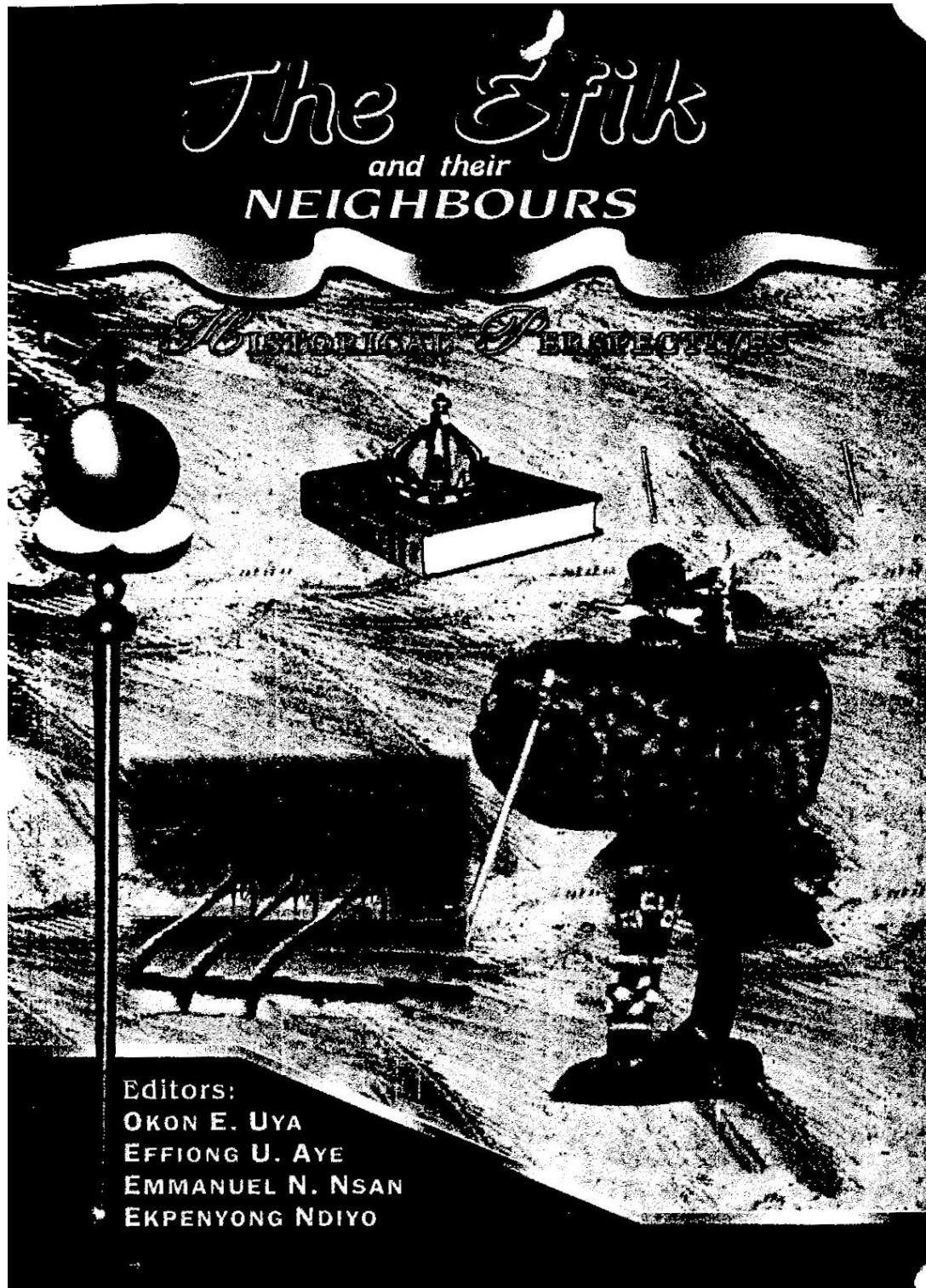


# *The Efik* and their **NEIGHBOURS**

*HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES*



Editors:  
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## **THE EFIK AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS** **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

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## *Chapter Nine*

### **THE HAUSA COMMUNITY IN CALABAR**

By

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#### **Introduction:**

**T**he Hausa community in Calabar constitute about two percent of the total population. Although they are of minority status whose history have suffered neglect, the socio-economic and religious impact of the Hausa on their host community cannot go unnoticed. Like all other migrant groups in Calabar, therefore, the history of the Hausa community in Calabar needs to be accorded a special place in Calabar historiography.

#### **Migration and Settlement**

Although the exact date of Hausa migration to Calabar is uncertain, from archival records (letters), it may be justified to assert that the Hausa arrived Calabar during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In a letter jointly signed by Sarki Bakare, Pashe Marka, and Abubakar Bagobiri, on behalf of the Hausa community, to the Resident of Calabar – the Hon. H. Bedwell, they demanded for a site to build Quarters in 1917.

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They noted that an earlier request was made “about four years ago” but “unfortunately for us the war broke out” (Calprof 5/7/632, NA/E) Similarly, in another letter written in 1944, this time a petition by Sarki Abubakar Bagobiri, one of the earliest settlers, he claimed to have been in Calabar for “past thirty nine years” (Calprof 17/1/532, NA/E). This traces his date of arrival to 1905 or earlier. These accounts make it difficult to ascertain their specific year of arrival, and it is even more complex when one realises that some Hausa veterans of the First World War of 1914 “did not return home but settled as traders and farmers in the coastal towns”, (M. Adamu: 1978; 168) Calabar being one of these towns. With reference to the First World War, Osuntokun points out that “by the end of 1913, the armed forces of both Northern and Southern Nigeria were merged into one single brigade of five battalions known as the Nigerian Regiment” (A. Osuntokun: 1969; 169). These battalions with headquarters at Kaduna, Lagos, Kano, Lokoja and Calabar, each had between three and eight companies attached to them. Calabar which was the third battalion and our subject of interest consisted of eight companies, two at Calabar, and one each at Ukpo, Owerri, Obudu, Ogoja, Okigwe, and Abinsi – Katsina-Ala (A. Osuntokun: 1969; 170). From available sources, therefore, the Hausa who formed part of the third battalion in Calabar were quartered along the present Barracks road. When they were disbanded after the war, some settled in Calabar. Between 1935 – 36, statistics recorded the number of adult males in the Bagobiri Hausa Quarters as one hundred and seventy-six (Calprof 3/1/1834, NA/E). Although

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this figure may have been underestimated especially as Hausa women were not included, based on this and other sources, it could be argued that the Hausa made their presence felt during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The earliest Hausa migrants arrived Calabar in a small group and as long distance traders. Among them were Abubakar Bagobiri, Mohammed Nakura, Shehu Pinky, Dan Saidu, Sarki Bakare and Mai Aku (W. E. Adam: 1992; 28). Basically cattle merchants, these men arrived Calabar on foot with their aides through the Ogoja – Ikom – Calabar route. This route linked Calabar to Northern Nigeria. Afigbo confirms the existence of trade routes linking the South to the North as early as the 1750's. One of these was the land route from Ibi (on the Benue) through Wukari to Iyalla (in Ogoja), through Ikom and other towns down to Calabar (A. Afigbo: 1987; 41). It is imperative to also note that large Hausa settlements existed around the Benue valley, and therefore some migrants may have come straight from that area. It was after the "discovery" of Calabar by the Hausa that cattle and other savannah products found their way into Calabar.

The Hausa were not coming into an economically isolated area, so to say. On arrival, they met the indigenous local population consisting of the Efik, Qua and Efut. These groups who were already settled in Calabar were divided into several settlements. The Efik, primarily fishermen and *cultivators, occupy the Calabar river bank and are divided into several settlements which they refer to as "towns" and exist in close proximity. These are Duke Town, otherwise known as*

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Atakpa; Old Town or Obutong; Henshaw Town or Nsidung; Eyamba Town; Archibong Town; Cobham town; and Creek Town, the earliest Efik settlement about twelve miles away from others. West of Calabar is also occupied by the Efik where many Houses own plantations in Akpabuyo, an Efik farm settlement (E. U. Aye: 1967; 14). They cultivate kola nut, rubber, palm oil, fruits and various species of yams on their plantations. The Qua who live in the upland areas of Big Qua and Akim Qua Towns and speak the Ejagham language are skilled hunters and cultivators (E. E. Itakpo: 1988; 77). The Efut, on the other hand, inhabit the Southern Calabar areas of Efut Ibonda, Efut Abua, Efut Ekondo, Idundu, Nkpara and Ifako (K. K. Nair: 1972; 3). Presently, these three indigenous groups inhabit the two local government areas located in Calabar, namely Calabar Municipal Local Government Area, and Calabar South Local Government Area. The Hausa also met other African and non-African migrants like the Yoruba, Igbo, Ibibio, Lebanese, Sierra-Leonians, Ghanaians, Indians and Syrians.

The earliest Hausa migrants lived with the Yoruba in rented apartments that were located on Calabar Road. Oral interviews among the Hausa, Yoruba and indigenous groups confirm that Alfa Kassimu was one of the earliest Yoruba settlers who preceded Sarki Bakare, Abubakar Bogobiri and other Hausa migrants. The Yoruba who were largely Muslims jointly erected the Calabar Road mosque with their Hausa neighbours in 1918. A year before the erection of the Calabar Road mosque, the Hausa had decided to relocate and demanded for permanent

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residential quarters from the colonial authorities. Part of the letter read: "the necessity for our having our own quarters is more felt than ever and the government will give us site, as it does in every important town in Nigeria where there is a large Hausa population" (Calprof 5/7/632, NA/E). The Hon. H. Bedwell promised "the matter will receive attention as soon as the District Officer returns to the Headquarters" (Calprof 5/7/632, NA/E).

Two reasons made it mandatory for the Hausa to relocate from Calabar Road. The first is attributed to sectarian differences in Islamic religion which led to a dispute between the two communities. While majority of the early Hausa group belonged to the Tijanniyya and Quadriyya sects, the Yoruba were largely Ahmadiyya Muslims. These did not deter the Hausa, however, from contributing to the erection of the Calabar Road mosque in 1918. Roselind Hackett notes thusly:

The first mosque was built in 1918 on Calabar Road, but its role as the Central Mosque for the entire Muslim community gradually declined as the result of a dispute between the Yoruba and Hausa communities; the Hausa people eventually broke away to build the Bagobiri mosque in what has become the Hausa sector of the town. The former central mosque was later acquired by the Ahmadiyya movement. (R. Hackett: 1988; 96).

Secondly, the Hausa in Calabar preferred to live

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exclusively from other groups as they did in other Nigerian towns to which they migrated. J. Rouch, in his study of the Hausa community in Ghana, had observed that some groups were organised in segmental, ephemeral "tribal" associations, while others like the Hausa, organised autonomous, multipurpose, "tribal communities" (A. Cohen: 1976; 14). John Works Jr. has identified religion, commerce and culture as responsible for this kind of organisation. He maintains, "over the years, the Hausa language, commercial exchange, hierarchical political organisation in several traditional states, and increased allegiance to Islam have knit the area together" (J. Works Jr: 1976; 1). In addition, Toyin Falola's study on migrant settlers in Ife confirmed the exclusive nature and autonomous habitation of migrant Hausa settlers (T. Falola: 1985; 33). These views have explained why migrant Hausa prefer to congregate in autonomous communities wherever they went.

Nonetheless, by the third decade of the twentieth century, the Hausa were relocated to Bagobiri Quarters – their present settlement. Oral tradition from the Quarters reveals that one of the earliest Hausa migrant, Abubakar Bagobiri, rented the whole expanse of land known as Bagobiri from Duke House, after due consultation and permission from the Resident and the District officer (Lawal/int/1992). Abubakar Bagobiri singularly paid a yearly token as rents for obtaining the area, and distributed the plots of land among Hausa migrants (Lawal/int/1992). It could therefore be justified to assert that the Hausa quarters in Calabar which should have been known as Sabon

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Gari, meaning New Town, like most Hausa settlements outside Hausa land, was called Bagobiri because of the latter's magnanimous gesture.

Since the 1990's, the expansion of the Hausa community in Calabar has known no bounds. They have spread beyond the Bagobiri area to the present Mary Slessor and Goldie streets. Their expansion in commerce and religion, also, cannot be overemphasised. Mention must also be made of their socio-political structure, which has organised them into a closely-knit community, as examined below.

#### **Socio-Political Structure of the Hausa Community**

In distant lands, there is always the tendency for migrant communities to elect leaders whose duties include maintaining order and peace, arbitrating in cases within the community, ensuring the welfare of the community, and representing the interest of their people. This phenomenon is also common among the Hausa community in Calabar.

The Hausa community in Calabar has a headman or Chief of the community (Sarki Hausawa) who has been recognised by the colonial government during the era of British administration, and the state government after Nigerian independence in 1960. Oral information in the Hausa Quarters at Bagobiri maintains that the community has since its inception produced two Sarki, Sarki Abubakar Bagobiri and Sarki Lawal. This assertion will only be considered as long as their initial sojourn on Calabar Road is not included. This is because archival sources at our disposal reveal that when the Hausa

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agitated for land in 1917, they did so under the leadership of Sarki Bakare who happened to be the first signatory to the letter (Calprof 5/7/632,NA/E). Abubakar Bagobiri was not yet a Sarki, as the document reveals. The relegation of Bakare to the background may have been because of a brief reign, but, more to that, "the agitation for land" panel headed by him did not yield results immediately or during his era. On the other hand, Abubakar Bagobiri's magnanimous gesture and achievements which included the acquiring and distribution of land freely to his kinsmen overshadowed the memories of Bakare's reign. This is a classic example of telescoping in oral evidences.

Nonetheless, Abubakar Bagobiri was the reigning Chief from the 1930's, as revealed from the series of correspondence between himself as the Chief of the community and the colonial administrators (Calprof 17/1/532,NA/E). In the sixties, he resigned due to ill health and old age, and later died (W. E. Adam: 1992; 39). His son-in-law succeeded him as the Sarki, and is known as Sarki Lawal. Sarki Lawal is the incumbent head of the community and is presently over eighty years. It is imperative to mention that the post of the Sarki is not a hereditary one, neither is one's place of origin significant for him to be eligible for the seat. Once a man is a member of the community, speaks Hausa, is a Muslim, and claims to be Hausa, he is qualified to contest (W. E. Adam: 1992; 40). There are indications, anyway, that Sarki Bagobiri tipped his son-in-law, who is an indigene of Potiskum, to be his successor. Aside from maintaining law, order and peace, and generally

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representing the interests of the community, the Sarki is a major participant in the long distance trade. Archival materials reveal that Sarki Abubakar Bagobiri was a major participant in the cattle trade between Northern and Southern Nigeria with particular reference to Calabar (Calprof 17/1/532, NA/E). They further reflect that he was a major exporter of cattle to Fernando-Po: in 1947, he was granted a permit to export thirty cows; in 1954, ten cows; and in 1955, four cows (Calprof 17/1/1416, NA/E).

The Sarki also acts as a landlord to cattle and kolanut traders, and other incoming or visiting Hausa men. Guests, particularly traders from Northern Nigeria, coming to transact business, always seek the Sarki's opinion and advice which is taken with all seriousness. His words or right testimonies given are "sufficient for the strangers to entrust a man with their businesses" because he is "an indispensable reference for the honesty and credit worthiness of a man" (A. Cohen: 1969; 37) within the community.

In some cases, the Sarki could double as the Chief of the cattle market, otherwise known as the Sarki Zango. This obtained in Ibadan, where the Sarki has held these titles since 1930 (A. Cohen: 1965; 12). In the case of Calabar, he only functioned as the chief and did not hold the title of Sarki Zango. (W. E. Adam: 1992; 41). The Sarki was responsible for collecting taxes from his subjects, which were paid to the colonial administration. (W. E. Adam: 1992; 41). This process took another turn after independence because members of the community began to pay their taxes individually and directly

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through the government officials to the state.

The Sarki also performed the duty of intimating the administrators of problems that could not be solved within or outside the community and in which it (the community) was involved. Archival documents reveal that a great deal of correspondence went on between Sarki Abubakar Bagobiri and the Residents and District officers in Calabar between 1934 and 1955. Some of it even went beyond Calabar to the desk of the Governor General.

The Sarki was assisted by the Magajin Gari or the Town Adviser, and the Wazirin Sarki or the Chief's Adviser. (W. E. Adam: 1992; 42). These two positions are advisory, though it is only the Magaji who deputises for the Chief during his absence and on certain occasions. (W. E. Adam: 1992; 42). While the Magaji's role tilted towards administration, the Waziri was actually the Sarki's legal adviser who was supposed to supervise all legal affairs and advise the Sarki's court. The present occupants of these positions are Alhaji Garba (Magaji) and Alh Yau Ishaq (Waziri). They are both Kano indigenes.

For an effective organisation of the cattle trade, the Sarki is assisted by an overseer (Wakili) for the Bacoco Quarters where cattle are kept and slaughtered. The Bacoco Quarters which is of recent establishment and located at Eight Miles, was commissioned for the purpose of the cattle trade. Prior to this, the Nassarawa Quarters, formerly located at the present Export Processing Zone (EPZ), was used for this purpose. Nassarawa was established in the early 1970's with Alhaji Baba

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**Gombe** as the Wakili. The relocation of this Hausa cattle market to **Bacoco** was still under the leadership of the same man who **died** only about a year ago. His son, Alhaji Sani Baba Gombe, **has** since succeeded him.

The Sarkin Zango and Sarkin Pawa are other positions established for the proper organisation of the cattle trade. The **former** is the Chief of the cattle market who oversees and **arbitrates** in disputes within the market. The latter is the Head **Butcher** who grants permission to butchers to slaughter cows. **These** two positions are presently held by Alhaji Garba Kano (Sarki Zango) and Mallam Abidi (Sarkin Pawa).

Just as the Sarki is the political head of the community, **the** Imam is the religious leader. When the Bagobiri Quarters consisted of only one mosque, one Imam presided over the religious activities of the Hausa people. The only mosque in Bagobiri was located at the front of the Sarki's house, and all members of the community who were largely made up of the Tijanniyya sect worshipped there. In 1996, sectarianism reared its head in the Bagobiri Quarters, thereby threatening the cordial co-existence of the community. That year witnessed the defection of the Izala sect from the Tijanniyya. The former erected a larger mosque on the right flank of the road as one enters the Mary Slessor Avenue from the Calabar Road. Hence, instead of one Imam for the community, two Imams exist in *pari-passu* with two deputies each. The Chief Imam of the Tijanniyya is Alhaji Garba Dandali, an indigene of Kano. Mallam Danladi Adamu and Alhaji Sale Abakaleke assist him

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in order of importance. Similarly, the Izala sect has Mallam Bashiru Salihu Abuga as its Chief Imam. Mallam Ali Dumna and Mallam Awalu Ibrahim Bebeji are his two deputies respectively. It is important to add that Hausa Muslims who may wish to avoid this sectarian worship do so at the Army Barracks mosque where no sect dominates. The Barracks mosque also attracts non-Hausa Muslims to its fold because prayers are translated in English Language for the benefit of those that do not understand Arabic/Hausa Language (A. Adam/int/2005). This mosque has Captain Aliyu Mohammed as its Imam. Another mosque located at the University of Calabar for Hausa Muslim students also attracts Muslims that live around the University axis. R. Hackett aptly stated that, "the number of Muslim students at the University of Calabar is almost negligible, but has grown sufficiently in recent years to generate a small Muslim community and the building of a small mosque" (R. Hackett: 1988; 141). The Imam performs religious functions as expected. His duties include leading the Muslim community during prayers and presiding over ceremonies with religious significance. These include marriages, naming ceremonies, burials and festivals. (W. E. Adam: 1992; 45). He is also in charge of Islamic education with other Mallams or Quaranic Teachers, as his deputies, amongst other functions.

Mallams or Quaranic Teachers are in direct contact with the children of the community. Their duty includes studying and interpreting the Sharia, or Islamic law (which according to J. N. Paden, requires specialist training in Jurisprudence), (J.



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N. Paden: 1973; 6), and acting as unofficial arbitrators of family law conflicts. They also lead the children into the knowledge of Islamic or Quaranic affairs by teaching them in Quaranic schools. They advise the Sarki and other businessmen/important people who come to them for such purposes and survive by the grace of their wealthy patrons (J. Works Jr: 1976; 155). Some Mallams are experts in interpreting dreams, casting horoscopes, advising on journeys, and making charms for the success of the sellers (J. Works Jr: 1976; 154). Nonetheless, the Bagobiri Quarters contain a great number of Quranic Teachers or Mallams who have practiced their art for several years and have aided in keeping the community together.

Below these titleholders, the Hausa community in Calabar is made up of several meat sellers (Maisu suya), peddlers, manicurists and pedicurists, hawkers, tailors, petty traders, cobblers, and even jesters, which make the community near self-sufficient. Many Hausa have also engaged themselves in the automobile and forex trade. Mahdi Adamu pointed out that the activities of these Hausa migrants are not controlled by any of the governments in Hausa land, rather; in whatever they do in their new homes, they are answerable only to the Chiefs of the localities in which they settle, through the spokesman of their own choice (the Sarki) (M. Adamu: 1978; 14 – 15).

Be that as it may, the socio-political structure of the Hausa community in Calabar has created a harmonious relationship within the quarters, which is partly responsible for their closely-knit organisation. With a set of rules guiding

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them, and the existence and contributions of various titled holders and commoners alike, the Hausa community in Calabar is best described in the words that Toyin Falola chooses for the Hausa community in Ile-Ife: “it is a state within a state”.

### **The Socio-economic and Religious Impact of the Hausa Community**

Through their socio-economic and religious activities, the Hausa community has made a strong impact on the city of Calabar. Given that they and their host society had variety of trade articles at their disposal, it became necessary that economic exchange and relations between the two groups would emerge. The Bagobiri Quarters developed into a mini market where these trade transactions occurred. The Hausa parted with meat, onions, vegetables, grains, and other products from Northern Nigeria which were offloaded almost daily by lorries that terminated there. From the Calabar people, they obtained salt, fish, crayfish palm oil, palm kernel and kola nut. Products like meat, palm oil and palm kernel were very lucrative to the extent that Hausa and Efik names were associated with them, especially between the 1960's and 1980's. By way of example, men like Baba Gajere, Baba Sule, Yaro Mahauci and Hassan Mahauci were known cattle dealers. Similarly, Garba Mai Aku, Inuwa Dan Saidu and Alhaji Tsalha were synonymous with the kola nut trade (W. E. Akoda: 1999; 11). These men traded their goods with Efik men who were involved in similar businesses. They included Alhaji Suleiman Offiong, Mahmud Eyo and another Efik man popularly called Papa Umo (W. E.

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Akoda: 1999; 11). Their commercial enterprise took them inland as far as the Akpabuyo villages where palm-fruit and kola nuts were obtained. These items were usually acquired in large quantities and transported to Northern Nigeria. It is worth noting that through this economic exchange, the Hausa have not only aided in sustaining both internal and external trade, but have maintained a cordial social relationship with their host community. This has by extension led to inter-ethnic marriages between the two groups.

The cordial social relationship between the Hausa and the indigenous Calabar populace has been maintained through inter-ethnic marriages. Respondents in the Bagobiri Hausa Quarters acknowledge that there has been an increasing number of inter group marriages between Hausa men and Efik women. Although most of these marriages have been successful, the new converts (women), have through them, been “detrribalized” through the adoption of Islamic names – these new names being synonymous not only with Islam but with the Hausa culture. Perhaps the most important consequence of this conversion is that, the cultural miscegenation resulting from it has given rise to a new group of people within the community – a hybrid of the Hausa/Fulani and the Efik. (W. E. Akoda: 1999; 12).

Through social contact, the Hausa introduced their cultural heritage and lifestyle to the indigenous people, and vice versa. The importance of this lies in the fact that, for some indigenous Calabar people, whose knowledge of the Hausa was limited, the latter presence in the town provided an

avenue for close contact with the Hausa language, culture, attitude to life, beliefs and commercial acumen. Through this contact also, the Hausa are exposed to the culture, traditions and language of the Calabar people. This has no doubt, fostered good inter-ethnic relationship between them. Infact, the Sarki's son, Alhaji Jafaru Lawal understands and speaks the Efik language fluently and can pass for an Efik.

Aside business relations and inter-ethnic marriages, mutual relations between the migrant Hausa and the indigenous population were also expressed through the participation and exchange of gifts during chieftaincies, marriages and festivals like Christmas and Sallah celebrations. For instance, over the years, the coronation ceremony of a new monarch, Obong of Calabar, has often recorded the presence of the Sarki and his cohorts at the occasion. This trend has been observed to this day. In 1950, the Hausa community in Calabar, led by Sarki Bagobiri, attended the church and traditional coronation ceremonies of Obong Ededem Archibong V. Similarly, the incumbent Hausa Chief, Sarki Lawal claims to have participated in the coronation ceremonies of all the Efik monarchs since he assumed headship of the Hausa community in the 1960's (Lawal/int/1992) to date. The Hausa community was also well represented in the coronation festivities of Edidem (Prof.) Nta Elijah Henshaw VI when he ascended the Efik throne in December 2001. The cordial relationship the Sarki enjoys with the Calabar people, especially the Efik, cannot be overemphasised. During Sarki Lawal's early years of reign in the sixties of the last century, the Efik honoured him with a

chieftaincy title. This has to a great extent strengthened the relationship between the two groups.

In the religious sphere, the Hausa, being proselytisers of Islam contributed to the spread of the Islamic faith in Calabar largely through economic contacts (trade). This is hardly surprising considering that it was the commonest method used in spreading Islam during the era of the Trans-Saharan trade. Intermarriages and social contacts were other means of conversion.

In spite of the above, the number of indigenous Calabar people practicing Islam is still relatively low. Two prominent Efik sons that profess the Islamic religion include Alhaji Suleiman Offiong (who died on 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1986) and Alhaji Adam E. B. Adam. The former was a business man who served as the Secretary of the Central Mosque and the Chairman of the Muslims Pilgrim Welfare Board (R. Hackett: 1988; 141) between the 1970's and 80's. The latter is currently the Chairman of the Muslims Pilgrims Welfare Board, having been appointed to that position in October, 2003.

In the face of mounting and often aggressive proselytising by evangelistic Christian group (R. Hackett: 188; 141), the Hausa community in Calabar has attempted to publicise the Islamic religion. More sophisticated means of spreading the Islamic message such as the use of electronic and print media as well as the Internet have become handy in this case. The Nigerian Television Authority (N.T.A.), Channel Nine, Calabar, features an Islamic programme, *Muslim Half Hour*, on its Friday schedule. Furthermore, articles written by

Muslims have been published in the local newspaper like the *Nigerian Chronicle*. Alhaji Suleiman Offiong contributed a great deal to these articles in his life time. They included "The Teaching of Islam", "Prayer – The Pillar of Islam", and "Zakat as the third pillar of Islam". These articles were published in the June, July and September, 1982 editions of the *Nigerian Chronicle*. Besides, associations like the Voice of Islam, Jamatu-Nasir-Islam and recently Nasril-Ilahi-il-fathi (NASFAT), are all used to propagate Islam. In addition, Muslim festivals like Eid-el- Maulud, Eid-el-Fitri and Eid-el-kabir, are celebrated annually and given much publicity in the television and radio stations.

The annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca and by extension the Islamic faith has also been given a boost with the reconstitution of the Muslim Pilgrims Welfare Board. The Board was established in 1979 via edict No. 5, and scrapped in 1999 due to financial difficulties (see correspondence letters between the Board and CRSG). In October 2003, it was reconstituted with Alhaji Adam E. B. Adam as Chairman and Alhaji Yusuf Ishang as Secretary. The aim of this Board is to organise Muslims for Hajj operations and cater for their welfare in the Holy Land.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the Islamic religion has attempted to make some headway in Calabar. The Hausa community in Calabar has, through trade, intermarriages, social contact, Islamic associations and the media, aided in the spread of Islam. It is important to note, however, that a non-Hausa Muslim, Alhaji Suleiman Offiong, made his van equipped with

public address system available for the propagation of the Islamic faith ( R. Hackett: 1988; 141) on the streets of Calabar. The history of the spread of Islam in Calabar, therefore, will be incomplete without the mention of this Efik gentleman.

### **Conclusion**

The history of the Hausa community in Calabar can be traced to the beginning of the twentieth century. They lived among their Efik, Qua and Efut neighbours and occupied the present Bagobiri Quarters from where they spread to the Goldie and Mary Slessor Streets. The Hausa are a distinct group of people and of all traits possible to single them out is their organisation with the Sarki as head. In spite of this distinct organisation which sets them apart, their socio-economic and religious impact on Calabar cannot be over-emphasised. Among these are the sustenance of internal and external trade between Calabar and Northern Nigeria; the fostering of improved inter-ethnic relations with their host community, through economic exchange, inter-ethnic marriages and social contact; and the spread of Islam. These have not only increased the volume of business in Calabar, but have enhanced the status of the latter as a developing city with a heterogeneous population.



### Notes and References

This study was first carried out in 1991 as my M.A. research in the Department of History and International studies, University of Calabar. I am greatly indebted to the following person for providing the information used in updating the research:

Alhaji Adam E. B. Adam: The Chairman of the Muslims Pilgrims Welfare Board who is also the father of this author, provided information on the Board and other aspects of Islamic religion.

Alhaji Sarki Lawal: The Sarki of Bagobiri Quarters made available to the researcher useful information on the Hausa Community in 1991 when this research was started.

Alhaji Jafu Lawal: The Sarki's son supplied information on the socio- political structure of the Hausa Community, especially with regard to its titleholders.

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