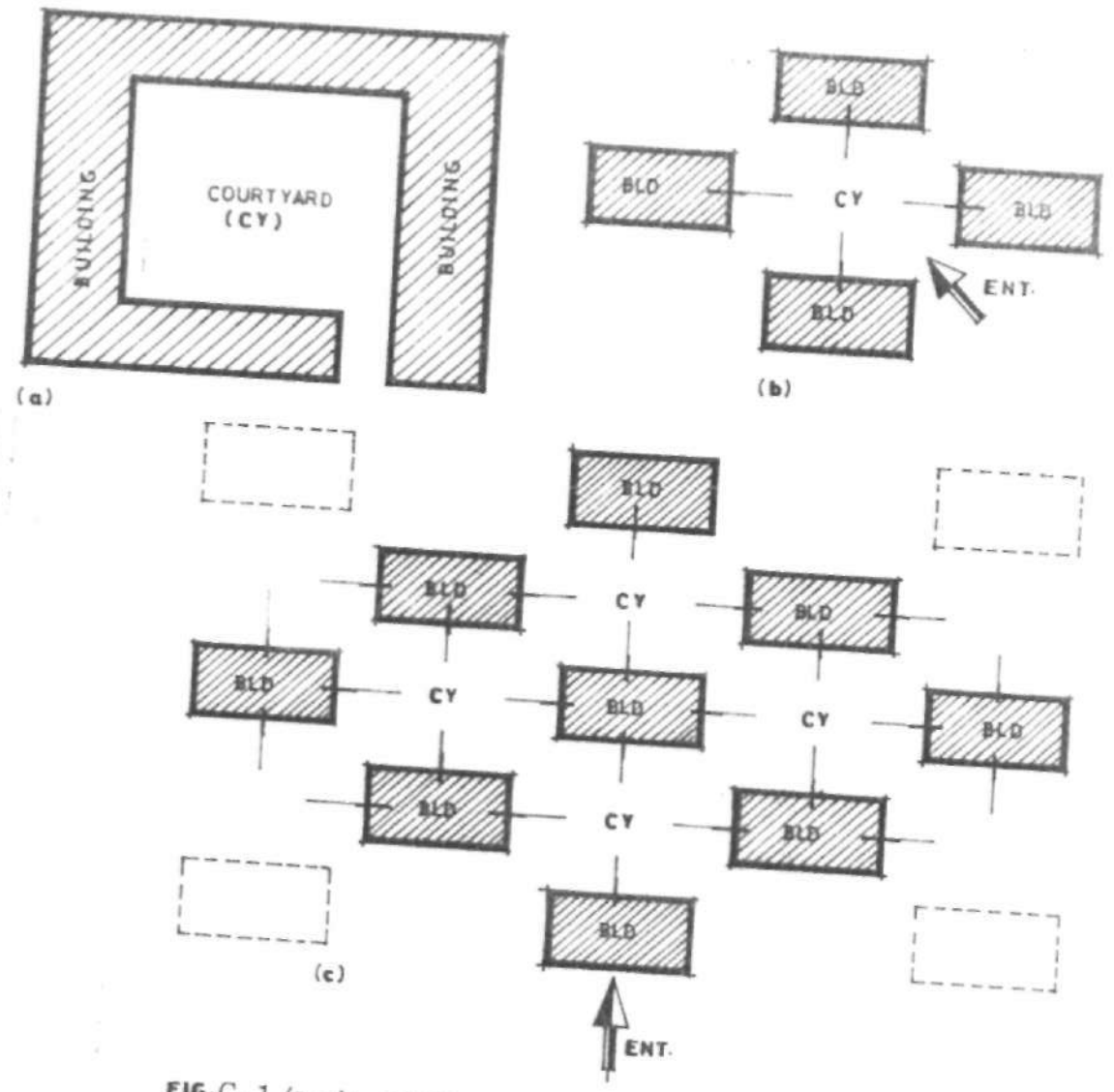


FIG. C.1 (a–c): HOUSE FORM PATTERN (TRADITIONAL)

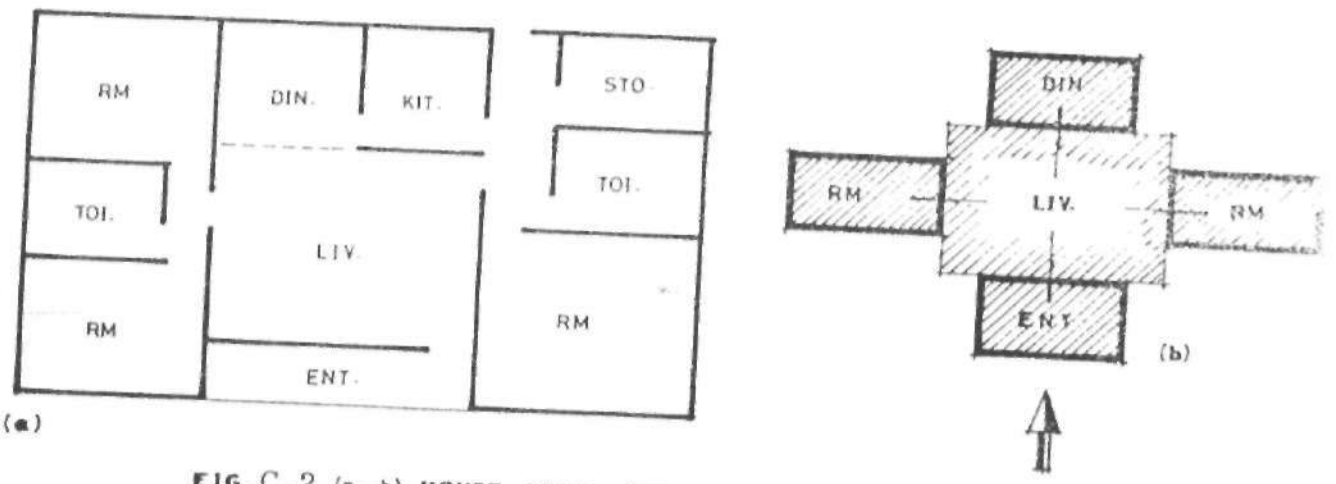
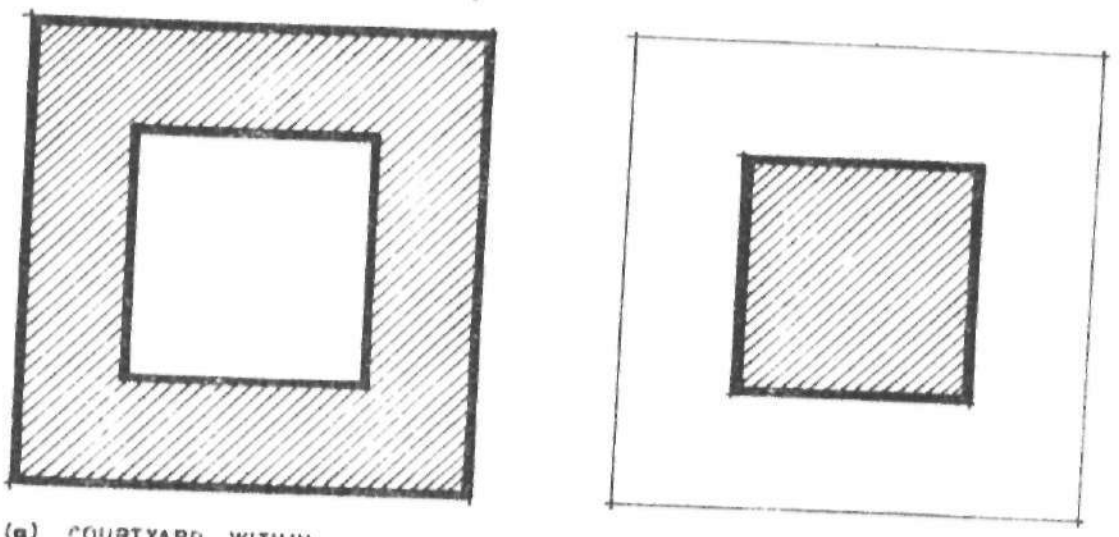


FIG. C.2 (a–b) HOUSE FORM PATTERN (MODERN)



(a) COURTYARD WITHIN

(b) HOUSE WITHIN

FIG. C.3: COURTYARD IDEAS

CON.

Continuity and Consistency of Efik Traditional Courtyard Idea

It is apparent that when the Efik embarked on the importation of European designed wooden houses, the concept of the courtyard ceased to constitute a constant in the design and construction of Efik dwellings and services.

Furthermore, no where on these buildings do the contextual elements of tradition, that is, the use of materials, decoration and detail, feature any longer, as one would expect. Consequently, it can be maintained that these houses imported into Efik land do not resonate with those spatial features that link traditional life style either practically or symbolically to traditional aspects of Efik society and culture either through the intermediary of the courtyard or the elements therein. The courtyard pattern as a cultural heritage in Calabar municipality has therefore become very weak to the elements of change, thus losing both its conceptual and physical qualities. A similar situation was reported in Lagos by Vanghan-Richards (1976) as shown in Figure C.4. In this case, the courtyard became filled up with single nucleated family dwellings, all similar to the European introduced models.

Some have opted to support the thinking that architectural tradition involves more than just the notion of style and technology. Thus they are quick to point out that even though the style and structure of imported Efik dwellings

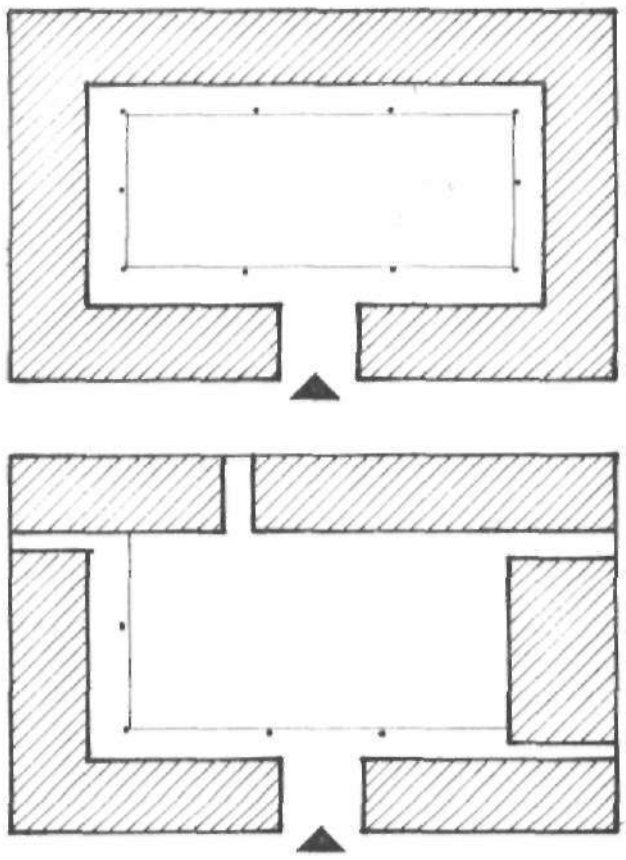


FIG. C.4: BREAKDOWN OF TRADITIONAL COMPOUND (A.L.MABOGUNJE 1968)

CON.

---

are radically different from traditional Efik houses and in many ways have come to resemble "modern" western houses, their spatial organization has remained traditional either perceptually or conceptually, externally or internally. But judging from both the social, functional and physical requirements an Efik traditional courtyard house is expected to fulfil. this thinking might be wrong.

Furthermore, the way the courtyard idea has been discarded has been shown to depend on the activities of either the builders or the owners-to-be. In the Efik model, the courtyard idea originated as a preconception of the house as a specific pattern of space. This phenomenon demonstrates that the dwelling fulfills more than simply the need for shelter; but it must also cater for the social and other functional peculiarities of the community. This way, integration with communities was easier and less cumbersome. Therefore, even though houses of the current generation are meant for a smaller family and for a more "comfortable way of life"[7] than those which existed in previous centuries, the courtyard idea still acts as the most functional concept in the context of increasing complexities in human affairs.

---

7. Yes, comfortable, but most people have seen this as a selfish pattern of living, especially when it does not conform with the African way of life.

CON.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main thrust of this thesis had been to synthesize those aspects which have direct impact on Efik traditional house form. At the end of the study, it was found out that impact on Efik traditional house form could be perceived both as direct and indirect influences. Below therefore is a summary of such influences, itemized according to their level of gravity.

A Direct Influences

1. European contact
2. Introduction of slave trade
3. Introduction of christianity
4. Introduction of monogamy
5. Introduction of European Education
6. Introduction of European Administration.

The study has shown that as a result of enhanced economic status brought about by the Efik's involvement in slave trade, the Efik community became a wealth community. In this way they were able to buy and import one storey wooden houses from Europe which dealt the first blow in disintegrating the traditional architectural heritage.

Thus as a result of contact with Europeans and the subsequent introduction of European norms such as monogamy, European education and culture, an average Efik later saw no

CON.

---

need to continue to line in a earth - building, since this came to be considered as inferior and substandard.

The practice of monogamy on the other had encouraged nucleated families thereby breaking ties with an extended family practice. This way large traditional compounds broken down or disintegrated thus altering Efik house form.

B. Indirect Influences

1. Agricultural decline
2. Decline in trade
3. Family Economic Interdependency
4. Witchcraft
5. Socio-cultural transformation
6. Shift in status of Old Calabar
7. Aloofness
8. Greed.

The factors this study identified as indirect influences on Efik traditional House form seen to give this research a negative leaning.

This development points to the fact that this research did not in any way preempt our results. It was rather an unbiased research aimed at proving the hypothesis that European contact with Efik was solely responsible for all that went wrong in Efik in Community. In the course of our investigation, it was found out that although European contact

laid the basis for what was responsible for the disintegration of Efik traditional architecture, the Efiks themselves also contributed in no small way to that change.

For example when the Efik developed an insatiable greed for foreign, imported wooden houses, they allowed it to the extent that parts of their traditional compounds had to be pulled down to create space to assemble such imported houses.

That christianity could have the strong hold it had in Efik land was because the Efik themselves invited, aided and cooperated with the missionaries. This foreign religion later had a great impact on Efik custom, culture and tradition thus disintegrating the traditional house pattern.

When the Efik abandoned fishing and farming for trading on slaves, they needed accommodation to hold their commodities (slaves). Thus the decline in Agricultural pursuit gave rise to a better way of Efiks enriching themselves. But when slave trade was subsequently abolished, obvious signs of abject poverty started being seen in the Efik community. This way it became difficult to maintain the large traditional compound houses - which no doubt had flourished under the hardwork of slave labour.

To worsen this satiation was the break down in the family economic interdependency. While the family heads were no longer able to cater for and maintain large extended family members, the family's economic labour force - the young ones

CON.

---

had to migrate to other lands in search of daily bread. This way deterioration set in leading to disintegration.

An endemic phenomena in Efik land as this study has shown is witchcraft. The influence of witchcraft on Efik house form is so endemic that its effect has left bad memories in almost all parts of Calabar. Houses and compounds are left to decay for fear of being witch-hunted. Discomfort is borne for a long time irrespective of the very humid nature of the region. This practice also led to mass exodus of the Efik which led to abandonment of their traditional houses as the study has shown.

Furthermore, when Calabar lost its status following the move of the seat of government to Lagos, much harm was done to her house form. The economic status of the town and regions declined. Similar decline was also noted in house form as a result of the factors noted above.

In the wake of all these, apathy was created among the Efik, especially among these who were incapacitated and so could not move to areas where the grass was greener. Frustration and despair as well as individual aloofness at this point griped the Efik leading to disintegration of house form.

The socio-cultural transformation which followed could do little to enhance and maintain the pride of place for Efik traditional house form.

These factors put together could be responsible for what one sees - the maze of architectural pattern found within Calabar and its environs.

Although quite a lot has already been documented on the general history of Old Calabar or Efik community, not much has been done on the architectural history of this one time nomadic society. This study is therefore a pioneer type, and as such, was beset by problems associated with such schemes.

This study does not therefore pretend to have exhausted the vast information still lacking in trying to come up with a thorough understanding of this one time very dynamic and predominant city-state in South Eastern Nigeria. For example, further research still needs to be carried out in the following areas of Efik traditional architecture:

a. the role of women in Efik traditional architecture.

b. the role of the freed slaves in Efik society as it affects Efik traditional house form.

c. contemporary architcture in Calabar town.

In summary, it has been noted that the traditional Efik family structure has changed and has been adapted to new conditions but has not totally broken down. There can be no doubt that the principal factors of change are as a direct result of contact with Europeans. Urbanization whilst having played a part in the change that occurred does not represent the central factor. This is because those elements with

urbanization were forced on the community rather than being allowed to develop spontaneously. As a result of these changes the Efik family became weakened in its function as a religious, educational and political institution; which changes were physically reflected on her architecture.

As a welfare organization affording the individual protection in times of needs, Efik family structure still functions effectively - otherwise how else could the close ties still existing among all Efik family members be explained? Such ties, playing a very vital identifying role can be seen during marriage, birth and death ceremonies and other church functions. During such occasions, members of each family are identified by different costly apparels (in uniform) and in very colourful processions.

On the basis of the evidence presented in this thesis, the changes being experienced in house form not withstanding, the Efik family as an institution still has enormous influence on the individual (since it spells out his pride of place) and will continue to be so for a long time to come. Its function as a source of social security for the individual will remain unrivalled as long as social insurance in Nigeria is an exception rather than the rule.

APPENDIX I

No 42970/5
Nigerian Secretariat,
Lagos,

21st August 1944.

The Secretary,
Eastern Provinces,
Enugu.

LEGISLATION FOR LAND USE CONTROL

A copy of a memorandum on the above subject by the Adviser on Rural Development is forwarded for favour of early consideration and comment. It is suggested that, if the principle of including all statutory province for land use control in a single ordinance meets with general approval, endeavour should be made to get a bill ready for the legislative council meeting in March, 1945; and it is desired to ascertain the general opinion on this question of principle first. Meaning while steps can be taken to collect detailed views as to the nature of the powers to be taken, and it is desirable that this material should be assembled for consideration, in say, three months time.

(Signed) J.G. Smith

for Ag. Chief Sect. to the Govt.

No. 20090/19
Enugu, 4th September, 1944.

Confidential:

Copy To:
Resident, Cameroons
" Calabar
" Onitshia
" Owerri
" Ogoja

For favour of your view, A copy of the Memorandum referred to above is attached.

(Sign)
Sec.
Eastern Provinces.

APPENDIX II

2941E/1/9

The Secretary,
Eastern Provinces,
Enugu

25th October, 1944.

LEGISLATION FOR LAND USE CONTROL:

With reference to your endorsement No. 20090/IA of 4th of September 1944, I have received the views of only a few Divisional Officers on the memorandum. They appear to find difficulty in appreciating exactly what would be involved by the proposed legislation but they fear that any curtailment of the full rights over land by the land owners would almost certainly be unpopular. I too do not fully understand what is envisaged but I agree that Government must have the power to exercise some control over land which is to be developed at Government expense. Without that the benefit of development schemes is likely to be materially reduced.

2. I can see no objection to statutory provision for land use control to be included in a single ordinance.

(Sgd) H.P. James
Senior Resident,
Calabar Province.

APPENDIX III

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 20090/42
Secretary's Office,
Eastern Provinces,
ENUGU.

12 November, 1944.

The Honourable,
The Chief Sect. to the Govt.,
Lagos.

Legislation for Land Use Control.

3. In Chapter XII of his book "A African Survey" Lord Hailey wrote:

"There is no matter in which colonial policy expresses itself so conspicuously as in the use which administration make of their powers in regard to land, and certainly there is no question which has influenced more critically the attitude of African towards the governing powers. On the manner in which this is conducted, Lord Durhan said, "all else depends".

Hitherto the land policy pursued by the Nigerian Government in the Southern Provinces has been to leave to the African the full title in and use of his own land, although the Public Lands Acquisition Ordinance empowers Government to acquire land needed for Public purposes upon the payment of compensation. In this connection Lord Hailey wrote:-

"The full recognition given to native rights in Southern Nigeria formed an issue of some importance in the discussions which originated during the war regarding the development of colonial resources. The attempts made by the Leverhulme and other interests to secure a freehold area for oil-palm plantations attracted some attention between 1920 and 1926, and the discussions on the subject in England found their echo in the expression by natives of the Southern Provinces of fears lest the Government should adopt what was termed the `Kenya System'. As long ago as 1911 alarm had been shown at the appointment of a committee to inquire into land rights in West Africa. Mr. W. Ormsby Gore, afterwards Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his report on a visit to West Africa in 1926 expressed himself as opposed to any system of compulsory acquisition, the use of compulsory labour, or the grant of buying monopolies, but he felt that the protectorate would have much to gain from the introduction of scientific

palm "cultivation on a large scale; he believed that the natives could have no objection if vacant lands were given on leasehold, the African's Chief objection being to the grant of permanent rights in the land. In the attitude which government adopted it was perhaps influenced by doubt as to the value of the plantation as opposed to the peasant method of development, but in rejecting the application it maintained the point that even a lease could not be obtained without invading fully acknowledged native rights. Since then, however, the United Africa Company (UAC) has obtained long leases for some 12,400 acres for rubber and oil-palm plantations, and certain timber concessions have since been given, but they are mainly in the form of leases of land reserved under the Forest Act, or Secured by agreement with native authorities".

APPENDIX IV

The Use of Local Materials*

"..... it has been made abundantly clear that the increase import duties made on certain classes of articles, including imported food stuffs, at the last session of the Leg Co. was intended to teach some of us Africans a sharp lesson. The comptroller of customs remarked that it is amazing to see how little we Nigerians as a people make use of local products. The result now is that government by increasing the duties on certain articles which they consider to be luxurious or which they believe can easily be substituted by local materials will make us pay for our greediness of fastidiousness.

While some of us will not agree that corrugated iron sheets which are used as roofing material in the erection of our more substantial buildings can be replaced by any known local material which is much better for the purpose, it is unquestionably true that in some other times such as the use of available African food - stuffs, our cynicism calls forth not only additional taxation but stern admonition.

Many of us educated Africans have through our contact with other people allowed ourselves to be misled in the matter of our mode of living and our tastes. We have been labouring under the delusion that to be respectable one must do exactly what the white man does, cultivate his tastes, eat what he eats, dress like him at all times, and so forth. Some Africans are only Africans in colour of their skin, but in everything else - name, language, food, habits, they are Europeans. Some of us have mistakenly regarded them as the perfect example of what educated and cultured Africans should be and mistaken the wholesale adoption of European modes of living as a sign of respectability. This is entirely wrong, for one cannot judge the respectability of an African by a purely European standard. It must be admitted of course, that the circumstances of the birth and upbringing of certain Africans (and there are very few of this class) make them naturally accustomed to European standards and modes of living. But it is ridiculous for other Africans who have a real native African background to attempt to be black Europeans like these others.

Somebody asked me the other day why some Africans are, as it were ashamed of African food and like to give their friends the impression that they live entirely on European food. Some of these men he said are people whose relatives hawk African foodstuffs in the streets or sell them in the open markets and who themselves were brought up on African

food. My only answer is that such people must be among the type afflicted by that terrible disease - false idea of respectability.

One invariably meets with young Africans with incomes which are by no means over-generous boastfully talking of the high bills they pay for their cold storage and their tinned provisions. They must toe the conventional line of Europeans and adopt their menus without earning their incomes.

Our paternal government now steps in to make us re-adjust our ideas of respectability by making us pay dearly for these imported foodstuffs and other things. I am sure most of us now bitterly regret that we did cultivate certain European habits. I certainly do: There is yet some hope, however, for those who can exercise the degree of self-discipline that present circumstance demand. Generations of persistent aping of the white man's way of living has neither raised us in the estimation of the white man himself nor contributed to our peace of mind nor economic health.

The war has come as a blessing in disguise to remind us that we are after all black Africans. And the question that civilized Africans of the future will have to decide for themselves is whether to be Africans in a truly African atmosphere, or to be that other exotic species, namely, pseudo-Europeans with an African epidermis ....."

* Nigerian Eastern Mail, September 24th, 1940.

APPENDIX V

The Colonial Era and Education[1]

Introduction

The first western - type[2] primary school in what is now Nigeria was established in Badagry - a small town roughly sixty kilometres west of Lagos by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in 1842. Like Lagos, Badagry is situated along the creeks by the Atlantic coast and, therefore, readily accessible to European traders and missionaries who came by sea.

Other missionary bodies soon followed the example of the methodists so that by 1860 the Church Missionary Society (Anglican), the Church of Scotland Mission, the African Mission of South Baptist Convention (American), and the Roman Catholic Mission had established primary schools in or near Lagos except for the Church of Scotland Mission which begin its evangelical educational activities in Calabar; the present capital of Cross River State, also readily accessible by sea.

These Missionary Bodies established schools with the intention of enabling converts to read and write and consequently utilizing their services in facilitating their evangelical work. The Missionary Societies did not limit their activities to the coastal centres, but soon spread them inland. The competition to win converts was keen but the resources available were limited, and certainly inadequate to provide teachers and interpreters in all the areas which schools had been opened. Some of their products were employed in commercial firms while others secured work with the colonial government.

They were, irrespective of their employment, all "White Collar" workers - not in manual work. A white collar job thus came to be associated with western type education and ability to communicate with the "European". A new elite group had been born. Even though these missionary schools were modelled after the English "Charity and Hedge Schools", whose main purpose was to enable the peasants accept their lowly station in society, it is ironical that the mission schools in Nigeria led their products to expect leadership positions in church and state.

---

1. **Education in Nigeria: By External Publicity Division, Federal Department of Information; Federal Ministry of Information and Culture - Lagos.**
2. Formal Koranic schools had been in existence for a long time in the predominantly moslem areas in the northern parts of what is now Nigeria.

APPENDIX VI

THE QUESTIONS

The aim of the questions asked during the field work was to gather information of a general nature and specifically, information on the economic organisation of the household as a unit. The questions were arranged in the following categories:

1. Household Members or number of all the persons in the household including the respondent. This was grouped into adult male and female and children under 16 years.
2. Marital status, i.e. whether at the time of interview the respondent was single, married, widowed or divorced.
3. Ethnic group, age, place of birth and length of residence in Calabar.
4. Literacy and Educational qualification
5. Religion
6. Household composition - sex of household members and their relationship to the household head
7. The children of the household head - whether they all live in the household and if not, where they lived, with whom and why?
8. Choice of mate, marriage payment, bride gift and form of marriage.
   (i) whether respondent choose mate on his own or without the consent of his family or whether the spouse was chosen by members of the respondent's family or by friends.
   (ii) the amount of bride price paid, whether in cash or otherwise and if paid by instalments or in lump sum.
   (iii) what the bride was given by members of her family on marriage, and
   (iv) what form the marriage took - customary, Christian, civil or a combination of any of the three.
9. Occupation and income of household head:
   (i) if the household head was unemployed, how the household met its expenditure
   (ii) expenditure of household head - food and rent
   (iii) wife's economic contribution to the household
   (iv) husband's investment in the economic activity of the wife, and
   (v) expenditure of husband with regard to wife's economic contribution to the household expenditure or economic viability of the household.
10. Number of rooms occupied by respondent and his household members, tenancy, i.e. whether the respondent was the owner of the house or not.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. ABASIATTAI, M.B (1990) A History of the Cross River Region of Nigeria, University of Calabar Press

2. AJATO, Amos (1970) "Nigerian States: Focus on the South Eastern State of Nigeria. Vol. 1, No. 1, pp 32.

3. AKAK, Chief (Dr) E.O. (1981) Efiks of Old Calabar: Origin and History; Vol. 1. Barose Press, No. 20 Goldie Street, Calabar.

4. ..... (1982) Efiks of Old Calabar: Language, Origin and Grammar; Vol. II, Osko & Sons Printers, 22 Egerton Street, Calabar.

5. ..... (1982) Efiks of Old Calabar: Culture and Superstitions; Vol. III, Akak & Sons, 6 Aba Street, Calabar.

6. ..... (1983) Efiks of Old Calabar: Earliest Settlers (from 14th Century) and Their Claims Over Calabar; Vol.IV, Akak & Sons, 6 Aba Street, Calabar.

7. ..... (1986) The Palestine Origin of the Efiks, Akak and Sons. 21 Ekpo Abasi Lane, Calabar, C.R.S.

8. AKINSEMOYIN & VANGHAN-RICHARDS, Alan (1976) Building Lagos; F & A Services, Lagos, Nigeria.

9. AKPAN, N.U. (1967) The Wooden Gong, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd. London.

10. ALLEN, R.E. (1984) ed. The Oxford Dictionary of Current English. Oxford University Press

11. AMAKU, E.N. (1979) Edikot Nwed Mbuk I; Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., London.

12. AYE, E.U. (1967) Old Calabar Through the Centuries, Hope Waddell Press, Calabar.

13. BALSDON, J.P.V.D (1979) Romans and Aliens, Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd. London, NW1.

14. COPPLESTINE, T. (1976) ed. World Architecture; Hamlyn, London.

15. DENYER, Susan (1978)African Traditional Architecture: An Historical & Geographical Perspective; Heineman.

16. DMOCHOWSKI, Z.R. (1990) An Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture Vol. One : Nrothern Niegia. Ethnographica Ltd. in Association with The National Commission for Museum and Monuments.

17. ..... (1990) An Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture Vol. Two: South-Western and Central Nigeria.

18. ..... (1990) An Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture Vol. Three: South-Eastern Nigeria: TheIgboSpeaking Areas. Ethnongraphica Ltd. in Association with The National Commission for Museum and Monuments.

19. EARL, Babbie (1986) The Practice of Social Research, Fourth Edition, Wadsworth Publishing Co. Belmont, California, USA.

20. EGENTER, Nold (1992) Architectural Anthropology, Presses Centrales Lausanne SA, Switzerland.

21. EKPIKEN, A.N. (1970) A Bibliography of the Efik - Ibibio - Speaking Peoples of Nigeria. 1668 -1964. Ibadan University Press.

22. ESMOND, B.M. (1973) The History of MALINDI: A Geographical Analysis of an East African Coastal Town from the Portuguse Period to the Present. East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi - Kenya.

23. FORDE, Daryll (1968) ed. Efik Traders of Old Calabar; International African Institute, London.

24. FREELAND J.M. (1967) Architecture in Australia: A History; Chesire Pub. Printing Ltd.

25. GRILLO, Paul Jacques (1960) Form, Function and Design, Dover Publications Inc. New York.

26. KINGSLEY, Mary (1954) "Old calabar, Nigeria on the 1890's" Colonial Building Notes; No. 22, June 1954.

27. LATHAM, A.J. (1973) Old Calabar 1600 - 1891: The Impact of the International Economy upon a Traditional Society;Claredon Press, Oxford.

28. NAIR, K.K. (1972) Politics and Society in South Eastern Nigeria 1841 - 1906; Frank Cass & Co. London.

29. NAIR, K.K. (1975) "The Origins and Development of Efik Settlements in South Eastern Nigeria", Papers in International Studies, Africa Series, No. 26, Center for International Studies, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio - USA.

30. NDAGI, J.O. (1984) The Essentials of Research Methodology For Nigerian Educators, University Press Limited.

31. NELSON, G. (1957) Problems of Design, Wason - Guptill Publications, New York.

32. NNIMMO, Bassey (1979) "Colonial Architecture: The Case of Calabar, Nigeria: New Culture, Vol. I, No. 10, Ibadan.

33. ..... (1986) "The Architecture of Old Calabar", Seminar Paper presented at an International Seminar on the Story of Calabar, July 28th - August 1st, 1986.

34. NOAH, M.E. (1980) Old Calabar: The City States and The Europeans 1800 - 1885; Scholars Press (Nig.) Ltd.

35. OKONJO, U. (1970) The Impact of Urbanization on the Ibo Family Structure, Gerhard Munch Offsetdruk, Gottingen, Germany.

36. OAKLEY, David (1970) The Phenomenon of Architecture in Cultures in Change; Pergammon Press, Oxford.

37. O'CONNOR, M. and WOODFORD, F.P. (1978) Writing Scientific Papers in English: Pitman Medical, London.

38. ODUMODU, R.C. & CHUKWUALI, C.B. (1986) "Courtyard Concept In Igbo Traditional Architecture", in NIA Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2. April - June, 1986.

39. ORTEGA, Alvaro (1989) Pre-Architecture of Well Being

40. OSUALA, E.C. (1991) Introduction to Research Methodology, Africana-FEP Publishers Limited.

41. PALMES, J.C. (1975) Sir Banister Fletcher's A History of Architecture, Eighteenth Edition, The Athlone Press, University of London, London.

42. PAUL, Oliver (1971) ed. Shelter in Africa, Barrie and Jenkins, London

43. PEREZ-GOMEZ, A. (1988) Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science, The MIT Press, Massachusetts.

44. PEVSNER, N. (1974) An Outline of European Architecture; Penguin Books Inc. Baltimore, Maryland.

45. SAAD, H.T. (1989) "Continuity and Change in Kano Traditional Architecture". Barkindo, B.M ed. Kano and Some of Her Neighbors, ABU Press, Zaria.

46. SADA, P.O. and OGUNTOYINBO, J.S. (1981) eds. Urbanization Process and Problems in Nigeria, Ibadan University Press.

47. SCHOENAUER, N. (1981) 6,000 Years of Housing: The Pre-Urban House; Vol. 1, Garland STPM Press, New York & London.

48. ..... (1981) 6,00 Years of Housing: The Oriental Urban House, Vol. 2, Gardland Press, New York

49. ..... (1981) 6,000 Years of Housing: The Occidental Urban House, Vol. 3, Gardland Press, New York.

50. SCHWERDTFEGER, F.W. (1982) Traditional Housing in African Cities: A Comparative Study of Houses in Zaria, Ibadan and Marrakech. John Wiley and Sons, New York.

51. ..... (1971) "Housing In Zaria", in PAUL, Oliver (1971) Shelter in Africa, Barrie and Jenkins, London.

52. ..... (1972) "Urban Settlement Patterns in Northern Nigeria (Hausa Land)" in Human Settlement and Urbanism. Peter J. Ucko (ed).

53. STEWARD, H.J. (1967) Contemporary Changes in Traditional Societies; Vol. I, University of Illinois Press, Illinois, USA.

54. SULE, R.A. (1982) Urban Planning and Housing in Nigeria: Problems and Strategies, Vantage Press, New York, USA.

55. TESCO- Kozti (1973) Survey and Development Plan for Calabar; Nigeria.

56. The Story of Old Calabar: A Guide to The National Museum at the Old Residency, Calabar. A Publication of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments, Calabar.

57. TOBI, Niki (1987) Nigeria Land Law, ABU Press, Zaria.

58. UYA, O.E (1986) "Old Calabar Studies: An Overview" Seminar Paper on "The Story of Old Calabar" by the National Commission for Museum and Monuments, July 1986.

59. WADDEL, Hope M. (1970) Thirty Years in the West Indies and Central Africa; Frank Cass, London, pp. 243.

60. WITOLD, Rybczynski (1989) The Most Beautiful House in the World, Penguin Group, New Yrok, USA.