



**THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT  
(PWD) IN NIGERIA DURING THE EARLY TO MID TWENTIETH  
CENTURY**

By  
Ibiyemi Omotayo Salami

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## Abstract

My research explores the early to mid-twentieth century architecture of the Public Works Department (PWD) in Nigeria. It does this by examining official colonial records, PWD surviving buildings and architecture professional records. By adopting these three strands of investigation, the research aims to better understand the department's building operations, building types and designs, and the composition of its architectural personnel. More importantly, the research aims to demonstrate that a study of Nigeria PWD architecture significantly contributes to wider debates on tropical imperial architecture and Nigeria's colonial architecture.

There has been a host of previous literature on empire and its influences on architecture in the tropics, with a number of these studies examining the PWD in some former imperial environments. However, Nigeria's imperial architecture literature is mostly limited to the country's late colonial tropical modernist works, while the PWD remains largely un-researched. The only previous work found on Nigeria PWD architecture, is Davidson's 1957 *The architectural works of the ministry of works, Western Region, Nigeria*. This focuses on drawing approvals, the architectural staff strength, and the building output and climatic design factors employed. But this is all presented in a two page article that provides very limited insights.

Are the issues raised in Davidson's study all there is to PWD architecture in Nigeria? Other emerging questions will be - what comprehensive building operations did the department undertake? What were the building types constructed, and was climate the only design consideration? Who were the architects, why had they worked there at the time, and what was the relation to Nigeria's early architectural profession? To answer these questions and obtain the insights needed to build on Davidson's 1957 study, the research methods employed are - archival investigations, to source official colonial records; fieldwork, to track down surviving PWD buildings; and unstructured interview so as to obtain a veteran's account of working in the department.

The data obtained is analysed in the three sections of PWD building operations, PWD building output and PWD architectural personnel. The main findings which emerge therefore are that, (a) although PWD building operations were being implemented at all levels by colonial officials, the native administration level imbibed significant native operational inputs; (b) Although PWD buildings were mainly initiated to serve colonial administrative purposes, the designs largely portrayed architecture as a vital tool for improved tropical health; and (c) although PWD architects were perceived as agents of a grand imperial building scheme, in reality they had functioned more as professionals taking up practice opportunities.

On the whole, the mainstream arguments have mainly stressed the PWD's role in imperial building agenda. However, the findings of the research indicate and also further the argument that within this wider agenda, the PWD also operated in what may be termed as localized agendas. While this better addressed the practical realities of working, building and living in the colonies, it also aimed to limit certain colonizer-colonized barriers.

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Christopher Abu and Alice Modupe Salami

## **Declaration**

I, Ibiyemi Omotayo Salami, hereby declare that this thesis is an original research that was initiated, conducted and authored by me.

Signed.....

Date.....

## Abbreviations

A – Associate

ARIBA – Associate Royal Institute of British Architects

A & BN – Architecture and Building News

AJ – Architects Journal

AR – Architectural Review

CD&WA – Colonial Development and Welfare Act

CO – Colonial Office

DSA – Dictionary of Scottish Architects

DPW – Director of Public Works

EO – Empire Online

F – Fellow

FRIBA – Fellow Royal Institute of British Architects

CBN – Colonial Building Notes

L – Licentiate

LRIBA – Licentiate Royal Institute of British Architects

NAN – National Archives of Nigeria

NIA – Nigerian Institute of Architects

NP – Northern Protectorate

NPWD – Nigeria Public Works Department

OBN – Overseas Building Notes

ODI – Overseas Development Institute

PWD – Public Works Department

RE – Royal Engineer

RIBA – Royal Institute of British Architects

RIIA – Royal Institute of International Affairs

RK - RIBA Kalendar

SP – Southern protectorate

TB – The Builder

TNA – The National Archives

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*“The office undertook the design of federal government buildings... today it is barely known, even to architectural historians”.<sup>1</sup>*

### **Preamble:**

This chapter provides an introduction to the research and sets the scene and tone for the thesis. It aims to highlight the importance of the study and to provide the rationale for doing the research. It also outlines key previous research and locates gaps within them to form a basis of this study. By so doing, it is able to clearly define a problem for the research, state what its aim and objectives are, and how it contributes to existing knowledge.

### **Chapter contents**

- 1.1 The field / context of study
- 1.2 Previous research / what is currently understood
- 1.3 Statement of the problem (establishing the need for the research)
- 1.4 Aim of the project
- 1.5 Research significance and contribution to knowledge

#### **1.1 The field / context of study**

My research is titled “The Architecture of the Public works Department (PWD) in Nigeria during the early to mid-twentieth century”. It is studied within the wider context of architecture and urbanism in the tropical imperial built environment, but more specifically, within the context of colonial and late colonial mid-twentieth century architecture in Nigeria. The reason the research is being examined in this framework is that PWD architecture which

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<sup>1</sup> Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architect's Office* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2000), xi –xii.



it seeks to better understand, had mainly thrived between 1900 and 1960, the years of formal British administration in Nigeria. These years were characterised among other things, by a high demand for office buildings, official residences and other public buildings for the period's growing administrative needs. And most significantly, the onus of undertaking all these building projects rested with the government's infrastructure development unit, the Public Works Department (PWD).

So what makes the field or context of study, and by implication my research, important? Beginning with the context of the tropical imperial built environment, it presents an important area for understanding the linkages between colonial history and the history of architecture and urbanism in African and other tropical regions. It is important because it brings to light the development of new forms of architecture and townships in erstwhile, pre-colonial traditional and agrarian settlements. The study is also important because while it relates architecture and urbanism to the prevailing political setting of the time, it also seeks to understand the relation with tropical climatic factors and achieving healthier living environments.

The more specific context of colonial and late colonial mid-twentieth century architecture in Nigeria is equally important. This is because it highlights the place of Nigeria within the empire wide development of colonial architecture, and thereby relates it to a recognisable trend in the other colonies. In the same vein, it also shows the place of Nigeria within the wider mid twentieth century tropical modernist architecture and end of empire developments.

## 1.2 Previous research / what is currently understood

What I found during my initial exploration of the research, was the absolute dearth of literature on PWD architecture in Nigeria. However, there are a few studies which provide some limited insight, even though the department was not their primary focus. Topmost of this is Akinsemoyin and Vaughn Richard's (1977) *Building Lagos*.<sup>2</sup> I will describe this book as mainly a treatise on the development of Lagos, from its early days of European contacts around the mid sixteenth century to 1960, the year of Nigeria's independence. But in a section titled the 'colonial era', it concerns the office of the colonial surveyor and its transformation in 1896 into Nigeria's Public Works Department (PWD). This information was however not provided in a rigorously researched context and comes across as oral historical narration. This section of the book also provides hand-drawn illustrations of many missionary and mercantile buildings of the time, as well as early colonial administrative PWD buildings, but says very little about them. However, as basic as *Building Lagos* is, it is close to being one of the few available 'literatures' on the department in Nigeria.

Another article which also makes some reference to the Nigeria PWD, is Godwin's (2003) *Architecture and construction technology in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s*.<sup>3</sup> Since the article is couched in Nigeria's mid-twentieth century tropical modernist architecture context, Godwin made a historical reference to the department, writing that "Between the wars, the Public works department "PWD" as they were known, became "design/build" organizations and their architects and engineers developed standards for constructing in styles of design

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<sup>2</sup> Kunle Akinsemoyin, and Alan Vaughan-Richards. *Building Lagos*. (Jersey: Pengrall Ltd) 1977.

<sup>3</sup> John Godwin, "Architecture and Construction Technology in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s". *Docomomo Journal* 28 (2003): 51-56.

which were influenced by Europe”.<sup>4</sup> But Godwin’s paper rather concentrates on the emerging tropical architecture research of the time, and its application in designs by private architects.

Then there was the post-independence publication which also showcased a number of PWD buildings. It is titled *West African Builder and Architect*<sup>5</sup> and was first published in March 1961. The publication was however largely a magazine primed to publicize the works of private tropical modernist architects working in Nigeria. In fact, it was edited by Anthony Halliday, Fry and Drew’s site architect (the duo were one of the most prominent private architects practicing in West Africa at the time), and so it was really part of the same group of people. The publication had also largely been an avenue for manufacturers to advertise the trending building materials of the time. The PWD buildings showcased in WABA were therefore not only few and far between, they were also not showcased in the context of an academic exercise.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem (establishing the need for the research)**

The only work found to have been written about the PWD therefore, is PWD architect CSM Davidson’s (1957) Builder article on “*Architectural works of the ministry of works, western region, Nigeria*”.<sup>6</sup> This slender and limited offering therefore forms the basis that this research is built upon. Although it is a two page document, Davidson’s article provides insights on the key areas of the architectural works of Nigeria PWD.

These insights are threefold, and begin with a focus on the department’s architectural personnel. In fact the article’s opening sentence is almost written in the tone of an

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *The West African Builder and Architect*, vol. 1 no1, 1961.

<sup>6</sup> *The Builder*, “Architectural works of the ministry of works, Western region, Nigeria.” (Feb 1 1957): 220 – 221.

advertisement or a call for new competent hands to join the work being done in the department. The sentence reads:

"The work of an architectural department such as that attached to the Ministry of Works of the Western Region of Nigeria has a special interest for the young architect who has a sense of design and is not afraid to a high degree of responsibility".<sup>7</sup>

Although his focus was on the Western Region office where he was the chief architect, it will be seen in later chapters that this call was indeed relevant to the country's other three PWD offices in Lagos, Kaduna and Enugu. In an almost job specification-like tone, he also adds that "Staff architects are each given a number of projects to work on and left to develop their own ideas, within the financial limits set and under the overall supervision of the Chief architect".<sup>8</sup> For further clarity on what to expect at the job, he also adds that "All members have to accept much more responsibility and consequently gain more experience in a short time than their counterparts are likely to acquire in a similar period in the United Kingdom".<sup>9</sup>

And to further stress the department's dire need for more architects, he also gives insight into present staffing situation at the time, noting that "To deal with the volume of work, the architectural branch has an all too small establishment of a chief architect, a senior architect and five qualified architects, plus a fluctuating number of drawing office staff normally numbering twelve".<sup>10</sup> Considering that he wrote this article in 1957 when new architecture was a development prerequisite for the soon to be independent Nigeria, these workforce numbers were indeed low.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 220.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 221.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 221.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 220.

The second key area of importance noted by Davidson is the scope of work covered by the department and the design factors usually employed. Describing this, Davidson writes that “the scope of work is varied and interesting, and a short list of projects undertaken within the last five years would include hospitals, schools, post offices, remand homes, law courts and not least a new parliament building”.<sup>11</sup> And regarding the design factor, he also writes that:

“Certain factors control design. they are (a) Exclusion of the sun from the interior of the buildings and protection of the exterior walls from direct rays during the heat of the day; (b) Siting so as to catch as much as possible of the prevailing breeze which is south-west; (c) The small variation in shade temperature coupled with a high differential in rainfall, causing high humidity; and (d) Glare, either direct or reflected from surrounding buildings or from the ground”.<sup>12</sup>

Third area of importance he highlights is seen in the administration of departmental building operations:

“the actual construction is carried out by the department either with its own resources or by contract. If it is decided to use the department, working drawings are prepared and forwarded to the provincial engineer who is then responsible for the erection, using direct labour under the supervision of inspectors of works”.<sup>13</sup>

Although he specifically writes about PWD Ibadan, Davidson’s article provides a clearer insight into effecting these operations all through the PWD in Nigeria. The rationale for my research therefore, is to continue this previously developed line of inquiry made by Davidson

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 220.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 221.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 220.

in the (1957) *Architectural works of the ministry of works, Western region Nigeria*. However, before building and continuing in the line of the work, certain gaps have been identified which raise questions for further studies.

- **Research Questions**

The main gap identified and which forms the significant research question in this study is: Were local realities balanced against the wider imperial scheme or agenda in which the architectural works of the Nigeria PWD operated? Drawing from this main question are other related questions being raised for further insight.

- Did the colonial government's need for architects to work in Nigeria only begin in the late nineteen fifties as seen in Davidson's article?
- When did architects start coming to work in Nigeria, why was this so and what did it mean for the PWD and development of architecture in Nigeria at the time?
- Who were the architects who joined the Nigeria PWD, where did they work in Nigeria, what did they build and what legacies did they leave for the profession of architecture in Nigeria?
- What building types did PWD produce aside those listed in his article, and were climatic factors their only design considerations?
- What other building operation types and departmental administration of construction were employed aside those described in Davidson's article?

#### **1.4 Aim of the project**

The aim of this research therefore, is to conduct further explorations on the architecture of the Public Works Department in Nigeria by building on the key findings of Davidson's 1957

PWD article on the department, and thereby covering the fifty-eight year gap in which no additional research has been done on the subject.

- **Objectives**

In order to achieve this aim, I have set out and will be conducting my work based on the following objectives:

- To further explore PWD departmental operation by locating gaps in Davidson's article and Carrol's (1961) *The administration of the department of Public Works*.<sup>14</sup> Then sourcing archival material, conducting field work in Nigeria and analysing the results.
- To further explore PWD building output in relation to the prevailing imperial system and the political undertones it dictated in architecture at the time in Nigeria.
- To also further explore PWD building output regarding tropical climatic design, by locating gaps in David's article, sourcing archival material on the design of PWD buildings, and conducting fieldwork in Nigeria to access the buildings.
- To further explore and uncover the identities of PWD architectural personnel by building on James-Chakraborty's view to develop "New knowledge about the people who commissioned, designed, constructed, inhabited and viewed colonial and postcolonial buildings".<sup>15</sup> This will see me sourcing archival materials and obtaining and obtaining the historical evidence of a veteran.

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<sup>14</sup> W.R. Carroll, "The Administration of the Department of Public Works", *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 20, (1961): 86-98.

<sup>15</sup> Kathleen James-Chakraborty, "Beyond post colonialism: New directions for the history of non-western architecture." *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 3, no. 1 (2014): 1-9.

### **1.5 Research significance and contribution to knowledge**

There are a number of factors which make the study of PWD architecture in Nigeria significant. First, is that Nigeria possesses a very rich PWD building history, evidenced by the large presence of buildings spread across the country's landscape. Although there has been earlier research on other colonial period buildings in Nigeria, it is a paradox that the PWD, with such impressive numbers and array of building types, has not been the focus of any notable studies. It is therefore of utmost importance that this research is being done to fill the significant gap created in the literature of architectural history in Nigeria. The study is also important because it relates Nigeria PWD buildings to the department's wider practices within empire. By not localizing its practices to the Nigerian situation, a wider audience can relate to the research, and its significance is more relevant.

The second factor that makes this research important is that it focuses on a period of important and permanent changes in almost every sphere of Nigerian life. In the political sphere, it was witnessing a new system of government which differed from the known traditional systems in practice, and in the architectural sphere, new forms of architectural functions and buildings types were being introduced to cater for emerging administrative needs. Research of this nature is therefore important to investigate the architectural changes which occurred during this historical epoch and document them for posterity.

Another significant factor about the research is that the study is being conducted by a Nigerian born researcher, who tells the PWD story from, if you like, an 'insider view'. A non-Nigerian born researcher might as well have done the study, and perhaps even done it better. But this insider perspective makes it a significant contribution from an African voice.



Another area of significant contribution is seen in the methods adopted for conducting the research. By adopting archival investigation to source colonial historical records, fieldwork to track down and investigate surviving buildings, and an unstructured interview to glean a veteran's historical account of working in the Nigeria PWD at the time, the research virtually 'leaves no stone unturned' in its investigations.

Aside from contributions listed above the research is the first to explore who Nigeria's first government architects were, what period it was they practiced in the country and what their practice legacy is. For the first time also, an inventory of the result has been produced in this research. Most importantly however, the research is significant because of the contribution it makes to the wider debates on architecture and imperialism in tropical regions. Writing on these wider debates, James-Chakraborty observes that: "There was an explicit tension at the heart of much of the literature written in 1980s, which was when colonial architecture in Africa and Asia first became the subject of sustained inquiry. On the one hand, these buildings beguiled because they retained an impressive amount of handcrafted detail".<sup>16</sup>

Observing a flip side to this initial literature, James-Chakraborty also writes that "Yet the romantic engagement with style fused with the haze of nostalgia that characterized the first popular surveys of the subject, obscured the often very ugly realities of colonialism and its legacy".<sup>17</sup> Therefore she notes, "The attention focused on the relationship between architecture and power made it difficult to continue to hide power relations, especially when they were expressed spatially, behind the discussion of pretty surfaces".<sup>18</sup> The result of this according to her was an emergence of "The earliest scholarship analysing the relationship

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 2.

between colonial authority and built form, seeing the classical styles of the British as shrewd if unsuccessful effort to solidify political power”.<sup>19</sup> Writing on the architecture of PWD in British India, Scriver had also raised a similar observation and noted that: “The colonial venture was an investment, a long-term investment to be sure, but the objective had always been to realize profit – at first purely commercial, later compounded with moral and political capital. The mundane buildings that the PWD was required to construct were provisional means towards that end; mere “consumables” from an economic standpoint”.<sup>20</sup>

While taking cognizance of the undeniable political context in which imperial architecture was couched, I also go with James-Chakraborty on the need for “a shift to open up a new field of enquiry in the history of colonial architecture and urbanism”.<sup>21</sup> For this reason, This research is of the opinion that although a wider political agenda had defined imperial architecture and has been widely explored in that light, it is also worth looking, as this thesis does, at the spectrum of prevailing local realities, and how this agenda actually acted out particularly in PWD building. By this I mean that, although there was a wider imperial political agenda, what were actual impacts and realities of PWD work, its buildings, and the lives of architects working in Nigeria? A wider agenda notwithstanding, surely the architecture of the PWD and imperial building in general must have also created new frontiers for the existing system?

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Peter C. Scriver, "Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India" in *Colonial Modernities: Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, ed. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London: Routledge, 2007), 79.

<sup>21</sup> Kathleen James-Chakraborty, "Beyond post colonialism: New directions for the history of non-western architecture." *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 3, no. 1 (2014): 2&3.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

*"More than steamboats, machine guns, cameras and other material objects of colonialism, architecture and urbanism made the empire visible and tangible"<sup>22</sup>*

### **Preamble:**

In chapter one, a brief introduction was given on the context in which the research is couched; and that is in the tropical imperial built environment and colonial as well as late colonial mid-twentieth century architecture in Nigeria. In this chapter, these areas are being studied more broadly and reviewed through a range of sub-topics. In the review, I will be investigating the various contexts within which authors have located their studies, the bases on which they have generated their arguments, and the trajectories to which their findings are being directed. By this, it becomes possible to trace key arguments, make key distinctions within studies, and understand major structures on which the imperial PWD was built.

### **Chapter Contents**

- 2.1 The tropical imperial built environment
- 2.2 Architecture in the tropical imperial built environment
- 2.3 Architecture of Public Works Department (PWD) in the imperial built environment
- 2.4 Architecture in the tropical imperial built environment at the close of empire
- 2.5 Colonial PWD architecture in Nigeria
- 2.6 Late colonial mid-twentieth century tropical modernist Architecture in Nigeria

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<sup>22</sup> Fassil Demissie, "Colonial architecture and urbanism in Africa: An introduction" in *Colonial Architecture and urbanism in Africa*, ed. Fassil Demissie (England: Ashgate publishing limited, 2012), 6.

## 2.1 The tropical imperial built environment

Over the years, the tropical imperial built environment has generated literary work based on the broad array of ideas, arguments and stand points of its many authors. On a general note, the ‘imperial built environment’ in my observation, is the built environment which emerged as a result of changes to architectural and communal settlement practices in indigenous communities, through Britain’s sojourn and administrative rule in her colonies. But my study focuses more on such built environments within the former tropical colonies. The tropical imperial built environment studies are therefore being reviewed under its two main categories.

### Urbanism in the tropical imperial built environment

In the area of colonial urbanism, many distinctive studies have emerged and include King’s (1976) *Colonial urban development*<sup>23</sup>, Home’s (1997) *Of Planting and Planning*<sup>24</sup>, and Bigon’s (2009) *A History of urban planning in two West African colonial capitals: Residential segregation and in British Lagos and French Dakar -1850 to 1930*<sup>25</sup>. Other frontline studies on colonial urbanism have approached the subject with slight distinctions from the planning perspective. One of these is Ceylic’s (1999) *New approaches to the non-western city* (1999), which looks at the colonial city in terms of social history, diversity and the creation of the ‘Islamic city’<sup>26</sup>. Two of the major studies which discuss and analyse colonial city planning and highlight its major residential / racial segregation feature are examined below.

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<sup>23</sup> Anthony D. King, *Colonial urban development* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1976.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Home, *Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities*. (London: E & FN Spon, an imprint of Chapman & Hall, 1997).

<sup>25</sup> Liora Bigon, *A history of urban planning in two West African colonial capitals: Residential segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar 1850-1930* (New York: Edwin Mellen press), 2009.

<sup>26</sup> Zeynep Celik, “New approaches to the non-western city,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58 (1999), 374-381.

- **Colonial city planning**

Colonial city planning constitutes a widely studied area in the imperial built environment discourse. One study which is of particular interest to this research is Robert Home's 1997 book, *"Of planting and planning"*.<sup>27</sup> Although the book does not dedicate any specific section to Nigeria's colonial planning, it does provide several references to the country and its 'Lugardian' principles on health and sanitation in the colonial city. Home suggests here that, one of such principles appear to be in reaction to advice received by Lugard from a medical "expert":

"the leading expert on tropical sanitation in the early twentieth century was Dr Simpson, who was happy to blame 'dirty' native health practices for causing disease".<sup>28</sup> It was following this that, "Lugard's first annual report on Northern Nigeria in 1900 described moving the native town some six miles from the army camp, since malarial germs are present in the blood of most natives and Doctors urge that Europeans should not sleep in proximity to natives, in order to avoid infection".<sup>29</sup>

But many studies including that of Cook, have discredited the idea that the native population was the cause of diseases. As observed by Cook:

"It has been suggested before that the climate of Africa was an important barrier to the penetration of Africa. The heavy loss of life incurred by Europeans at the time appeared to be an obstacle impossible to overcome. West Africa in particular was regarded for many years as the "white man's graveyard (because of its climate)".<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Robert Home, *Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities*. (London: E & FN Spon, an imprint of Chapman & Hall, 1997).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 126.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 126.

<sup>30</sup> Arthur Norton Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1943), 11.

Home also examines the public authority role in colonial city planning and zoning. Here he argues that public authority had resorted to zoning urban spaces particularly along racial lines, and notes that:

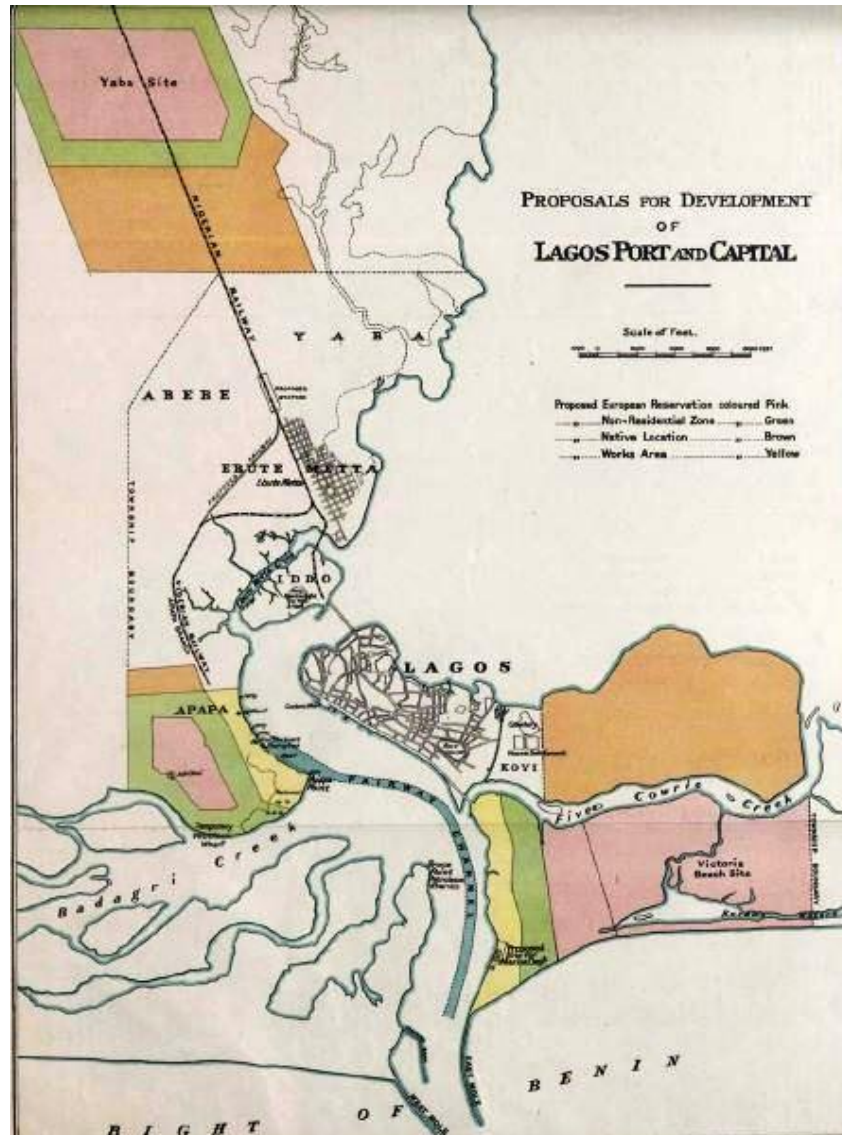


Figure 1: Circa 1919 map of the proposed development of Lagos port and capital<sup>31</sup> (Map legend highlights: Proposed European Reservation [Pink], Proposed None Residential Zone [Green], Proposed Native Location [Brown], and Proposed Works Area [Yellow])

“To preserve (as they saw it) their health and purity, as well as their status and dominance, the colonizers segregated themselves into exclusive, endogamous, and defensible enclaves”.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Colonial Office “Nigeria: Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912 -1914” (London: Colonial Office, 1919), Appendix 5.

Home equally argues that “Apart from defence and health arguments, the British also justified racial segregation in the context of a trusteeship for the ‘subject’ peoples”.<sup>33</sup> These principles are well exemplified in the Lagos colonial city plan (Figure 1).

But Home’s reaction to these practices is perhaps best reflected in the book’s concluding research question: “What legacy has colonial planning offered the teeming cities of the developing world?”<sup>34</sup> To which he may have provided an answer when he also notes that, “Perhaps the most serious legacy of the colonial city is the failure to manage the tidal wave of urban growth and informal settlement”.<sup>35</sup> However, while being true that some current urbanization problems of the developing world have their legacies in colonial planning, this research argues that the role of post-colonial indigenous governments perpetuates, and in some cases worsens the effect of these legacies.

Taking the Nigerian example and its legacy of urban growth and informal settlements, it could well be said that successive governments’ response to the problems of urban space since independence has been less than impressive. When urbanization problems persisted so severely in its former capital, Lagos, and grew to hydra-headed proportions, the government’s response was to design and build a new capital elsewhere in up country Abuja. Interestingly, this new federal capital has begun witnessing the same problems of informal settlement. In a study of what they term the “rate, extent and consequences of urban sprawl in Nigeria’s rapidly expanding Federal capital city”, Ujoh et al observe that:

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 218.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 127.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 219.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 220.

“the annual rate of gain in built-up area between 1987 and 2001 was 14.39 km<sup>2</sup>, while the total built-up area gained within the same period (14 years) was 201.44 km, indicating the rate of urban sprawl and informal settlement”.<sup>36</sup>

While agreeing with Home therefore that a colonial planning legacy resulted in the tidal wave of urban growth and informal settlement, this research suggests that it is the responsibility of successive Nigerian governments to address the anomaly and find sustainable solutions.

- **Residential segregation**

A significant number of studies have since built up on Home’s treatise on colonial city planning in general, and residential segregation in particular. One important work in this regards is Liora Bigon’s *A history of urban planning in two West African colonial capitals: Residential segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar 1850-1930*. In this work, Bigon does a comparative study of urban history in two West African colonial capitals, Lagos and Dakar, the aim being to “understand the spatial interactions between the colonizer and colonized”.<sup>37</sup> According to her, “these interactions were defined by residential segregation as the physical separation between ethnic and racial groups that inhabited the colonial city”.<sup>38</sup>

Explaining how the interactions played out, she argues that:

"The notions of 'public' and 'public good' were defined selectively, and disproportionately referred to the expatriate population. Sanitary facilities and other urban amenities were often, if not mostly, confined to the white sector of the 'modern' colonial city, and sincere or sham

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<sup>36</sup> F. Ujoh, I.D. Kwabe and O.O. Ifatimilehin, “Understanding urban sprawl in the federal capital city, Abuja: Towards sustainable urbanization in Nigeria” *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning* 3, (2010): 109.

<sup>37</sup> Liora Bigon, *A history of urban planning in two West African colonial capitals: Residential segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar 1850-1930* (New York: Edwin Mellen press, 2009), 22.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 22.



sanitary arguments, were then used to dictate harsh colonial measures against the latter, such as creating a sanitary cordon of open space between the European and local quarters”.<sup>39</sup>

In spite of the discriminatory planning approach which she outlines, Bigon is equally of the opinion that urban space manipulation was not only limited to the colonizer’s whims. According to her:

“Though Lagos and Dakar contained the largest percentage of the white population of both Nigeria and Senegal, these colonial capitals never became 'white cities.' Africans always constituted the great majority in them, leaving their own imprints on the cities' formal development no less than that left by the colonizers. They had contributed equally to the making of colonial Lagos and Dakar”.<sup>40</sup>

Using the Lagos example as her point of reference, she concludes that:

“British elements were incorporated in the existent and thriving Yoruba settlement in Lagos Island; therefore, Lagos urban space was manipulated by both parties, the colonizer and the colonized to fit perceptions of everyday use of space and the power agendas of each”.<sup>41</sup>

Bigon has therefore addressed the residential segregation debate from a ‘role of all stakeholders’ perspective, rather than the more widely explored ‘role of the colonizer’. However, the work seems to concede a near silence or reference to (and if possible case study of) another Nigerian colonial town to equally demonstrate residential segregation. Therefore, this research suggest that while the comparative study clearly aims to address two colonial

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 293 and 294.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 295.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 291 and 292.

capitals in the sub-region, a case study of another Nigerian colonial town would have put residential segregation in Lagos into a clearer perspective; this being that it was the only colonial city in Nigeria where residential segregation was never fully achieved, and therefore not quite representative of a typical Nigerian colonial city.

Bigon herself quotes Lord Frederick Lugard, Nigeria's first governor general, as having said about Lagos that "Residences of European and Natives are already so hopelessly inter-mixed".<sup>42</sup> This is because according to Bigon, Lagos' particular physical and socio-political features did not correspond with such plans.<sup>43</sup>

## **2.2 Architecture in the tropical imperial built environment**

As with urbanism, so did a body of literature feature prominently in the discussions on architecture in the tropical imperial built environment. The argument they propound is that colonial architecture represents forms of dominance and political control, as Alsayad's aptly named (1992) book, *Forms of dominance: On the architecture and Urbanism of the colonial enterprise*<sup>44</sup> suggests. Other studies which raise similar arguments also see colonial architecture as symbols of colonial power and imperial grandeur. They include Morris and Winchester's (1983) *Stones of Empire: The buildings of the Raj*<sup>45</sup>, Nilson's (1968) *European architecture in India*,<sup>46</sup> and Metcalf's (1989) *An Imperial Vision: Indian architecture and Britain's Raj*.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 145.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 294.

<sup>44</sup> Nezar AlSayyad, "Urbanism and the dominance question: Reflections of colonialism and urban identity," in *Forms of Dominance: On architecture and urbanism of the Colonial enterprise*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad, (England: Ashgate publishing limited) 1992.

<sup>45</sup> Jan Morris and Simon Winchester, *Stones of Empire: The buildings of the Raj* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc.) 1983.

<sup>46</sup> Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India: 1750 to 1850* (London: Faber and Faber) 1968

<sup>47</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Imperial Vision: Indian architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press,) 1989.

But not all studies on architecture in the imperial built environment focus on the political nature or symbolism of the buildings. There are other studies which examine the importance of tropical climatic conditions and its relation to the colonial house form and achieving healthier living environments. The prominent early studies in this regard are Smith's (1868) *On building for European occupation in tropical climates, especially in India*<sup>48</sup>, and Murrays (1885) *How to live in Tropical Africa*.<sup>49</sup> Smith for example writes of designing buildings in countries where "the heat of the sun is far greater than in England".<sup>50</sup>

Later studies however include Fry and Drew's (1953) *Village housing in the tropics*,<sup>51</sup> and King's (1984) *The bungalow: The production of a global culture*,<sup>52</sup> There is of course a large difference in these books. King's study was a commentary on Smith, Murray and Fry and Drew – it was written in the post-colonial context with an awareness of independence and Britain's colonial policy, so there is a significant gap between the texts. One set was written at the time, the other in response. Then one study even argues that the tropical climatic, as well as house form and health linkages, are the basis for all later tropical architecture buildings. This argument is propounded by Chang and King (2011) in *Towards a genealogy of tropical architecture: Historical fragments of power knowledge, built environment and climate in the British colonial territories*.<sup>53</sup> Some of these studies are further examined in this section.

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<sup>48</sup> T. Roger Smith, "On buildings for European occupation in tropical climates, especially India" *Papers read at the Royal Institute of British Architect*, (1868): 197–208.

<sup>49</sup> J. Murray, *How to live in tropical Africa* (London: John Murray) 1885.

<sup>50</sup> T. Roger Smith, "On buildings for European occupation in tropical climates, especially India" *Papers read at the Royal Institute of British Architect*, (1868): 197.

<sup>51</sup> Drew, Jane Beverly and Fry, Edwin Maxwell. *Village Housing in the Tropics, with special reference to West Africa*. (London: Lund Humphries) 1947.

<sup>52</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul) 1984.

<sup>53</sup> Jiat-Hwee Chang and Anthony D. King, "Towards a genealogy of tropical architecture: Historical fragments of power-knowledge, built environment and climate in the British colonial territories" *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* (2011): 283 - 300.

- **Reflecting Empire's grandeur**

Building perhaps on the racial superiority undertone to residential segregation and the 'dominance equation' discourse, Demissie writes that "While a number of architectural historians have pointed out the racial self-dilution of empire, others have dismissed colonial architecture as stones of imperial memory obsessed with fantasy, grandeur and arrogance".<sup>54</sup>

One important study that examines imperial or colonial architecture in light of reflecting these 'obsessions' is Thomas Metcalf's *The Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*.

According to Metcalf, the focus of his work is to take "the British Raj in India, and ask how political authority took shape in stone, and how colonial buildings helped shape the discourse on empire".<sup>55</sup> In order to achieve this, Metcalf employs "an analysis of the distinctive architectural forms that sought to manifest the ideals of imperialism, and which took as their objective the enhancing of the hold of empire over ruler and ruled alike".<sup>56</sup>

The distinctive architectural form he explores are those which he associates with monumental buildings of the Raj. According to him, "This architecture drew both upon European classical styles and upon those of India's past, above all those associated with the Mughal Empire".<sup>57</sup>

On the import of the European classical style, he observed that:

"Classical architecture proved exceptionally well suited to the declining British empire of the early twentieth century. In the first place, and above all, this style spoke clearly of empire to a

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<sup>54</sup> Fasil Demissie, "Colonial architecture and urbanism in Africa: An introduction" in *Colonial Architecture and urbanism in Africa*, ed. Fasil Demissie (England: Ashgate publishing limited, 2012): 2.

<sup>55</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Imperial Vision: Indian architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), xi.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, xi.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, xi.

European Audience anxious for reassurance. The size and monumentality of its structures, their ordered regularity, and their evocation of the glories of Rome together announced that the Raj still mattered, that Britain, despite its loss of world pre-eminence, still remained an imperial power”.<sup>58</sup>

Political symbolism in Raj’s architecture was however not reflected by only classical forms, as seen in Metcalf’s reference to the cultural connotations of Indo Saracenic Mughal empire forms in India. Like he analysed the classical forms, Metcalf also writes that:

“classical elements did not of course shape an identical architecture everywhere. Each colonial territory possessed its own distinctive climate and cultural heritage to which the "elemental" classical forms had of necessity to be adapted. For this reason, it was "grafted" unto the classical forms, structural features of the indigenous architecture, as well as decoration expressing the myth, symbols, and history of its people".<sup>59</sup>

Although Metcalf’s study focused on India, one cultural form he might as well have investigated for this purpose outside of his chosen study area, and which also became symbolic of empire’s grandeur in Nigeria’s colonial building, is the Northern Hausa traditional house form. Writing on how the adaptation of these forms came to represent colonial authority, Foyle notes that:

“Building work now being carried out by Europeans in Nigeria is through its public works department. In the north in the more inaccessible areas, staff housing was usually constructed of local materials and often by local labour using traditional methods of construction”.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 247.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 247.

<sup>60</sup> Arthur M. Foyle, “The Architecture of Nigeria” *The Builder* (August 31 1951): 284.

Providing still more details on these cultural forms and their significance in colonial building, Foyle writes that:

“In Kano houses were constructed in mud in the early days of British occupation at the beginning of the century for European staff. All of these buildings present an external appearance of great dignity, with squat buttresses, running up their full height, swept hoods over the windows, and the usual phallic symbols crowning the parapets. The interiors are remarkable as examples of Muslim tradition and details adapted to suit European requirements, and are most picturesque with rooms of varying heights reminiscence of the larger houses in the African town”.<sup>61</sup>

So this perhaps reiterates Metcalf’s assertion that “colonial building in India is not unique but expressive of broader currents that set off the colonial world from that of Europe”.<sup>62</sup> Therefore besides being expressive of political symbolism within individual colonies, one other way in which buildings were made to reflect grandeur, is through their empire-wide symbolism.

- **The dwelling house form**

Explaining initial reactions to the bungalow house form among architecture and planning professionals in Britain, Anthony King in his book *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture*, writes that “A recent book on *The Design of Suburbia* describes the square bungalow as 'one of the ugliest dwellings ever designed by man’”.<sup>63</sup> According to him, “it is largely because of these attitudes that the wider significance of the bungalow has been

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<sup>61</sup> *ibid*, 147.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, xii.

<sup>63</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), vii.

overlooked”.<sup>64</sup> To understand the bungalow’s wider significance King “investigates the origins of the bungalow in India, and its later development in Britain, North America, Australia, Africa and Europe”.<sup>65</sup> The aim here he explains, is to:

“to examine the historical forces producing the bungalow; to explore the meaning of the bungalow for the society where it exists; and to discuss a variety of issues which the investigation of the bungalow suggests, whether this relates to tropical housing, second homes, architectural symbolism, suburbanization, under-development in the 'third world' or the development of a capitalist world economy and culture”.<sup>66</sup>

In fulfilling this aim, King examines as one of his key points, the significance of the Bungalow in urbanizing Africa and related problems of under-development, to which he observes that:

“The built environment of colonialism of which the bungalow is perhaps the most representative element, was first and foremost an economic and political fact; It was equally a social and cultural phenomenon: the colonial settlers formed a particular social organization and there dwellings, layouts and settlements, including the incorporation of indigenous peoples, were a product of this organization”.<sup>67</sup>

This observation then leads him into concluding that "The bungalow was part of a physical and spatial process of urbanization which incorporated modern Africa into a capitalist world

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<sup>64</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Imperial Vision: Indian architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), viii.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, viii.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, vii.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, 258.

economy,"<sup>68</sup> and also that, "The application of its principles, whether concerning design, construction, materials, sanitation, layout or technology, first to the colonial and then to the native populations was inseparable from the total economic, social and political restructuring of the culture being controlled."<sup>69</sup>



Figure 2: Colonial Bungalow and manor house at Iseyin<sup>70</sup>

But King's discussion on the bungalow was not limited to its political and urbanizing traits. He had also widely written on its tropical building features:

"The bungalow was in the first place, a technological device - a form of Shelter for British colonial officials providing protection against malaria and reducing the effects of tropical heat. In its construction and design it drew on over two and a half centuries of tropical experience from India, South East Asia and Caribbean, incorporating ideas from the other people over whom they ruled".<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 195.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 259.

<sup>70</sup> The National archives CO 1069/65/57 "Nigeria" undated.

<sup>71</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 194.



Metcalf however faults King's argument that the Bungalow is solely a technological device to bring about improved tropical living conditions. He suggests instead that the Bungalow concept was fraught with covert social meanings of British superiority. According to him:

“The British adopted the Bungalow form, in contrast to, say, the courtyard form, not just for reasons of climate, but because the bungalow ideally combined with climatic adaptation a political purpose: that of social distancing. Its thick walls and high ceilings, while providing ample ventilation, sheltered its English inhabitants from the hostile world outside; and the encircling veranda at once shaded the main structure and provided the arena for a carefully regulated intercourse with that world. This sense of social distance - and superiority - was reinforced by the placement of the Bungalow in a large compound, with an impressive drive and with access regulated walls, gates, and watchmen”.<sup>72</sup>

While Metcalf's argument may bring covert intensions of adopting the bungalow to light, it also raises a very pertinent observation. The practice of social distancing with walls, gates and watchmen may have been seen as untoward during empire, but it is quite interesting to see that in postcolonial times, these very practices have re-surfaced, and paradoxically from the very people who opposed them at the time – the native elite! In their article on the significance of Gated communities in contemporary Nigeria for example, Ajibola et al write that “Gated communities give a sense of community, security, safety, social exclusion and socio economic disparity noticeable in residents high up the social and economic ladder in Ikeja Nigeria”<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Imperial Vision: Indian architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 6.

<sup>73</sup> Ajibola, O Oloke O, and Ogungbemi A., "Impacts of gated communities on residential property values: A comparison of ONIPETESI Estate and its neighbourhoods in IKEJA, Lagos State, Nigeria." *Journal of Sustainable Development* 4, no. 2 (2011): 75.

### 2.3 The Public Works Department (PWD) in the imperial built environment

Having looked at the areas which broadly present architecture in the tropical imperial built environment, I will be discussing the area of shared commonality which is most relevant to this thesis – the Public Works Department (PWD). A number of studies have been done regarding the department, although they were not only limited to the imperial built environment's tropical regions. The studies provide insights on areas such as departmental structure and operational methods, as seen in Carroll's (1961) *The administration of the department of Public Works*.<sup>74</sup> The studies have also looked at relations between Public Works Department Architecture and prevailing political situations, as seen in Fuch's (2000) *Public Works in the Holy Land: Government buildings under the British Mandate in Palestine 1917–1948*.<sup>75</sup> In this study, Fuchs also examines the symbolic modest architecture which had become characteristic of the department's buildings. This is also echoed in Wrights (1997) *Crown assets: The architecture of the public works department 1867 – 1967*.<sup>76</sup>

Another approach to studying PWD architecture in the imperial built environment is seen in Scriver's (1994) PhD thesis, *Rationalization, standardization and control in Design: A cognitive historical study of architectural design and planning in the Public Works Department of British India 1855-1901*, and his (2007) *Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India*,<sup>77</sup> Which will be discussed in more details in the

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<sup>74</sup> W.R. Carroll, "The administration of the department of Public Works", *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 20, (1961): 87-98.

<sup>75</sup> Ron Fuchs, "Public works in the Holy Land: Government buildings under the British Mandate in Palestine 1917–1948", in *Twentieth Century Architecture and Its Histories*, ed. Louise Campbell (London : Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2000), 275-305.

<sup>76</sup> Janet Wright, *Crown assets: The architecture of the public works department 1867 – 1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto), 1997.

<sup>77</sup> Peter C. Scriver, "Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India" in *Colonial Modernities: Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, ed. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London: Routledge), 2007.

next section of the review. His thesis examines stereotyped conventionalities in PWD standard plans, and the department's rationalization of design that was based on "the trying climate, and the mortal threat of disease in particular as a perennial and imposing challenge to the survival of the European colonial community".<sup>78</sup>

- **PWD practices in selected imperial environments**

While writing about architecture in the imperial built environment, Metcalf identifies two groups of buildings; the large public monuments and what he terms "humble utilitarian structures [such] as bridges, canals, courts, and cantonments, which were the 'bread and butter' of the Public Works Department".<sup>79</sup> For fuller insights on the PWD and its imperial building practices, I will be reviewing a number of previous studies in the ensuing sections of this chapter.

- **Influencing wider currents of imperial building – India**

To throw more light on Metcalf's 'bread and butter' analogy, Scriver describes the Public Works Department as being "the technical branch of the colonial administration,"<sup>80</sup> which was first "created in the government of India in 1855".<sup>81</sup> It was also the department which:

"designed and constructed facilities and accommodation for virtually every facet of the colonial administration. This included government offices, all military works and buildings, public service buildings such as post and telegraph offices and the stations and related

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<sup>78</sup> Peter C. Scriver, "Rationalization, standardization and control in design: A cognitive historical study of architectural design and planning in the Public Works department of British India 1855-1901" (PhD diss., University of Delft, 1994), 534.

<sup>79</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Imperial Vision: Indian architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), xii.

<sup>80</sup> Peter C. Scriver. "Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India", in *Colonial modernities: building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon*, eds. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London: Routledge, 2007), 69.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 76.

buildings of the railway system, and all civic buildings and institutions concerned with law and order, such as courthouses, police stations and jails, and a wide array of residential "quarters" and "bungalows" to house ever growing ranks of meticulously graded and categorized government servants - European and Indian".<sup>82</sup>

### The influence of India in Nigeria

Scriver's observation therefore suggests that the imperial system of creating a Public Works Department to design and construct public buildings among and civil works, transcended Nigeria and was practiced in other colonies, as seen in his Indian PWD discussion. He shows that India's PWD had been in operation for almost fifty years before the establishment of Nigeria's PWD in 1896.<sup>83</sup> This therefore raises questions with regards to PWD relations between the two countries. Were Indian PWD building and administrative practices borrowed and adapted for use in the newer colony of Nigeria and its more recently established PWD? What were these practices, and how were they implemented in Nigeria? Did the Nigeria PWD eventually 'chart its own course' of practice and operations, or did it largely retain Indian PWD influences? In answering these questions, King writes initially on what will seem to be wider relations between the Nigerian and Indian colonies:

"The first point to notice is the extent of Indian influence, either implicit or explicit. F.D. Lugard, High Commissioner for Nigeria and subsequently largely responsible for developing the administrative structure of Nigeria, had been born to missionary parents in Madras and had served in the Indian Army".<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 78.

<sup>83</sup> Liora Bigon, *A history of urban planning in two West African colonial capitals: Residential segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar 1850-1930* (New York: Edwin Mellen press, 2009), 136.

<sup>84</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 207.

Regarding the more important PWD and colonial building relation between the two countries, King writes that “Lugard's director of Public Works was also an old 'Indian hand,’”<sup>85</sup> and in addition, “W. Egerton the governor of Lagos, had in his own words written that:

'The advantage of 23 years' service in one of His Majesty's tropical possessions [Malaya] and one in which the designers of houses enjoy the experience of generations of Indian officials and of the native races in designing houses most suitable for occupation in countries adjacent to the equator’.<sup>86</sup>

But the opinion held by colonial builders in West Africa on the Indian influence is perhaps best expressed by Royal Engineer R.D. Lloyd. King quotes him as suggesting that:

“We cannot do better than follow the experience of India.....It is well known that West Africans [i.e. European colonial officials in W. Africa], until military and civil officers of Indian experience began to arrive, knew or cared little of the usual precautions required to make life in the tropics bearable’.<sup>87</sup>

But these wider influences were not limited to Nigeria, as Murray had noted for example that “The Indian Bungalow, was the one perfect house for all tropical countries' and was being used as a 'tool of Empire' for exporting to colonies abroad’.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 207.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 207.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 208.

<sup>88</sup> J. Murray, *How to live in tropical Africa* (London: John Murray, 1885), 24.

- **Standardized handbooks and type designing – India**

In terms of standardization, a number of imperial building studies have linked its early practices to the work of military engineers. Morris and Winchester write provide a background to the emergence of the engineers-designers in India:

“Most constructions of British India were anonymous. Though British bricklayers made an early appearance, and the company had its own resident architects, only a handful of eminent practitioners ever designed a building for the Raj. The stones of empire were mostly put together by amateurs, by soldiers who had learnt the building trade perfunctorily during their military education in England”.<sup>89</sup>

The authors also note that:

“Often they relied upon handbooks of architecture, very popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There was Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1725) and John Soane's *Plan for buildings* in 1788 and in 1830s appeared the invaluable works of John Loudon, whose several encyclopaedic textbooks offered models for almost every kind of building”.<sup>90</sup>

As suggested by Summerson also:

“These handbooks were used not merely by engineers who wished to acquire more training. They were certainly read by many more people, if not by the general public. At that time architecture was a field still open to non-professionals, far more than just the engineers made use of the handbooks and put the knowledge they obtained to practical use”.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Jan Morris and Simon Winchester, *Stones of Empire: The buildings of the Raj* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1983), 20.

<sup>90</sup> *ibid*, 20.

<sup>91</sup> J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (London: Pelican Books, 1945), 70

The quality of buildings produced by Engineer-designers was however perceived with very limited enthusiasm. Quoting a reaction by the architectural historian James Ferguson in 1862, Morris and Winchester write that:

“It is the misfortune of Calcutta, that her architecture is done by amateurs - generally military engineers - who have never thought of the subject till called upon to act, who fancy that a few hours thought and a couple of days' drawing is sufficient.....”<sup>92</sup>

An even more critical opinion in this regard, is again quoted by the authors:

“If one was told the monkeys had built it all, said the architect Edwin Lutyens upon first seeing the British buildings of Simla in 1912, one could only say, 'what wonderful monkeys - they must be shot in case they do it again!”<sup>93</sup>

But for Weiler, not only were Lutyens observations too strongly worded, he also felt the reaction may be unjustified in the light of other factors:

“The corps was extraordinarily versatile in its abilities and many of the individual officers were polymaths. There was nearly always someone at every station who could do the job no matter what it was. These qualities were extremely handy on the frontiers of empire where often engineer officers were the only educated builders on the spot”.<sup>94</sup>

Nilsson however sees a relation between the design features and standardization. For him, the problem with their buildings lay more in the argument that “We find that the engineer's conception of form was old fashioned and far too deeply rooted in the models as codified by

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>94</sup> John Michael Weiler, *Army architects: The Royal Engineers and the development of building technology in the nineteenth century* (PhD diss., University of York, 1987), 449-450.

Belidor or Gibbs”.<sup>95</sup> This opinion is also echoed by Scriver, who argues that the Engineer-designers’ adoption of such design codifications and use of model or prototype plans from standardized handbooks only translated into:

“A homogenous, thoroughly predictable built environment of which each starkly rendered component was seemingly derived from the same generic prototype. From the standard details of floors, wooden door frames and clerestory louvers, innovation and individuality were seemingly proscribed under a singular collective ethic of Spartan simplicity and discipline. Settlements were hardly distinguishable from one to the next”.<sup>96</sup>

#### The advantage of type designing by the later PWD

Having suggested these standardized practice drawbacks, Scriver goes on to discuss other areas in which the practice was of benefit. The first of these was the idea of the PWD developing its own standard plans, and using them more as design guidelines than being wholly adopted. He therefore notes that:

“The PWD’s standardized system of plans, specifications and procedures furnished what might be described as an institutionally formalized vernacular. But contrary to what contemporary critics have generally assumed, the many official "standard plans" developed in this manner by the department were generally not intended as strict prescriptions for how a building was actually to be constructed. A standard disclaimer was typically printed on such

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<sup>95</sup> Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India: 1750 to 1850* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 158.

<sup>96</sup> Peter C. Scriver, "Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India" in *Colonial Modernities: Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, ed. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London: Routledge, 2007), 74.



plans, clearly explaining that they were intended only as guidelines for planning, from which detailed and appropriately adapted designs were to be prepared in every instance”.<sup>97</sup>

These appropriately adapted plans for the various instances in which they were required became more generally known as ‘type designs’. Writing on how type designs were reflected in staff housing designs by the PWD for instance, Foyle notes that “The size and type of house provided varies strictly in accordance with the Salary and position of the occupant”.<sup>98</sup> The employment of ‘Type’ designs was however not limited to staff housing. They had pervaded most colonial administrative and public building types.

Taking Nigeria as an example, colonial settlements had mainly comprised an administrative order of senior and junior officials, as well as early coastal administrative settlements and colonial capitals versus hinterland native administration and provinces. The PWD therefore designed administrative and public buildings to reflect the requirement of each town, echoing perhaps what Morris and Winchester wrote of the British presence in India,

“There were few villages in India where the empire builders did not leave some physical sign of their passing. It might be only a water pump, or a post-box, or a level crossing gate, or just the long line of telegraph poles stretching away to the dun horizon, but still it was unmistakably theirs”.<sup>99</sup>

The town classification based designs were therefore categorised by “standard plans” and “type designs”. Another advantage which Scriver attributes to the use of standard plans is its

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 84

<sup>98</sup> Arthur M. Foyle, “The Architecture of Nigeria” *The Builder* August 31 1951, 284.

<sup>99</sup> Jan Morris and Simon Winchester, *Stones of Empire: The buildings of the Raj* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1983), 13.

guaranteed economic benefit not only in the design and construction of the buildings, but also in their replication and the running of the colonial building programme:

“The efficacy of this system was played out on at least two levels. First there was the basic utility and cost-effectiveness of the buildings themselves; second, the cognitive economy enabled by the institutionalized practices and design procedures of the PWD”.<sup>100</sup>

The issues raised in this review and discussion could have been what Fuchs meant about simple utilitarian buildings when he wrote that “the representational punch of these buildings rest in the pragmatic problems of standardization, economy and functionality”.<sup>101</sup>

- **Departmental functions and operations – Australia**

In examining the Australian PWD, the main article of interest for my review is Carroll’s *The administration of the department of Public works*. The article was written by Carroll in 1961 while he was the director of public works, New South Wales. The article’s purpose is to have the department’s staff better informed about its functions and operations, and as Carroll stresses “functions in regard to which I recognise the need for improvement”.<sup>102</sup> In order to achieve this improvement, Carroll presented the department’s review to staff while also seeking their:

“comment on some aspects of the administration of the Department which might be of special interest to you (the PWD staff), since good communications are essential to any

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid, 82.

<sup>101</sup> Ron Fuchs, "Public works in the Holy Land: Government buildings under the British Mandate in Palestine 1917–1948", in *Twentieth Century Architecture and Its Histories*, ed. Louise Campbell (London : Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2000), 282.

<sup>102</sup> W.R. Carroll, “The administration of the department of Public Works”, *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 20, (1961): 93.

organization, and the bigger the organization, the better the system of communication”.<sup>103</sup>

The review was presented to highlight four main areas of operation of the PWD; the department’s function, its organizational structure as relates to the wider administration of the colony, the role of its professional branches and the decentralization of its administration.

### Departmental Function and organizational structure

In describing the department’s functions, Carroll writes that:

“Primarily, the department is an organisation for the construction of public works, such as water supply, sewerage drainage, harbour works, schools, hospitals, universities, colleges and other Government buildings. Secondly, it conducts numerous trading undertakings, the more important being the state dockyard, state tile works and the state Brickworks. Thirdly, it carries out the maintenance of public buildings throughout the State, as well as the maintenance of harbour works and navigable channels. Fourthly, it is responsible for the oversight of certain statutory bodies, e.g., state water boards”.<sup>104</sup>

This suggests that the production of public buildings was only one of PWD’s other infrastructure development and administrative activities. One of its other undertakings for example, was in collaboration with the colonial government’s crown agents:

“In the field of supply, the crown agents are expert buyers of every kind of plant, machinery, stores and livestock for transport, public works, educational, health, agricultural, military and administrative needs overseas”.<sup>105</sup> One such trading collaboration with the crown agents was the importation of building materials for public building in Nigeria. Writing on this Godwin

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid, 91-92.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 89.

<sup>105</sup> A.W. Abbott, *A short history of the crown agents and their office* (London: The Chiswick press, 1959), 3.

notes that “The importation of British bricks had ceased and local brick was considered inadequate. Therefore, cement became the prime building material, first imported in timber barrels and later in bags”.<sup>106</sup>

Aside from the functions it performed however, Carroll equally explores the department’s organizational structure in relation to the wider structure of the Australian colony’s government. Here he notes that:

“The minister for public works is its ministerial head. The director of public works is the permanent head and directly responsible to the minister for the efficient functioning of the department. The director has direct control of the engineering functions of the department, while the deputy director and secretary assists him in its administrative activities as well as in controlling the architectural branch and building construction and maintenance branch. The deputy director and secretary are free to deal directly with the minister and keep the director informed of all matters of special interest”.<sup>107</sup>

It appears from this submission though, that the engineering branch commanded more prominence in the department. The branch’s prominence made Scriver conclude that:

“The Public works department comprised of a complex hierarchy, consisting of architects, engineers, draughtsmen and support staff. By and large however, it was a building scene dominated by engineers, in which opportunities for professional architects were few and far

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<sup>106</sup> John Godwin. “Architecture and Construction Technology in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s” *Docomomo Journal* 28, (2003): 52.

<sup>107</sup> W.R. Carroll, “The administration of the department of Public Works”, *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 20, (1961): 90.

between”.<sup>108</sup>

The third section of Carroll’s article raises a similar discussion on the department’s professional composition, but focuses more on the role and duties of various branches.

### The Chief architect

In an earlier description of PWD architecture branch’s role, Lee writes that “the office employed government architects who undertook the design of federal government buildings and were compensated with civil service salaries”.<sup>109</sup> Corroborating this, Carroll further defines the department’s ‘design of federal government buildings’ role, noting that:

“the government architect and his officers are concerned with the investigation, design, preparation of plans and specifications and the supervision of construction of all new state government public buildings as well as alterations and extensions to existing buildings”.<sup>110</sup>

For Wright however, the department’s role supersedes those of building design and construction. According to her:

"the chief architect's branch was both client and architect. It provided architectural services to the government, but it also served as a financial comptroller of the federal construction dollar. It was its job to see that the money was spent wisely and efficiently. There was also a certain amount of pressure to ensure that the money was divided up among as many projects as

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<sup>108</sup> Peter C. Scriver, "Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India" in *Colonial Modernities: Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, ed. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London: Routledge, 2007), 80.

<sup>109</sup> Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architect's Office* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2000), xi.

<sup>110</sup> W.R. Carroll, "The administration of the department of Public Works", *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 20, (1961): 90.

possible in order to satisfy the constant demands for new buildings from government departments, individual communities, and the politicians who represented them".<sup>111</sup>

Wright then appears to link the achievement of these goals to the specific role of the chief architect. According to her:

“A good chief architect understood that his primary role was to manage federal properties, avoid public embarrassment to the government of the day, and administer a national building program in a responsible manner while maintaining acceptable standards of design and construction”.<sup>112</sup>

However, while agreeing with Wright on the role of the chief architect Lee questions the idea of him taking absolute responsibility for certain aspects of the department’s operations. The main example she provides here is the referencing of the chief architect’s name on drawings;

"In most cases, only the name of the supervising architect is recorded on the architectural drawing or on the building cornerstone. But clearly, one architect could not have served as the artistic designer of every building that emerged from the office".<sup>113</sup>

The purpose of Carroll’s paper as stated at the beginning therefore, is to open up channels of communications and receiving of feedback from the departmental staff as a means of improving efficiency and addressing the type of question raised by Lee. As Carrol himself argues “Since I have been Director of Public Works, I have endeavoured to create a team

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<sup>111</sup> Janet Wright, *Crown assets: The Architecture of the Public Wworks Department 1867 – 1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997), 4.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>113</sup> Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architect's Office* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2000), xiii.

spirit, and encouraged members of the board to bring before meetings any ideas they may have for improved efficiency in the department”.<sup>114</sup>

### The Departmental manual

Carroll also stresses the importance of a departmental manual in achieving effective communication and efficiency within the department. According to him:

"The departmental manual is a volume widely distributed throughout the department in which is set out most of the department's standard procedures and instructions. It is a most valuable document for the promulgation of departmental policy, for day-to-day guidance of officers and for making detailed instructions readily available to all concerned".<sup>115</sup>

A 1907 departmental manual of the Nigeria PWD was obtained as a primary source material in this research, and will be further examined in chapter five.

### Building construction and maintenance depots

The fourth aspect of PWD operations described by Carroll is the decentralization of its administration into a headquarters and smaller districts headed by a district engineer. Equally described in his review was the department's usual practice of establishing construction offices for major engineering works, and more importantly to this research, its establishment of building maintenance depots in the hinterlands. According to him:

"Each of these depots is under the immediate charge of the District engineer in whose area the depot is located. But owing to the remoteness from the district officer, most of the

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<sup>114</sup> W.R. Carroll, "The administration of the department of Public Works", *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 20, (1961): 90.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, 94.

building maintenance depots are provided with separate clerical and accounting staff".<sup>116</sup>

The building maintenance depots described by Carroll were a feature of the Nigeria PWD and were commonly termed the 'PWD yard'. This will also be further examined in the chapter five.

- **Architecture as wider political agenda - Mandate Palestine**

While Carroll examines how the PWD (of New South Wales) was administered, and what design and other ancillary functions and services it performed, Fuchs focuses on the department's building output and its implications for the wider political context in Mandate Palestine. According to Porter:

"Beginning from 1922, Britain's movement in the middle east seemed anything but passing. 1930 was the Palestine Wailing Wall riots, and by 1939, British 'Arabists' were warning of the potential effects of the Palestine question on Britain's regional primacy".<sup>117</sup>

Although my earlier review of discussion on Indian PWD outputs, highlighted what they saw as wider political agenda of PWD buildings, the difference between the Indian PWD review and my discussion of Fuchs's *Public works in the Holy land: Government building under the British mandate in Palestine, 1917 – 1948* is that, while the buildings forming the focus of earlier discussion were of the monumental genre and produced mainly as reflecting empire's grandeur, those buildings being explored by Fuchs are what he terms "Standard mandatory

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid, 92.

<sup>117</sup> A.N. Porter, *Atlas of British Overseas expansion* (London: Routledge, 1991),117.



buildings”.<sup>118</sup> Before beginning his exploration of these buildings, Fuchs provides a background to the contending political, colonial administrative and built environment forces in Palestine at the time. According to him:

“the landscape of Palestine presented British sensibility with an extraordinary polarity. On the one hand there was the oriental, traditional landscape of Arab Palestine with its picturesque towns and Biblical-looking villages, its domed house, colourful bazaars, camel, minarets and muezzin calls; on the other hand the brash, cosmopolitan modernism of the new Jewish urban neighbourhoods and agricultural settlements”.<sup>119</sup>

In Fuchs’s observation, the British response to this polarity played out on two levels, the preservationist versus interventionist responses. Explaining this further, Fuchs writes that:

"While the 'preservationist' methods of government consciously sought to preserve and sustain indigenous manners and customs, and to 'shield' native societies from radical change, the interventionists justified the reform of native cultures on the basis of a belief in the existence of universal values”.<sup>120</sup>

Fuchs argues that:

“The landscape of Mandatory Palestine was overlaid with a complex dialectic that had at once colonial, political and architectural dimensions. The contemporary architectural dilemma of traditionalism versus modernism, the British 'dual obligation' to Arab Palestine and Jewish

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<sup>118</sup> Ron Fuchs, "Public works in the Holy Land: Government buildings under the British Mandate in Palestine 1917–1948", in *Twentieth Century Architecture and Its Histories*, ed. Louise Campbell (London : Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2000), 282.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, 275.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*, 276 -277.

National home, and the colonial dilemma between 'preservationist' and 'interventionist' government were intricately linked to each other".<sup>121</sup>

His article therefore explores Palestine's PWD buildings within the context of these various dialectics.

- **Modest official architecture - Mandate Palestine and Canada**

Although Fuchs had acknowledged the political undertone to PWD architecture in Mandate Palestine, he presents the purpose of his article rather as "focusing on the corpus of non-monumental government buildings produced by the Palestine Public Works Department, and examining how some of these modest examples of official architecture responded to the complex dialectics of the Palestine situation".<sup>122</sup> This is in spite of the fact that "the department handled prestigious representational monuments such as Central Government offices, a government house and a national museum".<sup>123</sup>

A description given by Fuchs for all PWD architecture, irrespective of its monumental or non-monumental nature is "architecture produced by the state, for the state".<sup>124</sup> However, Fuchs observes a main distinction between the two, and variously terms the non-monumental as "unassuming official buildings" as well as "modest practical buildings".<sup>125</sup> The unique thing about non-monumental buildings he argues is that:

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid, 280.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 282.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, 281 – 282.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 282.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 282.

“while representational buildings may convey official rhetoric with elaboration, simple official buildings lead away from the unique monument to series of building types, from aesthetic gestures to the pragmatic problems of standardization, economy and functionality. It is in their persistent presence in the landscape, in their fixed standards and in their apparent efficiency that the representational punch of these buildings rest”.<sup>126</sup>

Lee makes a similar argument regarding the importance of the more modest official buildings produced by America’s near equivalence of PWD, the Supervising Architects office. While noting how “supervising architect William Porter expressed gothic ideas in his high-towered post office and court house in Nashville, and Cass Gilbert designed New York's superbly neo-renaissance custom house,”<sup>127</sup> she shows also that:

“in addition to monuments, the supervising architect of the treasury enriched the American landscape with hundreds of lesser buildings - post offices, custom houses, courthouses and marine hospitals. These buildings form a vernacular of public architecture and announced the federal government in far-flung places”.<sup>128</sup>

Writing in a similar vein, Wright has explained that:

“Federal buildings had two principal functions; providing the necessary accommodation for government institutions, but also the important role as symbols representing the federal

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid, 282.

<sup>127</sup> Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architect's Office* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2000), viii.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, viii.

presence in towns and cities across the country. In some cases, these symbols were expected to take the form of imposing architectural landmarks”.<sup>129</sup>

Like Fuchs, she also makes a distinction between such imposing official building and the more unassuming ones. According to her:

“the majority of federal buildings - post offices, custom houses, drill halls - were erected on a modest and economical scale, and most were not outstanding works of architecture. However, they too were built to project a suitably dignified architectural image that would reflect credibility on the state. They were also invariably welcomed with enthusiasm and regarded as valuable and pleasing assets to the community”.<sup>130</sup>

Wright’s observation therefore raises two issues. The first one shows that she is in agreement with both Lee and Fuchs on the fact that non-monumental official buildings were as symbolic and representative of government as their monumental counterparts. The second issue she raises regarding the buildings being viewed as assets in the community, seems to suggest that the community welcomed the buildings not only because they represented the government, but because of the practical and everyday purposes they served; thus echoing Fuchs’s reference to their representational punch leading away from aesthetic gestures and resting in pragmatic problem of functionality and apparent efficiency.

Concentrating on the practical rather than representative nature of these buildings, Fuchs employs them in analysing his discourse on the contending political situations he had earlier

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<sup>129</sup> Janet Wright, *Crown assets: The Architecture of the Public Works Department 1867 – 1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997), 5.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*, 5 – 6.

described in Mandate Palestine. According to him, “pragmatic structures tend to bring out the instrumental role of architecture in the service of authority, and the buildings offer unique insight into the colonial and political meanings of mandatory architecture”.<sup>131</sup> He therefore argues that the Palestine PWD’s attempt to intervene in the political, colonial and architectural dilemmas of the Mandate, was perhaps best achieved through what he terms ‘standard mandatory buildings’, ‘unassuming official buildings’ or ‘modest practical buildings’, rather than the more representational monumental buildings.

### **Other Colonial Government Departments related to the PWD (Railways and Medical and Sanitary Services) – West Africa**

*Table 1: Table showing British West African States, Area and Population in 1900<sup>132</sup>*

<b>BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN WEST AFRICA (1900)</b>		
	Area in square miles	Population
Sierra Leone	30,000	250,000
Gambia	2,700	50,000
Gold Coast	46,000	1,473,882
Lagos	20,000	3,000,000
Royal Niger company’s Territory (Northern Nigeria)	500,000	20,000,000 and 35,000,000
Niger Coast Protectorate (Southern Nigeria)	Between 3,000 and 4,000	50,000

<sup>131</sup> Ron Fuchs, "Public works in the Holy Land: Government buildings under the British Mandate in Palestine 1917–1948", in *Twentieth Century Architecture and Its Histories*, ed. Louise Campbell (London: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2000), 302.

<sup>132</sup> Mary H. Kingsley, *The Story of West Africa* (London: Horace, Marshal and Son, 1900), ii.



Figure 3: Map of British West Africa

According to Blake “We may trace the roots of white enterprise in West Africa to the Iberian political situation in the early fifteenth century.”<sup>133</sup> British West Africa, as the group of British colonies in the region were later known, comprised of Nigeria (being the largest and most populated), Ghana, Sierra Leone and Senegal. Writing on the significance of these colonies in her 1954 book, Huxley describes them as “The Four Guineas”.<sup>134</sup> However, as it was noted earlier on in chapter one, and is further explained in this chapter, the current research on Nigeria PWD is characterized by a very notable dearth of literature. This literary dearth though, is not only limited to the department in Nigeria, and appears to be even more so on PWD works in other areas of British West Africa.

Notwithstanding this however, a section addressing PWD practices in the wider Imperial built environment will be highly inconclusive without discussing West Africa. Considering

<sup>133</sup> John W. Blake, *European Beginnings in West Africa: 1454 – 1578* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1937), 1.

<sup>134</sup> Elspeth Huxley, *Four Guineas: A Journey through West Africa* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1954), 1.

the dearth of literature in this regard therefore, the West African discussion will focus on PWD's related Colonial Government departments, particularly the Railways and the Medical and Sanitary Services department of the time. These departments are mainly examined in the absence of PWD literature for British West African colonies because, they, like the PWD, were essential to developing areas of the region. Medical and Sanitation services were pivotal to the survival and wellbeing of colonial administrators in particular, and the railways facilitated easier mobility and international trade.

These departments are also significant to the discussion on PWD in British West Africa and the wider imperial built environment because like the PWD, they were part of Empire's machinery and had their operations replicated in the colonies across empire.

### **PWD and Railways in British West Africa**

To highlight the purpose for developing railways in West Africa in the early twentieth century, Mance notes that "One of the first objectives of railway construction in West Africa, or for the matter of that in any of our more recently acquired tropical dependencies, is to attain effective occupation".<sup>135</sup> The progression expected from such conquest is further explained by Shelford, a railway construction civil engineer who notes that:

"The best efforts of my firm have always been to the good cause of converting our Crown Colonies of West Africa from little known heathen and undeveloped portions of the great continent of Africa to valuable markets for our manufacturers, and rich sources of raw products for our own industries".<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Captain H. O. Mance D.S.O., R.E. (1913) *The Railway Systems of West Africa*, *Royal United Services Institution Journal*, 57: 169.

<sup>136</sup> Fred Shelford, "On West African Railways" *Journal of the Royal African Society* (1902): 351.

The works to which he refers here are “the three railways which have been made, in the three Colonies of Sierra Leone, Lagos, and the Gold Coast, while the West African Colony of Gambia is small and located on the banks of the Gambia River, and has at present no need for railways”.<sup>137</sup>

So was there a link between the development of railways and PWD work in the West African region? The answer to this is perhaps seen in Sunderland’s suggestion that, “Most Crown colony lines were built in West Africa, and until 1906, they were built by departmental system of construction, rather than, as previously in these colonies, by government-employed contractors or private firms.”<sup>138</sup> However, Sanders has further argued that:

“The term 'departmental system' was a misnomer. Theoretically the infrastructure was built by the colony's Public Works Department. In reality the involvement of such bodies varied according to their experience and expertise. In the developed colonies, the Public Works Department completed most of the work, which was monitored by the Crown Agents consulting Engineers. In less developed colonies, and particular in West Africa, where in 1895 few railway lines had been built and countries were unsurveyed, consulting Engineers were 'practically the contractors' of projects”.<sup>139</sup>

It was through this process that, “In Nigeria a railway was initially constructed (1896 - 1899) from the port of Lagos the colonial capital, to Abeokuta and later Ibadan, a distance of over 123 miles, at a cost of a million sterling, and costing the Colony annually £51,000”.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> *ibid*, 341.

<sup>138</sup> David Sunderland, “Departmental System of Railway Construction in British West Africa, 1895 -1906” *The Journal of Transport History* 23/2 (2000): 87.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, 87.

<sup>140</sup> *Scottish Geographical Magazine* “Railways in Africa” Volume 22 Issue 10 (1906): 621.



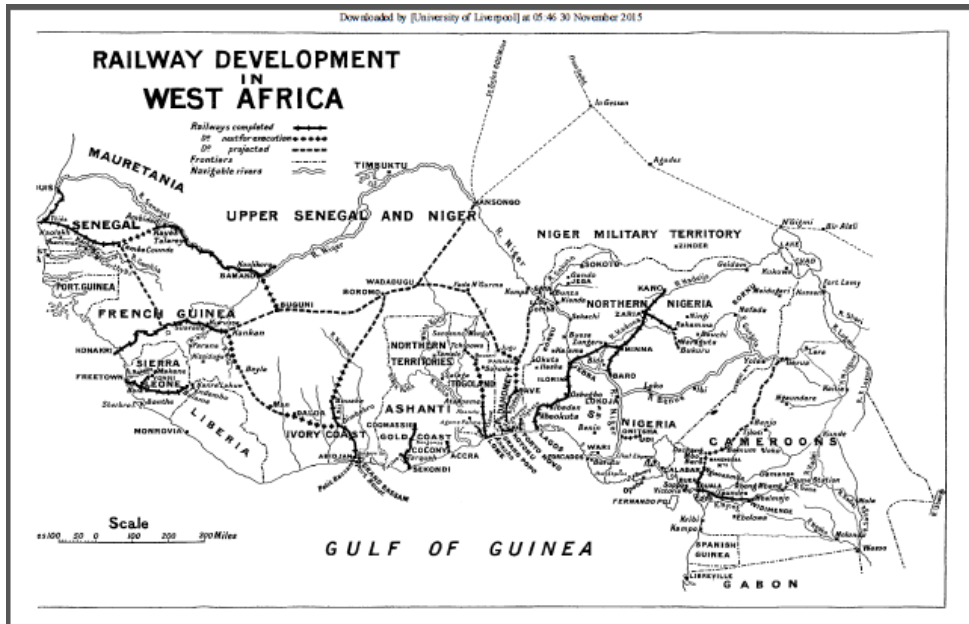


Figure 4: 1913 British West Africa Railway map<sup>141</sup>

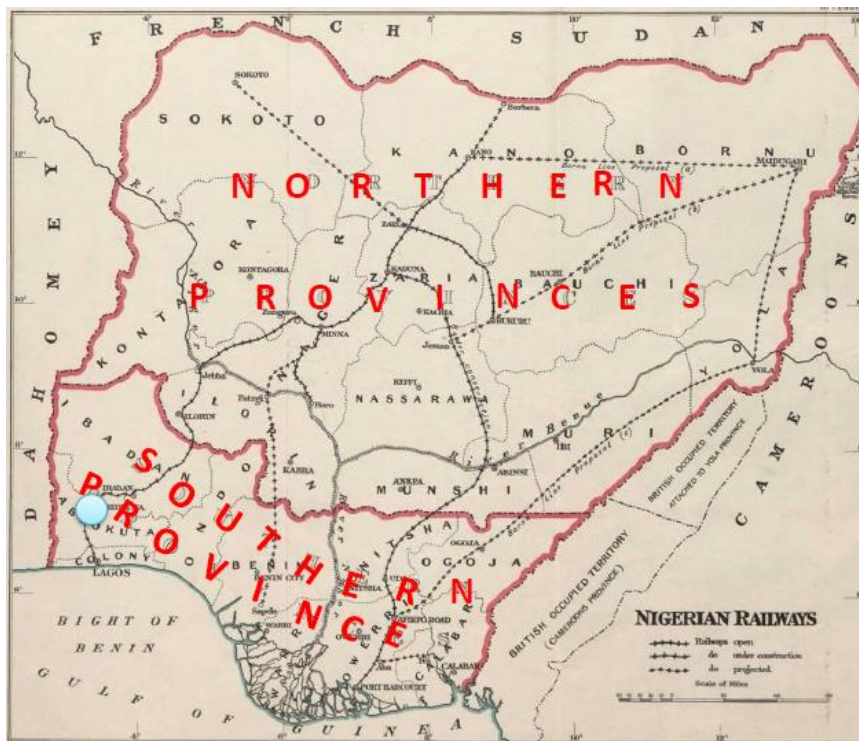


Figure 5: 1919 Railway map of Nigeria<sup>142</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Captain H. O. Mance D.S.O., R.E. (1913) *The Railway Systems of West Africa*, *Royal United Services Institution Journal*, 57: 196.

<sup>142</sup> The National Archives, CO 879/119/8 “*Nigeria: Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912 -1914*” (London: Colonial Office, 1919), Appendix 3.

But the railways were also being developed in other parts of British West Africa, through the departmental system of construction which partially involved PWD input. As noted in the Scottish Geographical Magazine for example,

“The British between 1897 and 1903 constructed a railway in Gold Coast Colony, from the port of Sekondi to the capital Kumasi, a distance of 465 miles. This railway has already proved to great use to the Colony. About the same time a railway was constructed in Sierra Leone, from Freetown to Bo, nearly 76 miles in length”.<sup>143</sup>

Although PWD input in rail construction had been curtailed and replaced by services of private firms or consulting Engineers, the British West Africa wide construction described above provides insights on how the department practiced not just within Nigeria, but within other English speaking parts of West Africa.

### **PWD and the Medical and Sanitary Services Department in British West Africa**

Although the focus of his study is on Medical and Sanitary services in the Eastern and Central African territories which are under British rule, Patterson provides significant insights into the functions of the services in rural Africa as a whole, at the time. According to him:

“The functions of the Medical service are summarized to include (a) The initiation and execution of preventive and remedial measures, with a view to the treatment, control, and, as far as possible, the extinction, of the endemic and epidemic diseases

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<sup>143</sup> Scottish Geographical Magazine “Railways in Africa” Volume 22 Issue 10 (1906): 623.

which are prevalent in the East African Dependencies. (b) The general care of the health of native inhabitants and of Government officials”.<sup>144</sup>

But just providing the function of Medical services for Paterson, is not sufficient to understand the context within which medical services operated. In shedding further light on its operations therefore, Paterson notes that defining the functions only gives:

“A wide reference. The functions cover in effect all the branches of Public health work for which a Medical Department of Public Health can ordinarily be responsible, and very clearly indicates that the Medical Departments in these dependencies are no longer solely concerned with what may be termed "garrison" duties, but are required to undertake work in a much wider field to become, in fact, Medical Departments of Public Health, charged with the duty of advising their respective Governments on matters affecting the health of the general population, and of executing such approved measures as may come within their scope”.<sup>145</sup>

Making a case for the Medical Services department’s operations in Nigeria during the early twentieth century, Lugard pinpoints the role of notable staff and what he considered as impressive work output being rendered. According to him:

“Under the guidance and imperturbable good sense and tact of Dr. Hood, Director of Medical and Sanitary services, the indiscipline of the Southern Medical department has given place to zeal. the department though much reduced in aid of the War, has remained thoroughly efficient and has successfully coped with serious outbreaks of yellow fever and influenza. Dr

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<sup>144</sup> A.R Paterson, “The Provision of Medical and Sanitary Services for Natives in Rural Africa” *Transactions of the Royal society of Tropical Health and Hygiene* Vol XXI, No.6 (1928): 440.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, 404.

Hood has carried through with great ability, the revision of the Public Health and other Medical ordinances and regulations”<sup>146</sup>.

However, Nigeria was only one of other British West African possessions where a Medical and Sanitary Services department operated. For example, Patterson writes on the department’s operations in the former Gold Coast (now Ghana) and notes that:

“The Rudiments of a colonial medical service date back well into the nineteenth century and a Gold Coast Medical Department was created in the 1880s. It was administered by a physician whose title was Principal Medical officer P.M.O. until 1923. Director of Medical and Sanitary services (Director of Medical and Sanitary Services (D.M.S.S) from 1923 to 1934, and later Director of Medical Services (D.M.S). Like other departmental heads, he reported to the Governor through the Colonial Secretary”<sup>147</sup>.

Although Patterson gives insight on the Ghana’s Medical and Sanitary Services department, its key officials and notable dates in its history, he makes no linkages between it and the PWD. The example of such a linkage in West Africa is better seen in a 1919 Correspondence on Medical and Sanitary matters in Sierra Leone. Interest in the country’s medical and sanitary matters however predates 1919. Almost a century earlier in 1827 for example, Kennan writes that the “House of Commons had produced a Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of Sierra Leone”<sup>148</sup> He also quotes an extract from the report, which observed that:

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<sup>146</sup> The National Archives, CO 879/119/8 “*Nigeria: Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912 -1914*” (London: Colonial Office, 1919), 80.

<sup>147</sup> K. David Patterson, *Health in Colonial Ghana: Disease, Medicine and Socio-Economic Change, 1900 -1955* (Massachusetts:Crossroads Press , 1981), 11.

<sup>148</sup> R. H. Kennan, “Freetown (1800 – 1870) from a sanitary point of view” (Dublin: John Falconer Publishers, 1910), 15.

“It is the opinion of the medical men stationed there that in no part of the world is good accommodation more essential to health than in Sierra Leone, where, however, such has not hitherto been obtainable, but at a charge relatively greater than in other countries”.<sup>149</sup>

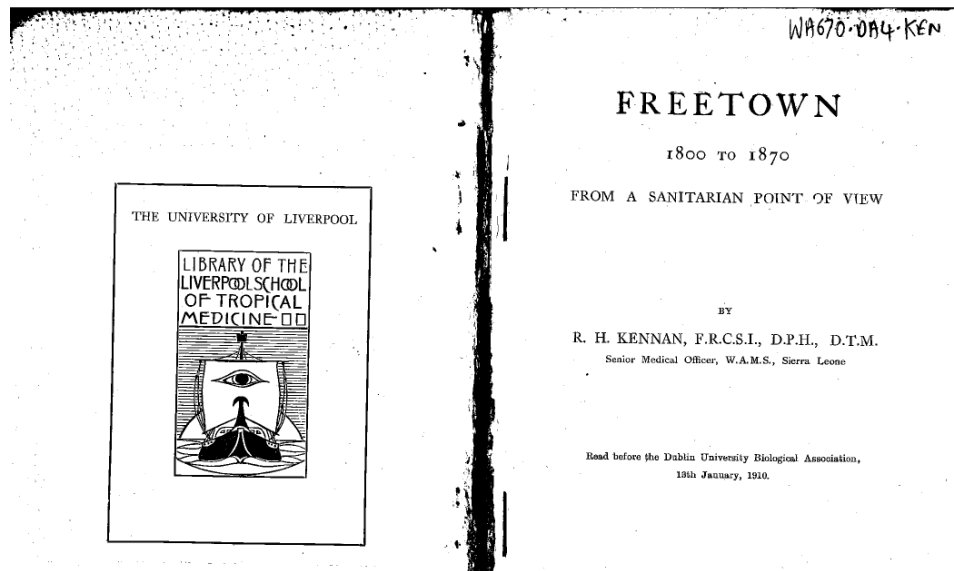


Figure 6: Kennan’s book is a significant part of the LSTM (Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine) collection<sup>150</sup>

This early notion on fragile health conditions in Sierra Leone is perhaps, why the 1919 meeting on Medical and Sanitary matters in tropical Africa<sup>151</sup> as a whole, began by addressing the problem of Freetown. According to the minutes of the meeting, “Mr R.J. Wilkinson, C.M.G., Governor of Sierra Leone, attended the meeting. Sir W.B. Leishman asked as to the scheme for expanding £20,000 on the sanitation of Freetown”.<sup>152</sup> This was because according to Wilkinson “Money was not available for proper town improvement schemes”.<sup>153</sup> With the availability of such money however, the minutes note that “he thought

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, i and ii

<sup>151</sup> Colonial Office “*Further Correspondence (July 1919 - December 1920) relating to Medical and Sanitary Matters in Tropical Africa*” (London: Colonial Office, 1921)

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, 1.

the town could be drained and mosquitoes exterminated. Freetown would be, in his opinion, an easy town to drain”.<sup>154</sup> On giving Wilkinson’s suggestion for Sierra Leone’s drainage problems, the minutes also describe Sanitation regulation for buildings, and PWD role in this regard. The minutes therefore read that:

“As regards buildings in the town there were regulations, but they were not carried out. For instance, the regulations laid down that each building must be approved by the Public Works Department, but the officials responsible did not take any actions because there was no definition of a "building." The Director of Public Works and his officers did not live in Freetown but at Hill Station, and could not visit the town in the heat of the day. Therefore much was done that was over-looked. He had recommended a Sanitary Board with its own sanitary officer, and its own Engineer. This board will consist of the Senior Sanitary Officer, the Director of Public Works and another civil officer”.<sup>155</sup>

This example of building regulations in Freetown, Sierra Leone, therefore demonstrates the linkages between PWD and the Medical and Sanitary Department; and such linkages appear to be representative of British West African wide practices.

#### **2.4 Architecture in the tropical imperial built environment at the close of empire**

Architecture in the tropical imperial built environment has also been studied in the context of decolonization, political devolution, independence and a new national identity. These studies argue that in the affected regions, architecture often became for the ‘about to be’ or ‘newly independent’ nation, a mode of self-expression, a symbol of no repression, of new found freedom, a sense of collective identity and patriotism and the ideal of national development.

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>155</sup> Colonial Office “*Further Correspondence (July 1919 - December 1920) relating to Medical and Sanitary Matters in Tropical Africa*” (London: Colonial Office, 1921),

Major works done in this area include, Richards's (1961) *New buildings in the commonwealth*, Lang, Desai and Desai's (1997) *Architecture and independence: India – 1880 to 1980*, Crinson's (2003) *Modern Architecture and the end of empire*, and Lu's (2011) *Third world modernism: Architecture, development and identity*.

Writing on the strong sense of patriotism and identity which defined architecture during the period of decolonization, Lang et al give the example of India, and write that it relayed “the quest for an expression through urban and architectural form, of what it means to be Indian”.<sup>156</sup> To Lu therefore, it was such “acute self-awareness that turned into a nationalistic aspiration for development as a project of modernization at the top of the national agenda of many third world countries”.<sup>157</sup> Presenting a link between architecture and the emergence of such national development frameworks, Richards describes these soon to be former colonies as “all rapidly developing, looking actively towards the future and, although varying in sophistication and resources, all full of architectural vitality”.<sup>158</sup> The collective way in which Richards views the end of empire, architecture and development linkages in these colonies, is equally echoed by Crinson.

Like Richards, he argues that a sense of cohesion indeed ran through the former colonial possessions, which produced similarities in the architectural response to end of empire events. He also argues that what this suggests is “a promotion of the idea that there could be something shared by the post-imperial countries and discernible in their architecture, but that this commonality also rose above issues of economic dominance and cultural power”.<sup>159</sup> This

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<sup>156</sup> Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai and Miki Desai, *Architecture and independence: The search for identity – India 1880 – 1980* (New Delhi: Oxford University press 1997), 1

<sup>157</sup> Duanfang Lu, *Third world Modernism: Architecture development and identity* (New York: Routledge) 2011.

<sup>158</sup> J.M Richards, *New buildings in the Commonwealth* (London: The Architectural press 1961), 7.

<sup>159</sup> Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the end of Empire* (England: Ashgate) 2003.

commonality was manifested for example in Nigeria with the building of an independence house, in Ghana with an independence commemorative arch and museum, and in India, an independence museum.

- **New architecture in Africa**

The foregoing section has looked at current states of knowledge and various theoretical thoughts on architecture in the tropical imperial built environment. But then, there were other studies located within a narrower spectrum, and these examined new architecture in Africa during empire. Their main focus was on highlighting the place of native architecture in the design of modern buildings for the tropics. One prominent study in this regard is Elleh's (1997) *African Architecture: Evolution and transformation*. Here, Elleh argues that:

“There is nothing wrong with a new kind of architecture that overshadows an underdeveloped architecture, but there is the need to maintain a balanced cultural heritage, by synthesizing architectural elements from African architecture for the future development of architecture in Africa”.<sup>160</sup>

I go with Elleh's suggestion of nothing being wrong with a new architecture overshadowing the old, but rather than hinge my argument on producing an architecture that synthesizes African cultural elements; I am looking rather to see how PWD architectural works thrived between the wider imperial agenda on the one hand, and local architectural, political and even social situations on the other hand.

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<sup>160</sup> Nnamdi Elleh, *African Architecture: Evolution and Transformation* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997) 345.



One study which seeks a recipe for the synthesis described by Elleh, is Folker's (2010) *Modern Architecture in Africa*. In it he raises the point that an identity for African architecture "is related to the adoption of certain design elements, and the formal expressiveness of traditional regional building culture into modern building technology and functional typologies".<sup>161</sup> Kulterman had made a similar argument in (1963) *New Architecture in Africa*, where notes that "African architecture has up to now presented a problem requiring clarification. Its tradition must however be seen through the eyes of the immediate present".<sup>162</sup>

In his 1969 follow-up book, *New Directions in African Architecture*, Kulterman's sounds a slightly less confident tone on the progress made with traditional identity after six years of proposing the argument in 1963. He writes that "Although the architecture based on European models fails to meet the needs of the new African states, the revived tribal spirit has not provided workable alternatives".<sup>163</sup> His disappointment is also expressed in the notable slump which followed initial rapid architectural developments of the early 1960s; to which he notes that "Only scattered results have materialized after the high hopes and expectations of the early sixties".<sup>164</sup> In line with the book's objective, he also notes how these scattered results were to be "examined more soberly".<sup>165</sup>

His conclusion on the new Architecture in Africa however, is that "Any consideration of African architecture must, above all, take into account that the building forms in various parts

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<sup>161</sup> Anthoni Folkers, *Modern Architecture in Africa* (Amsterdam: Sun, 2010), 166.

<sup>162</sup> Udo Kulterman, *New Architecture in Africa* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963), 5.

<sup>163</sup> Udo Kulterman, *New directions in African Architecture* (New York: George Braziller, 1969), 12.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

of the continent are determined by the climate”.<sup>166</sup> Contrasting Kulterman’s earlier argument of a development slump after the early 1960s, and the non-viable native architecture alternatives however, is LeRoux’s (2004) *Modern architecture in Post-colonial Ghana and Nigeria*. She suggests here that:

“Far from being quiet, the 1960s were a period of extraordinary experimentation in West Africa. No monumental equivalents to the Universities of Ibadan or Kumasi were produced, but the series of minor works paralleled, if not explicitly drew from, the vital body of Africanist thinking of its time”.<sup>167</sup>

If going by Leroux’s argument of a very busy 1960s decade in Nigeria, the slump described by Kulterman probably took more effect in the country beginning from the late period of around 1967 that saw the country enmeshed in a civil war. Although Immerwahr’s (2007) *The Politics of Architecture and Urbanism in Postcolonial Lagos, 1960 - 1986* does not focus on identification with tradition in Africa’s new architecture, but it does, like Kulterman and LeRoux’s studies, examine its emerging issues post 1960.

Echoing LeRoux’s argument on the minor works which pervaded post-independence, he writes on the housing schemes initiated in Lagos after colonialism. According to him, “these housing estates resemble that of British residential areas by successfully imitating European models”.<sup>168</sup> However, he notes that “in spite of that dual vision of modernism and modernity, Lagos was not made over as the government and architectural elites hoped. Informal trading,

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>167</sup> Hannah LeRoux, “Modern architecture in Post-colonial Ghana and Nigeria” *Architectural history* 47, (2004): 361 – 392.

<sup>168</sup> Daniel Immerwahr, “The Politics of Architecture and Urbanism in Postcolonial Ghana and Nigeria” *Journal of African Studies* 19, (2007): 183.

illegal housing, and, eventually, a rising crime wave prevented this”.<sup>169</sup> This therefore suggest that it wasn’t just adopting a new form of architecture that mattered, there was the need to also address the socio-economic changes emerging post empire.

While Kulterman and LeRoux examine the new directions of imbibing identity in Africa’s architecture, and Immerwahr the workability of European models post-independence, all the studies have remained couched in the British Imperial architecture context. In James-Chakraborty’s (2014) *Beyond Post-colonialism: New directions for the history of non-Western Architecture* however, she suggests a different approach. Her study therefore “advocates a comparative study of imperialism that would stretch beyond chronicling European colonization of the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries to encompass earlier and also non-western empires”.<sup>170</sup> She observed for example that:

“The beginning student addressing the topic of empire and architecture might conclude that empires had been built at only two stages in human history. Ancient Rome on the one hand and the Asian and African colonies accumulated by the major European powers across the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century on the other, and few connections are drawn even between these examples. Nor, although many of the scholars who have written about British and French colonialism are based in the United States, Canada, and Australia, has there been much work addressing the similarities or the differences between the ways in which empire worked in the colonies where indigenous peoples were usually pushed aside by white settlers and those where they were no”.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Daniel Immerwahr, “The Politics of Architecture and Urbanism in Postcolonial Ghana and Nigeria” *Journal of African Studies* 19, (2007): 183.

<sup>170</sup> Kathleen James-Chakraborty, "Beyond Post colonialism: New directions for the history of non-western architecture." *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 3, no. 1 (2014): 2.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*, 4.

Writing more generally about what role architectural historians need to play for further work to be done in the area of empire and architecture, she suggests further explorations in; “New knowledge about the people who commissioned, designed, constructed, inhabited and viewed colonial and postcolonial buildings”.<sup>172</sup> These suggestions therefore generate an area of possible interest in this research.

## **2.5 Colonial PWD architecture in Nigeria**

The foregoing sections have looked at various bodies of literature and their lines of arguments, on the tropical imperial built environment, how the PWD worked in it, and architectural impacts at end of Empire. But what about the more specific context of colonial and late colonial mid-twentieth century architecture in Nigeria within which this research equally explores? What previous studies have been done in this area and what are the salient lines of arguments?

The main observation made in this area of study is that it’s most prominent and widely investigated works are those which focus on architecture at the close of empire, shortly before 1960 independence. The reason adduced for this is the greater pace of development which accompanied decolonization and the creation of a ‘New Nigeria’. But an equally important reason was that these works were very well publicized in the architectural press of the time. However, studies regarding colonial architecture in Nigeria are being slightly distinguished from those of the mid-twentieth century. This is because although the two sub-eras of architecture flourished within the same British administrative period, the proponents of the late mid-twentieth century type distanced themselves from what they deemed as

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid, 6.

colonial and oppressive, and opted instead to view their buildings as architecture of development.

Although previous works on colonial architecture in Nigeria are few and far between, the most important studies are perhaps seen in Foyle's (1951) *Architecture of Nigeria*<sup>173</sup> and Akinsemoyin and Vaughn Richard's (1976) *Building Lagos*.<sup>174</sup> What differentiates the two is that Foyle limits his study to examine architecture in the colonial administrative period and broadens the scope to include Northern and Southern Nigeria. Akinsemoyin and Vaughn Richards on the other hand provide a chronological study from pre-colonial times, and it is entirely focused on Lagos.

Another chronological but not very detailed study, that also examines Nigeria's colonial architecture is Moffet's (1977) *Nigeria today*.<sup>175</sup> The article provides an overview of Nigerian architecture, from the tribal, through the colonial to modern architecture. His focus is however on the private British firms and the works they had produced in Nigeria post-independence, to which he argued for a need for more representation of tradition. Since there hasn't been much rigorous research coming out of colonial and particularly PWD architecture studies in Nigeria, this research have has chosen to, for better understanding and a clearer context, review the few works chronologically, beginning from the Chamberlain policy on colonial development around the turn of the twentieth century, to 1960 independence and end of empire period that forms the focus of this study. A precursor to this however, will be an investigation on the wider context of the Nigerian state – its geographical features, political history, as well as its ethnography, culture and identity, particularly as they influenced PWD

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<sup>173</sup> Arthur M. Foyle, "The Architecture of Nigeria" *The Builder* (August 31 1951): 284-286.

<sup>174</sup> Kunle Akinsemoyin, and Alan Vaughan-Richards. *Building Lagos*. (Jersey: Pengrall Ltd) 1977.

<sup>175</sup> Noel, Moffet. "Nigeria Today" *RIBA Journal* (June 1977): 244-254.



topography, climate and vegetation, as well as in its culture and ethnography. Topographically, the vast savannah plains of Northern Nigeria are contrasted by the region's centralized Jos Plateau with an elevation of 2000 feet (609 meters), by the north-eastern Koma and Mubi mountain ranges rising to between 2000 and 8000 feet (2,438 meters), as well as the southern Cameroon volcanic mountain range, being the loftiest and rising to 13,350 feet (4069 meters).<sup>178</sup>

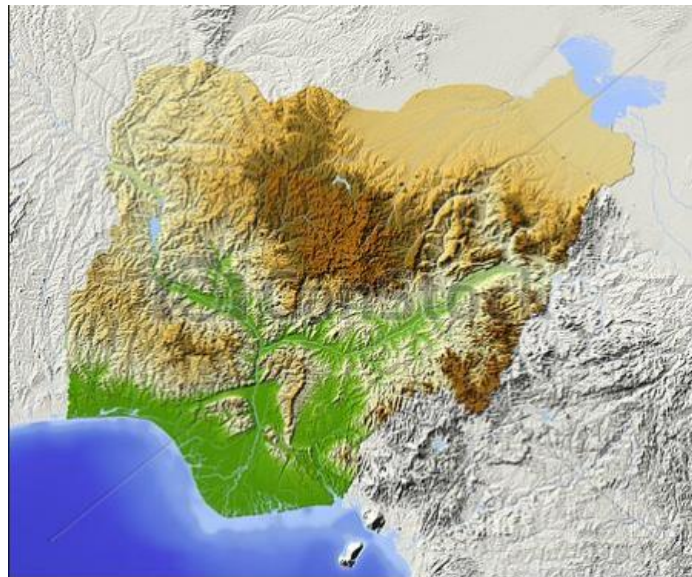


Figure 8: Nigeria physical and geographical features

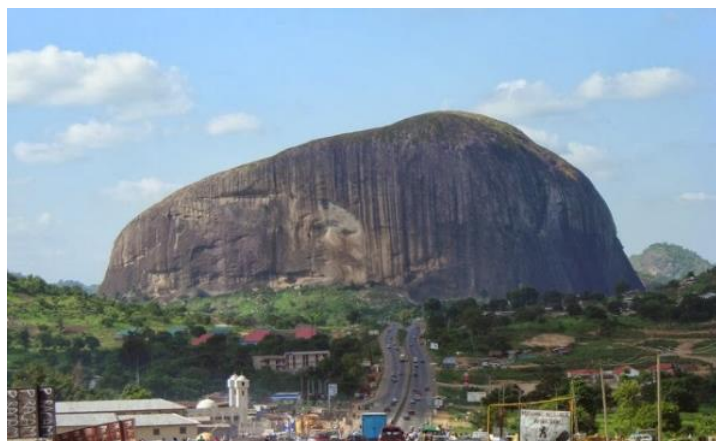


Figure 9: Zuma rock, the unofficial icon of Nigeria's Federal Capital, Abuja

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<sup>178</sup> Arthur N. Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (London: Oxford University press, 1943), 10

Two out of Africa’s seven most prominent rivers, the Niger and Benue, also flow through the heart of Nigeria’s landscape. According to Cook, the Niger is “The great river from which the country takes its name. It is the third largest river in Africa, and is some 2,600 miles long. Its source is in French West Africa.”<sup>179</sup> This great river as well as the lesser Benue, converge at a confluence in the mid land regions, flow southwards, and open out to the Atlantic Ocean as the Niger Delta estuary in the country’s southernmost region.



Figure 10: Map of Nigeria

Aside from the existence of these two great rivers however, Nigeria is also home to southern Lake Chad, Africa’s largest lake region, on the Northeastern boundary of the country.<sup>180</sup> And while still discussing boundaries, Nigeria exists as a stand-alone English-as-official-language speaker in its immediate sub-region, being surrounded by three French speaking neighbors; the republic of Benin on the West, Niger republic in the north, and the Cameroon republic in the east. This linguistic difference can of course be traced to the past colonial linkages of these countries, with Nigeria being a former British colony Niger and Republic of Benin being former French colonies, and Cameroun a

<sup>179</sup> Ibid, 10

<sup>180</sup> A .C. Burns, *History of Nigeria* (London: George Allen and Unwin ltd, 1955), 26



former German and French colony.

- **Brief Political History**

Pre-1900 / Circa turn of the Century - Early European and British presence



Figure 11: Missionaries at Ibadan<sup>181</sup>

The two factors which appear have to have prompted initial British interest in Nigeria are trading and Christian missionary quests. These two factors according to Williams were “to civilize Africa by promoting 'legitimate' commerce and Christianity.”<sup>182</sup> Notwithstanding the other covert intentions which British colonial rule has often been argued to possess, the early days of its administration opened up the coastal regions, and later hinterlands of Nigeria for access to formal education, infrastructural development and general modernity. As observed by Harrison Church “the earliest documented European contact was by the Portuguese in 1472.”<sup>183</sup> This trade related contact had initially involved the exchange of European manufactured goods for local raw materials. Over time however, goods began being exchanged for raw materials as well as slave cargoes.

<sup>181</sup> The National archives, CO 1069/80/36 “Misses Thomas Hudson and Missionaries at Ibadan” undated

<sup>182</sup> Gavin Williams, *Nigeria: Economy and society* (London: Rex Collins, 1976), 11

<sup>183</sup> R.J. Harrison Church, *West Africa: A study of the environment and of man's use of it* (London: Longman's Green and co ltd,1957), 441

Although Britain later began a slave trade abolition campaign in 1808<sup>184</sup>, the trade thrived on for many years. It has therefore been suggested that Britain’s eventual annexation of Lagos as a crown colony in 1861<sup>185</sup>, was a last resort to get its then ruler, Kosoko, to comply with anti-slave trade laws. Nigeria’s British colonial rule was therefore established in Lagos that year, by ‘formal control through local governors.<sup>186</sup> Missionary activities on the country’s western coast had begun in Badagry, a settlement along the coastal creeks of Lagos. Abeokuta was however to become the region’s major missionary outpost.<sup>187</sup> Although the first missionaries to arrive there in 1842 were the Baptists, the Church Missionary Society of England joined them a year later.’<sup>188</sup>

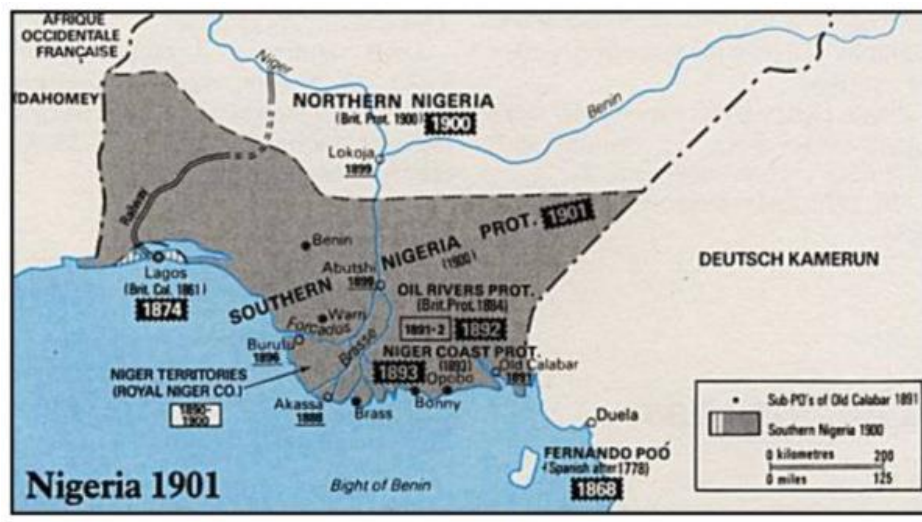


Figure 12:1901 Map of Southern Nigeria

While these developments were taking place on the western coast however, the southern coast was equally being transformed by its own trading and missionary activities. The

<sup>184</sup> William Nevill Montgomerie Geary. *Nigeria Under British Rule*. (London: Frank Cass and Co Ltd, 1965) 70  
<sup>185</sup> Robert Sidney Smith. *The Lagos Consulate, 1851-1861*. (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1979) 2  
<sup>186</sup> Liora Bigon “Urban planning, Colonial doctrines and Street naming in French Dakar and British Lagos, c. 1850 -1930” *Urban History* 36, (2009): 429  
<sup>187</sup> Caroline Sorensen-Gilmor, “Badagry 1784-1863. The Political and Commercial History of a Pre-Colonial Lagoonside Community in South West Nigeria” (PhD diss., University of Stirling, 1995), 203  
<sup>188</sup> The Royal Institute of International affairs. *Nigeria: the Political and Economic Background* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960) 31

earliest missionary outpost on the south coast was therefore the 1846 United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in Calabar, which was followed by Rev. S.A Crowther's Niger mission at Onitsha in 1857, and in the hinterland at Lokoja in 1865.<sup>189</sup> But as missionary activities expanded here, so did the European commercial interest. With the abolition of slave trade, commerce on the coast gradually embraced the extensive palm-oil trade and lead to the United African Company's establishment in 1879<sup>190</sup>. Aside it's trading mandate, the company equally received a royal charter to govern the southern coast under the name 'Oil Rivers Protectorate', which later became a part of the bigger Southern Protectorate of Nigeria.

### **1900 - 1913: Emergence of a colonial administration**

In 1899, fourteen years after it began governing the Niger Coast protectorate, the Royal Niger company had its charter of authority revoked. On January 1 1900, the Union Jack was hoisted at Lokoja to replace the company flag and to stamp British colonial rule in the Niger area – thus the acronym 'Nigeria'. As Nicholson observes, “The evolution of the system begun on 1 January 1900, in something more than a purely arbitrary or purely symbolic way, because it was then that the word 'Nigeria' first came into official use to describe the new protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria formed by orders in council which became operative on that day.”<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Otonti Nduka, “Colonial Education and Nigerian Society” in *Nigeria Economy and Society*, ed. Gavin Williams, (London: Rex Collins, 1976), 91

<sup>190</sup>J.B Webster and A.A Boahen, *The revolutionary years: West Africa since 1800* (London: Longmans, 1967), 203

<sup>191</sup> I.F Nicholson, *The administration of Nigeria 1900-1960: Men methods and myths* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1969), 1

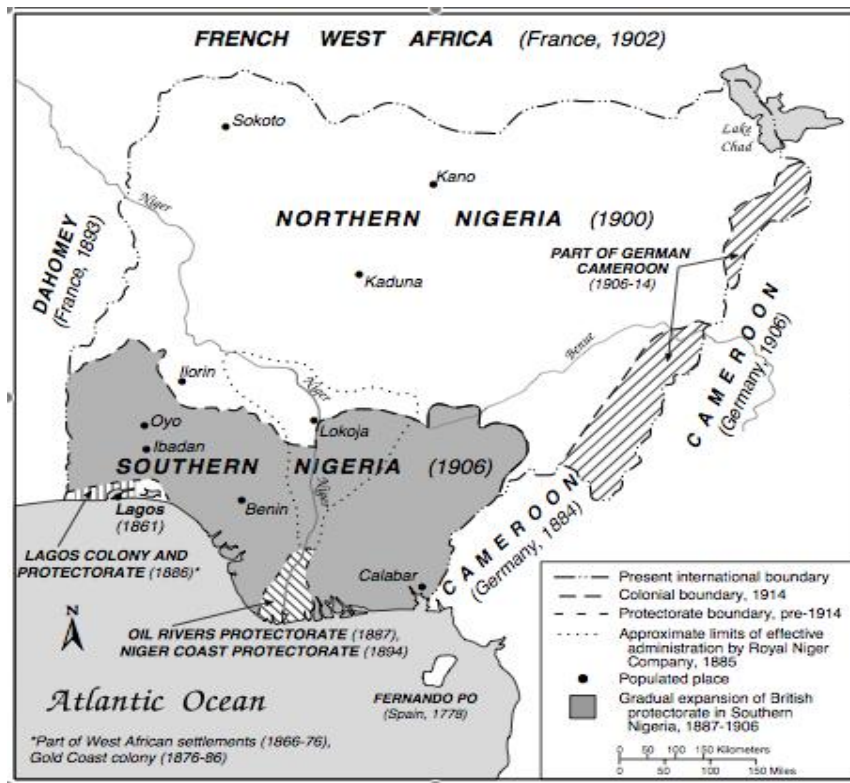


Figure 13:1902 Map of Northern and Southern Nigeria

Following into the new twentieth century and into what perhaps marks the beginnings of early Modern Nigeria, were a number of other administrative land marks. In the Southern protectorate, the major landmark of these early administrative years was its 1906 merger with the Lagos Colony and Yoruba-land. This merger came to be known as ‘The colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria’, with its headquarters located in Lagos<sup>192</sup>.

Developments in the Northern protectorate were however of a different nature. Shortly after establishing the British protectorate at Lokoja in 1900, Lugard assumed the duties of High Commissioner to Nigeria and had the capital relocated from Lokoja to Jebba that same year. By September 1902, after finding Jebba ‘swarming with mosquitoes’, the

<sup>192</sup> Allister Macmillan, *The Red Book of West Africa: Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures & Resources*. (London: Frank Cass and Co Limited, 1968) 38

capital was again relocated to Zungeru along river Kaduna.<sup>193</sup> By 1903 however, Lugard was again to describe Zungeru as ‘excessively hot, with much surface rock and infested with mosquitoes’, and after making a strong case, convinced the colonial office to make Kaduna the Northern region capital.<sup>194</sup>

### **1914-1945: Administrative reformation**

Another merger was again effected in 1914, but this time it was between the Southern and Northern Protectorates. To this, Cook writes that "Modern Nigeria was created by letters Patent and Order in Council issued January 1 1914, which provided for the merger of the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria with Northern Nigeria into a single administrative unit under the authority of Sir Frederick Lugard, who assumed the title of Governor General."<sup>195</sup> The merger therefore signaled a major administrative, as well as historical landmark and brought into being what constitutes present day Nigeria. The landmark events. Of this period is promulgation of the Lugardian ‘Dual mandate’ or ‘indirect rule’. The principle according to Lugard, meant “allowing the natives to run their own affairs, in proportion to their ability, with quasi-independent powers”<sup>196</sup>

### **1945 - 1960 Decolonization and consolidation of local politics**

Writing on the post war and decolonization period, Wright describes it as “arguably the most influential and far-reaching international event of the second half of the twentieth century, namely the end of empire and the consequent emergence of the independent nations

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<sup>193</sup> Liora Bigon, *A history of urban planning in two West African colonial capitals: Residential segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar 1850-1930* (New York: Edwin Mellen press, 2009), 140

<sup>194</sup> William Nevill Montgomerie Geary, *Nigeria Under British Rule*. (London, Frank Cass and Co, 1965) 212

<sup>195</sup> Arthur N. Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (London: Oxford University press, 1943), 242

<sup>196</sup> Robert K. Home, “Urban growth and urban government” in *Nigeria, economy and society*, ed. Gavin Williams (London: Rex Collins, 1976), 65

of the Third World”<sup>197</sup> While a part of the nationalists’ decolonization debate had mainly focused on ‘getting the British out’, in Nigeria, the debate also turned out as a means to secure regional interest; mostly by the Yoruba *egbe omo oduduwa* and ‘action group’ in the West, for access to the lucrative cocoa revenues. In the north, it was the *Jam'iyyar Mutannen Arewa* group defending its institutions and to protect Northern interest in the new constitution. While The NCNC in the east became increasingly involved in affairs of the Ibo state.”<sup>198</sup>

By and large however, the decolonization events, as explained by Church are as follows "in 1939, the southern Provinces were divided into Western and Eastern Provinces, and in 1946, Regional houses of Assembly were created in Ibadan for the Western Region, at Enugu for the Eastern and at Kaduna for the Northern region."<sup>199</sup> Continuing the chronicle of events, he notes that that "under the 1951 Constitution, far greater powers were given to these regions. In 1953-54, however, at the wish of Nigerians who implemented the constitution, amendment were agreed whereby regionalization and home rule were increased. Western and Eastern Nigeria became self-governing in 1957, Northern Nigeria in 1959, and the whole Federation in 1960."<sup>200</sup>

- **Ethnography**

The geographical area of Nigeria is also home to a diverse people and cultures. As is again noted by the RIIA, “Nigeria embraces a bewildering complexity of human and

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<sup>197</sup> Robert D. Pearce, *Then the Wind Changed: Nigerian Letters of Robert Hepburn Wright, 1939-1946* (London, The Radcliff Press, 1992) xi

<sup>198</sup> Gavin Williams, “Nigeria: A political economy” in *Nigeria, Economy and Society*, ed. Gavin Williams, (London. Rex Collins limited, London, 1976), 27

<sup>199</sup> R. J. Harrison Church, *West Africa, a study of the environment and of man's use of it.* ( London: Longmans, 1963) 442

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid*, 442

physical elements. At least 300 tribes can be identified, and most have their own distinctive language.”<sup>201</sup>Nigeria’s ethnography can therefore be said to comprise of two major regions and divisions; the Hausa, Fulani and lesser minority tribes of the north; and, the Yoruba, Igbo and lesser minority tribes of the south. Writing specifically on the first group, Macmillan notes that, "The open country to the north is the home of Negroid and Berber peoples. They had adopted the Mohammedan religion at an early date, and possessed a civilization and a form of government, which the British administration aims to preserve."<sup>202</sup>

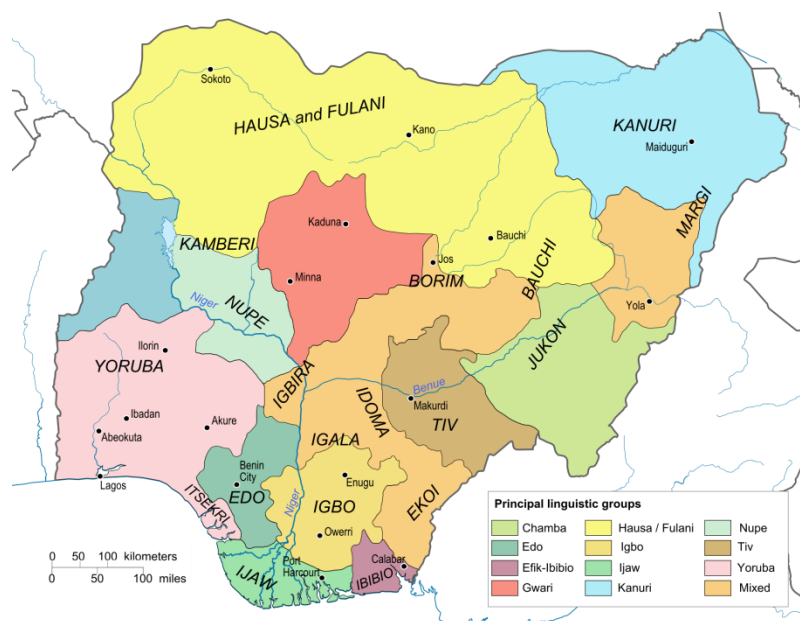


Figure 14: Ethnography Mao of Nigeria

Southwards however, are the Yoruba, the Igbo and lesser minority tribes of the south. Noting the early advancement of the Yoruba and southern Nigeria in general, Lugard observes that the “Yoruba, Egbas and Ijebus had evolved a fairly advanced system of government under recognised leaders. In the principal towns of the south (Lagos and

<sup>201</sup> The Royal Institute of international Affairs, *Nigeria: The political and economic background* (London: Oxford University press, 1960), 1

<sup>202</sup> Allister Macmillan, *The Red Book of West Africa Africa Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures, & Resources*. (London: Frank Cass and Co Ltd, 1968), 23

Calabar) there were some educated native gentlemen who practiced as doctors, barrister etc."<sup>203</sup> The Igbo on the other hand are largely perceived as being the most enterprising of Nigeria's tribes. Huxley corroborates this and writes that "The largest Ibo town is Onitsha on the banks of the Niger. Onitsha claims to have the largest and the most resourceful market in Nigeria, a daily market where anything can be bought, from an elephant to an admiral's uniform."<sup>204</sup> But as rightly noted by cook, "Aside from the Ibos, the south eastern provinces contain many other tribes such as the Ibibio, efiks, ijaws, itshekiri and several minorities"<sup>205</sup>



Figure 15: Hausa chiefs in Bauchi Nigeria

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<sup>203</sup> F.D Lugard, Report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration, 1912 -1919 (Colonial Office, October 1919), 6

<sup>204</sup> Elspeth Huxley, *Four Guineas: A Journey through Africa* (London: Chatto and Windus,1954), 291

<sup>205</sup> Arthur Norton Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1943), 13





Figure 16: Yoruba king and his household



Figure 17: Ibo girl dancers

**Views from more recent commentators from a Post-Colonial Perspective**

Nigeria during the early to mid-twentieth century has also been the subject of studies by more recent post-colonial writers. Prominent among these are scholars such as Wole Soyinka, Africa's first Nobel Laureate. Soyinka hints at haven developed an early literary

interest and intellectual flare, beginning from early growing up years in his native town of Abeokuta in Nigeria. This is seen in his book *Ake: The years of childhood*<sup>206</sup>, where he quotes a relative who had also taken note of his intellectual abilities. Speaking on his being admitted to study at the Government College, this relative had noted that “You see, they had to admit him, they know he is clever”.<sup>207</sup> While Soyinka’s writings addressed a range of cultural issues in traditional Yoruba Society, a significant number of the works were also satires on colonization and colonial rule in Nigeria.

Soyinka was also steeped in the fast growing concept of Afrocentricity which began during the late colonial period, and took prominence mostly among the native educated elites. This period also coincided with the beginnings of Black Emancipation calls in the United States of America. Some of Soyinka’s books in this regard include *The Lion and the Jewel*<sup>208</sup>, *Death and the King’s Horseman*<sup>209</sup> and *The Interpreters*<sup>210</sup> among others.

Providing a concise summary of how these works represented and reflected Soyinka’s Post-colonial point of view, Jeyifo, another significant Post-colonial Nigeria author, suggests that “Soyinka is a self-declared partisan of egalitarian and revolutionary possibilities in the desperate historical and social conditions of Nigeria, postcolonial Africa and the Third World”.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Wole Soyinka, *Ake: The years of childhood* (New York: Vintage Publishers, 1989).

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, 187

<sup>208</sup> Wole Soyinka, *The Lion and the Jewel* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1963).

<sup>209</sup> Wole Soyinka, *Death and the King’s Horseman* (London: Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1975).

<sup>210</sup> Wole Soyinka, *The Interpreters* (London: Heinemann, 1970).

<sup>211</sup> Biodun Jeyifo, *Wole Soyinka: Politics, poetics and Post Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), xiv.

However, Nigeria's Post-colonial thought and studies have also been of interest to non-native Nigerians. Margery Perham for example prominently wrote on Nigeria, although these writings were done much within the colonial era itself. Her works range from *The Census of Nigeria, 1931*<sup>212</sup> to *Mining, commerce, and finance in Nigeria: being the second part of a study of The economics of a tropical dependency*.<sup>213</sup> However, Perham's perhaps most significant works, and which typify the political system in Nigeria at the time, are her *Native Administration in Nigeria*<sup>214</sup> and *The Dairies of Lord Lugard*.<sup>215</sup> These books are of particular interest because, they address the subject of indirect rule in Nigeria, a principle for which Nigeria's first Governor General of Nigeria, Lord Lugard is now infamously known for. But one Nigeria Post-colonial writer who draws on Perham's indirect rule writings is Toyin Falola. In Falola's *History of Nigeria*.<sup>216</sup> he posits that:

“Indirect rule was a system of local government that enabled the British to govern Nigeria through indigenous rulers and institutions....New regulations and instructions to the people would be announced through their chiefs and kings. Indigenous institutions would be retained, after purging them of their so-called excesses and inhumane practices. Indigenous laws not conducive to colonialism were to be abandoned. The architect of indirect rule was Lugard....and it was deployed to consolidate power and to overcome the various obstacles posed by communications and by limitations of personnel and finance. The ideological assumption was that the British and Nigerians were culturally different and the best way to govern them was through the institutions which they themselves had invented. These ideas

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<sup>212</sup> Margery Perham, “The Census of Nigeria, 1931” *Journal of the International African Institute* Volume 6 issue 4, (1933): 415 – 430.

<sup>213</sup> Margery Perham *Mining, commerce, and finance in Nigeria: being the second part of a study of The economics of a tropical dependency* (London: Faber).

<sup>214</sup> Margery Perham *Native Administration in Nigeria* (London, 1937).

<sup>215</sup> Margery Perham, *The Dairies of Lord Lugard* (London: Faber 1959).

<sup>216</sup> Toyin Falola, *The History of Nigeria* (London: Greenwood Press, 1999).

and others were developed in Lugard's book, *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, a handbook on the justification and implementation of indirect rule".<sup>217</sup>

Observing this method and process of Governance, may have been what prompted Subrahmanyam to conclude that "the basis of Crown administration was autocracy rather than representative government".<sup>218</sup>

- **Wider Political events shaping the development of PWD Architecture during the time**

#### **Pre -1900: Policy on developing the imperial estate and establishment of Nigeria PWD**

Shedding light on Chamberlain policy on colonial development within this period is important because it signifies the beginning of Nigeria's infrastructural development and the first mention of Public works in the country. To provide further insight on this period, Flint writes that:

"In 1894, the colonial office discussed plans for ambitious Public works in Lagos, including a deep-water harbour and a railway to Ibadan, as feasible propositions. When the new colonial secretary declared his platform of 'developing the imperial estates' in 1895, the railway survey was begun, and the first tracks laid for a line to Ibadan".<sup>219</sup>

However, the department's infrastructure development role was not to be limited to the building of harbours and railways. As Akinsemoyin and Vaughn Richards note "From 1896,

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid, 70.

<sup>218</sup> Gita Subrahmanyam, "Rulin continues: Colonial rule, Social forces, and Path dependence in British India and Africa" *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 44, (2006): 89.

<sup>219</sup> John E Flint, "Nigeria: the colonial experience from 1880 to 1914" in *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*", ed L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, (London: Cambridge University Press,1969), 241.

the Public works department of the government had a director. Previous to this, the department was controlled by a Surveyor-General, assisted by the colonial surveyor".<sup>220</sup> This observation is also corroborated by Bigon who notes that "The public works department and the Sanitary department formed in 1896 were the largest in Lagos. The public works department grew out of the department of the Surveyor general".<sup>221</sup> To Akinsemoyin and Vaughn Richards however, the most significant aspect of PWD's emergence in 1896 was the appointment of a director for the department, and they note that, "the appointment of a Director marked the beginning of activity in building by the department which had architects trained in the Royal Engineers School for teaching tropical architecture and the principles for design".<sup>222</sup>

Two issues come to light here. The first is that although literature cites the establishment of Nigeria PWD as being in 1896, this Research has chosen to begin its study from 1900. The reason is that there were no pre-1900 materials available on the department and there appears to be an almost non-existent body of literature – though this observation on the dearth of literature runs through the entire period of study. Beginning the study in 1900 also reflects the establishment of Nigeria as a nation state in the same year (see chapter three). The second issue raised is the role of Royal Engineer-designer architects in early colonial building. Although their emergence in India had been vaguely examined in this review, some of their early inputs in West Africa will be further put in perspective in chapter five.

By and large however, these turn of the twentieth century developments have shed light on the department's establishment. In his now widely acclaimed statement on the need to

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<sup>220</sup> Kunle Akinsemoyin, and Alan Vaughan-Richards. *Building Lagos*. (Jersey: Pengrall Ltd, 1977) 47.

<sup>221</sup> Liora Bigon, *A history of urban planning in two West African colonial capitals: Residential segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar 1850-1930* (New York: Edwin Mellen press, 2009), 132.

<sup>222</sup> Kunle Akinsemoyin, and Alan Vaughan-Richards. *Building Lagos*. (Jersey: Pengrall Ltd, 1977) 47.

develop the colonies, Chamberlain had suggested that:

“It is not enough to occupy certain great spaces of the world’s surface unless you can make the best of them – unless you are willing to develop them. We are landlords of a great estate; it is the duty of a Landlord to develop his estate”.<sup>223</sup>

This statement was to quickly earn the colonial secretary a sobriquet by his critics. According to Nicholson, “the secretary of state to the colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, at the height of his power became 'the prophet of development' or 'Joseph Africanus', who regarded the Empire as a vast 'under-developed estate' and was determined to develop it”.<sup>224</sup> But Hall has even argued that the colonial office’s interest in developing colonial infrastructure predates Chamberlain’s tenure as secretary of state to the colonies:

"In the eighteen seventies and eighties, the staff was very much occupied with appointments and promotions, but also with hospitals, asylums, and penal matters in the colonies, and Copious minutes had been taken on questions of site, orientation, diet, general treatment and ventilation”.<sup>225</sup>

But Chamberlain coming on board as secretary of state to the colonies, more largely signalled the beginning of a formal imperial building programme and infrastructure development being undertaken by the Nigeria PWD.

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<sup>223</sup> Michael Haviden and David Meredith, *Colonialism and development: Britain and its tropical colonies 1850 - 1960* (London: Routledge, 1993), 87- 88.

<sup>224</sup> I.F Nicholson, *The administration of Nigeria 1900-1960: Men methods and myths* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1969), 2.

<sup>225</sup> Henry L. Hall, *The colonial office: A history*. (London: Longmans Green and Co, 1937), 21-22.



Figure 18: Early smallpox hospital<sup>226</sup>

### Early factors militating against colonial infrastructural development

But three main factors appeared to militate against large scale infrastructural development and colonial building at this time. First, there was no longer any real interest in retaining the colonies after the so called ‘scramble for Africa’. As Carland has noted:

"by the late 1890s, the diplomatic manoeuvring in Europe and military posturing in Africa had resulted in British Empire in tropical Africa of which the British government and people were largely ignorant and questioned, what was to be done with these new possessions?"<sup>227</sup>

Second, the main mandate being upheld by the colonial office at the time was towards paternalism and achieving the civilizing mission. Earl Grey, the secretary of state to the colonies had therefore suggested that "the real interest of this country is gradually to train the inhabitants in the art of civilization and government, until they shall grow into a nation

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<sup>226</sup> The National Archives, CO 1069/78/18 "Small Pox Hospital" undated.

<sup>227</sup> John M. Carland, *The colonial office and Nigeria, 1898-1914* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1985), 1.

capable of protecting themselves and of managing their own affairs".<sup>228</sup> The third reason was the inability of colonies to finance any major projects. As Geary observes, "there was the necessary limitation of financial weakness. The colonies were not self-supporting. Financially, they were dependent on the British tax payer".<sup>229</sup> The result of this was that:

"the direct imperial assistance in form of grant-in-aid put the recipient colony in the position of a 'remittance man', the financial assistance was doled out grudgingly by a parsimonious treasury and was liable to be revoked by an adverse vote in Parliament or a change of government".<sup>230</sup>

A major change from the grant-in aid method of finance however occurred with Chamberlain's appointment as secretary of state to the colonies:

"The secretary of state reversed this policy. He made the West African colonies not only self-supporting, but opened to them the road to ever-increasing prosperity by allowing them to raise loans in the money market to be expended in remunerative public works. Accordingly, local ordinance was passed in 1896 at Lagos enabling the colony to raise £255,000 in England to begin to construct the railway and the bridges between Lagos Island and Ebute-Meta on the mainland of Nigeria".<sup>231</sup>

However, the public works projects generated by the policy were not limited to railways, bridges and other civil infrastructure; but to public buildings and other colonial administrative buildings which this thesis will be examining. Writing on the projects

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<sup>228</sup> Henry L. Hall, *The colonial office: A history*. (London: Longmans Green and Co, 1937), 56.

<sup>229</sup> William N. M. Geary, *Nigeria under British rule* (London: Frank Cass and Co Ltd, 1927), 4.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid*, 6.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid*, 6.



undertaken by the department within this period, Godwin notes that:

“During colonization, works departments were set up, with government engineers in charge of designing, and constructing roads, bridges, drainage and eventually public buildings. Thus in Lagos around the turn of the century, a fine secretariat, law courts and the governor's lodge and even a lighthouse had been constructed. At the same time the railway had been constructed and a power station provided light on the island”.<sup>232</sup>

But Chamberlain's policy of developing the colonies was also sometimes questioned. Haviden and Meredith for example, have argued that Chamberlain's "attempt to 'develop the estate' through loans and grants was intended to benefit the British economy by making the colonies better customers as well as suppliers. The philosophy was firmly that of assisting British private enterprise".<sup>233</sup>

### **PWD in early colonial administrative days (1900 – 1913)**

What appears to be the only reference to PWD activities within this period of Nigeria's history, is seen in Akinsemoyin and Vaughn Richards' *Building Lagos*. The authors note that a director was initially appointed for the department in 1896,<sup>234</sup> but also explain that: “From 1906 the Public Works Department became busy and among the buildings erected were the general hospital, the post office, Secretariat, Customs building, medical headquarters, and the Supreme Court in Tinubu square”.<sup>235</sup> Besides this observation on the department's 1906 building activities, very little else exists in the literature in that regard;

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<sup>234</sup> Kunle Akinsemoyin, and Alan Vaughan-Richards. *Building Lagos*. (Jersey: Pengrall Ltd, 1977) ,47.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid, 47.

which again re-enforces the purpose of this research to investigate the flourish period of Nigeria PWD, and to generate clearer insights on how the department functioned, who its architects were, what buildings were produced and how these buildings and architects demonstrate the narrative of Nigeria's architectural history.



Figure 19: 1906 Government Secretariat, Marina, Lagos (Picture taken by author in 2013)



Figure 20: c.1906 General Hospital Lagos (Picture taken by author in 2013)

### *PWD and interwar developments (1914 - 1945)*

According to the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), the “period 1914 to 1945 witnessed the development of representative government in Nigeria, though with considerable limitations, as the governor wielded strong reserve powers which could be brought into action if necessary”.<sup>236</sup> But the events which appear to have had the most effect on Nigeria during this period were seen in the wider world between the two world wars. According to Haviden and Meredith:

“A number of colonies were in the middle of major transport development programmes when the war came and these experienced long delays in completion. Sir F.D Lugard Governor of Nigeria commented in December 1915 'The war has hit us hard, and instead of large surplus we anticipated the deficit of fully half million sterling’”.<sup>237</sup>

However, it wasn't all to be a story of gloom and doom during the interwar period. Godwin for example observes that:

“Between the wars, the Public works department "PWD" as they were known became "design/build" organizations and their architects and engineers developed standards for constructing in styles of design which were influenced by Europe. Hence the colonial classical style of the 1900s consisting of brick, precast concrete and pitch pine, gave way to the more solid detailing found in public buildings in the 1930s, where cement was the dominant material’”.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> The Royal Institute of international Affairs, *Nigeria: The political and economic background* (London: Oxford University press, 1960), 37.

<sup>238</sup> John Godwin. “Architecture and Construction Technology in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s” *Docomomo Journal* 28, (2003): 51.

Two issues however arise from Godwin's observation. First is the suggestion of PWD buildings being influenced by Europe. They were, but only to some extent. I will rather argue that PWD buildings in Nigeria were influenced by what may have come to be known as the colonial classical style of the tropical region which could be found in India, West Indies and even South Africa. The Indian Bungalow, for example, became what Murray terms a "colonial export".<sup>239</sup>

Second is his observation on the gradual transition occurring in PWD buildings between the 1900s and the 1930s. His observation seems to suggest a notable flourish of PWD activities and the existence of a thriving colonial building programme. This perhaps is why he also writes that:

"the PWD produced timber from its own sawmills and could make items of Joinery such as windows and furniture. By the 1940s, the governments of the West Coast territories had a well-organised construction industry to meet with a relatively small demand for public building projects and housing".<sup>240</sup>

### **PWD Post-war developments (1945 – 1960)**

The details of PWD building and departmental activities between 1945 and 1960, a period which also signifies the close of empire in Nigeria, constitute a part of the final chapter of the research, titled "Nigeria PWD at the close of Empire." However, a study regarding the background and historical context of the PWD will remain incomplete without a discussion of private architects who also came to work in Nigeria in the mid twentieth century. The

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<sup>239</sup> J. Murray, *How to live in tropical Africa* (London: John Murray, 1885), 24.

<sup>240</sup> John Godwin. "Architecture and Construction Technology in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s" *Docomomo Journal* 28, (2003): 52.

ensuing section will therefore take a closer look at the impact of the work of these professionals on architecture in Nigeria at the time.

## **2.6 Late colonial mid-twentieth century tropical modernist architecture in Nigeria**

Nigeria's mid-twentieth century architecture as practiced by the private architects, is of interest because it also coincides with the period's new experimental research and 'discoveries' in climate building science – which became widely known as 'tropical architecture'. Some prominent studies which emerged on the science and its application include Atkinson's (1960) *Principles of Tropical design*<sup>241</sup>, Oakley's (1961) *Tropical houses: A guide to their design*<sup>242</sup>, and Fry and Drew's *Tropical Architecture in the dry and humid zones* (1964) and Godwin's (2003) *Architecture and construction technology in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s*.<sup>243</sup>

The studies which define Nigeria's mid-twentieth century architecture are therefore not specific to Nigeria, but have addressed various tropical modernist architecture thoughts, themes and approaches in the wider West African sub-region. One of such approaches views the buildings in a Modern architecture context, but with a tropical tilt, as seen in Uduku's (2006) *Modernist architecture and 'the tropical' in West Africa: The tropical architecture movement in West Africa, 1948 – 1970*.<sup>244</sup>

Another context in which Uduku examines the buildings however, is through the educational commissions of 1945 Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA). This is seen in her

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<sup>241</sup> G.A. Atkinson, "Principles of tropical design" *The Architectural Review* 128 (1960): 81-83.

<sup>242</sup> David Oakley, *Tropical houses: A guide to their designs* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd) 1961.

<sup>243</sup> Godwin, John. "Architecture and Construction Technology in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s" *Docomomo Journal* 28 (2003): 51-56.

<sup>244</sup> Ola Uduku, "Modern architecture and the 'tropical' in West Africa: The tropical architecture movement in West Africa, 1948 -1970" *Habitat International* 30, (2006): 396–411.

(2003) *educational design and modernism in West Africa* where she argues that, aside their tropical modernist designs, “the educational buildings built in the modernist era in West Africa have had a wider historic legacy encompassing the socio-cultural and political as well as the physical”.<sup>245</sup> It is also in a similar vein that I look to examine the architecture of the PWD in Nigeria. But in my work I will look to see how the architecture of the PWD, although operating in a wider imperial context, had played out in local reality, in its buildings, politically and socially. However, on the calls for colonial development during the time, Bowden quotes a development and welfare proposal drafted for the Cabinet in a November 1944 memorandum<sup>246</sup>. According to her, the proposal read that:

“The next few years may well determine the future course of the Colonial Empire. The participation of the colonies in the war and the gratitude felt by this country for their efforts have increased our awareness of past deficiencies in our administration. Perhaps more than ever before the public today are interested in the colonies and anxious for their development”.<sup>247</sup>

It appears that it was in response to these colonial development calls and other political considerations of the time, that the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CD &WA) was later passed in April 1945.<sup>248</sup> According to the ODI however:

“In November 1945 the Secretary of State addressed a despatch to colonial governments, informing them of the provisions of the Act, and asked them to submit ten-year development

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<sup>245</sup> Ola Uduku, “Educational Design and Modernism in West Africa” *Docomomo Journal* 28, (2003): 76 – 82.

<sup>246</sup> Jane Helen Bowden, “*Development and control in British Colonial policy, with reference to Nigeria and the Gold Coast: 1935 -1948*” (PhD diss, University of Birmingham, 1980), 256.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid*, 265.

<sup>248</sup> Overseas Development Institute, *British Aid – 5 Colonial Development: A factual survey of the origins and history of British aid to developing countries* (England: The Overseas Development Institute Ltd, 1964), 32.

plans on all public expenditure on development and welfare, and schemes giving priority ratings”.<sup>249</sup>

The response Whitehead observes, was that “Within a decade of the war’s end most colonies, large and small, had 10-year development plans in place in which education figured prominently.”<sup>250</sup> This perhaps also explains Jackson and Holland’s observation about Fry and Drew and how they obtained their initial commissions as a private partnership in West Africa.

“According to Fry, the Governor Henry Gurney stated that, ‘the British Government had promised us £200m to develop the colonies after the war and we propose to have a good bite of it. We could send to London for one of those big stuck-up architects, however, what about you two?’”<sup>251</sup> The duo’s acceptance of the Governor’s offer paved the way for Jackson writing that “By the end of 1945 Fry had managed to obtain commissions for seven schools in West Africa”.<sup>252</sup>

Through its education and other welfare development plans therefore, the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945 was able to serve as an in-road for Fry and Drew as well as other private architectural practices of the time to receive commissions for new development schemes in the colonies. It was perhaps based on his observation of the new opportunities which became available for architects, that Atkinson suggested that

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<sup>249</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>250</sup> Clive whitehead, “The historiography of British imperial education policy, Part II: Africa and the rest of the colonial empire” *History of Education*, 34 (2005): 446, 441-454.

<sup>251</sup> Iain Jackson and Jessica Holland, *The architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth century architecture, pioneer modernism and the tropics* (England: Ashgate publishing, 2014), 161.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid, 161.

“The contribution which British architects can make to tropical development is through actually working in the tropics. The building needs are great - schools, universities hospitals, factories, parliamentary buildings, houses, all are needed - and we from experience can contribute much”.<sup>253</sup>

However, although the post-war Colonial Development and Welfare Act generated a resultant need for more architects to practice in Nigeria, Weymouth has suggested another possible reason why architects opted to work in the colonies post-war. According to him, “in every profession, there are always some who seek outlets for their energies in a new environment”.<sup>254</sup> He then explains that this is perhaps more so, as “Architecture, like medicine, is a skill of world-wide application and the qualification implied by the Affix ARIBA is accepted as satisfying very largely, if not completely, the statutory requirements for practice in most parts of the commonwealth”.<sup>255</sup>

However Weymouth’s suggestion of architects being motivated to work in the tropics due to the preference for a new environment, and perhaps adventure is echoed by Atkinson. According to him, “At the moment, the tropics are making the architectural headlines. Undernourished by a starchy, English diet of schools and housing, the more adventurous among us are flying overseas to taste the mangoes, curries and ground-nut-stews in warmer lands”.<sup>256</sup> But whether it was through the opportunities provided by 1945 Colonial Development & Welfare Act or through a quest for adventure, or for both reasons, many architects had come and work in Nigeria at the time. Writing on the buildings which make the cohort of the book *New Buildings in the Commonwealth* for example, Atkinson notes that,

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<sup>253</sup> G.A. Atkinson, “British Architects in the tropics” *Architectural Association Journal* 69 (1959): 7 & 8.

<sup>254</sup> William Weymouth “Opportunities abroad for Architects ” *Architect and Building News*, 12 July (1956): 38.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid, 38.

<sup>256</sup> G. A. Atkinson, "British architects in the Tropics." *Architectural Association Journal* 69, (1959): 7.



“Many of the buildings illustrated have been designed by architects from Great Britain, a number of whom, especially in West Africa, have set up offices locally. Some are the work of architects from one of the other older colonies who have joined the local public service”.<sup>257</sup>

The coming of these professionals inadvertently produced a rich community of architects - both within the private and public sectors – whose outputs transformed Nigeria’s landscape, and leaves an enduring legacy till contemporary times. Describing these professionals as “some of British West Africa's rising stars in the modernist era,”<sup>258</sup> Uduku gives an insight on who they were and how their foray into practice in Nigeria and the region played out. According to her:

“Max Fry was joined by Jane Drew in his practice, James Cubitt worked with a number of partners including John Baker and Kenneth Scott, whilst the Architects Co-partnership had partners Leo De Syllas and Michael Grice working with their Lagos-based architects, John Godwin and then Alan Vaughan Richards to work on jobs commissioned in West Africa. John Godwin and his wife, Gillian Hopwood, then went on to form their own practice, as did Alan Vaughan Richards”.<sup>259</sup>

- **Late colonial mid-twentieth century architects in Nigeria**

The Late colonial mid twentieth architects in Nigeria have been studied in three main categories of literature. The first body of literature are those which do not focus on individual architects, but spotlight instead, the work opportunities which emerged for mid-twentieth century architects in the tropics. It also raises the argument on why their professional

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<sup>257</sup> G.A. Atkinson, “The tropical territories: Introduction” in *New Buildings in the commonwealth*, ed. J.M. Richards , (London: The architectural press, 1961), 98.

<sup>258</sup> Ola Uduku, “Educational design and modernism in West Africa” *Docomomo Journal* 28, (2003): 78.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid*, 78.

contributions in those regions were vital. One important work in this regard is Atkinson's (1953) *British architects in the tropics*".<sup>260</sup> His main suggestion here is that, British architects going to work in the tropics see themselves as development partners and not as the colonial agents of erstwhile times.



Figure 21: Independence square [Tafawa Balewa Square] Lagos, with sculptures of Nigeria's coat of arms animals – the horse and eagle; Fry Drew Atkinson architects, 1960 (Picture taken by author in 2013)

Two other studies couched in the same context as Atkinson's, are Spence's (1955) *The new role of the architect in the tropics*,<sup>261</sup> and Gardner-Medwin's (1953) *The position of the architect in the tropics*.<sup>262</sup> But a further argument which both studies propose is that the Public Works colonial engineer be replaced with the professional architect. Another related

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<sup>260</sup> G. A. Atkinson, "British architects in the Tropics" *Architectural Association Journal* 69, (1959): 7-21.

<sup>261</sup> J. McKay Spence, "The New role of the architect in the tropics" *Architectural Association Journal* 71 (1955): 56-60.

<sup>262</sup> R.J. Gardner-Medwin. "The position of the architect in the tropics." In *Conference on tropical architecture: A report of the proceedings of the conference held at the University College London, March, 1953*, edited by Arthur M. Foyle, 117- 122, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1953.

work is Koenigsberger's (1954) *The role of the British architect in the tropics*<sup>263</sup>, where he also proposes that architects working in the tropics employ and train local staff.

While the previously discussed body of literature looked at work opportunities in the tropics, another approach to studying mid twentieth century architects in Nigeria / West Africa examines the professional linkages of the big league architects of the time. Perhaps, the most prominent study in this regard is Leroux's (2003) *Networks of tropical architecture*<sup>264</sup>, where she establishes an old-boy network existing among architects of tropical modernism. She also furthers this argument in her 2004 study, *Modern architecture in Post-colonial Ghana and Nigeria*<sup>265</sup>, but in this case looks at the connection between the modernists architects who worked in Nigeria and Ghana in the post-colonial era.

The third approach to studying Nigeria and West Africa's tropical modernist architects was that which explored the careers (and in some cases, also, the personal lives) of individual architects. The most prominent study in this group is Jackson's (2014) *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth Architecture, Pioneer Modernism and the tropics*<sup>266</sup>, where he investigates the joint career and related life stories of the architects Fry and Drew, to produce an architectural reading of their main works and related life stories.

An earlier study had been couched in a similar context, but differed in some salient areas of exploration from that of Jackson and Holland. The study is Liscombe's (2006) *Modernism in late imperial British West Africa: The work of Maxwell Fry and Jane drew, 1946-1956*. It

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<sup>263</sup> Otto H. Koenigsberger, "The role of the British Architect in the tropics." *Architectural Design* XXIV, (1954): 4-9.

<sup>264</sup> Hannah Le Roux, "The Networks of tropical architecture" *The Journal of Architecture* 8, (2003): 337-354.

<sup>265</sup> Hannah LeRoux, "Modern architecture in Post-colonial Ghana and Nigeria" *Architectural history* 47, (2004): 361-392.

<sup>266</sup> Iain Jackson and Jessica Holland. *The architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth century architecture, pioneer modernism and the tropics* (England: Ashgate publishing), 2014.

differed in the sense that it mainly relied on secondary sources about the architects Fry and Drew, unlike Jackson and Holland's which was very much tipped in archival investigations. It also differed in its scope of explorations in two ways. First it is limited to only the architect's professional outputs and its explorations do not include related aspects of their personal lives. Second, unlike Jackson and Holland's wider explorations on the architects outputs on three continents Liscombe's investigations are limited to the work done in West Africa.

The argument which Liscombe's study examines however is on the role proclaimed by Fry and Drew of being 'colonial reformers'. According to Liscombe, in this role "Fry and Drew believed that the very functionalism and abstraction of the modernist idiom could combat the subjugating parochialism of the British colonial regime as well as the constrictions of traditional African social order."<sup>267</sup> But at the end he notes, they had to sadly admit that "It is quite true that architects all thought that they could improve the world and politics were really irrelevant to the planning of the world".<sup>268</sup>

Despite their expectations not being fully met as reformers however, Liscombe commends their very significant contributions to architecture in West Africa, and for also being one of the main fore-runners of the modernist movement in the region.

- **Tropical architecture historiography**

Fry and Drew went on to undertake several other commissions in West Africa, particularly in Nigeria and Ghana. Writing on the success of their educational commissions alone, Liscombe

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<sup>267</sup> Rhodri W. Liscombe "Modernism in Late imperial British West Africa: The work of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew 1946 -1956" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 65, no.2 (June 2006), 208.

<sup>268</sup>Ibid, 211.

notes that “A series of educational commissions were completed by Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew in West Africa from 1946 to 1956. The architects designed or enlarged seventeen institutions in the British colonies of Ghana, Nigeria and the protectorate of Togoland”.<sup>269</sup>

He also describes the buildings as “a notable part of Fry’s empire of good practice”.<sup>270</sup> The success of Fry and Drew equally made Crinson describe them as “One of the most successful architectural practices working in post war British West Africa”.<sup>271</sup> One work which gives greater insights on Fry and Drew’s surgeon in West Africa is Jackson and Holland’s the *Architecture of Fry and Drew*. It becomes evident from this work that Fry and Drew’s sojourns in West Africa actually predate the 1945 Act.

The authors observe that at the onset of war:

“Whilst reluctantly winding down his architectural practice, Fry made one last attempt to preserve it, by humbly asking the War Office for work; but he also wanted to work on meaningful projects and volunteered for 'overseas work' at the earliest opportunity”.<sup>272</sup>

On arriving at the Gold Coast (present day Ghana) where he was eventually posted Fry was appointed the Town Planning Advisor to the region’s resident minister, Lord Swinton, while his wife, Jane Drew became the chief of staff.<sup>273</sup> Fry’s venture into private practice in West Africa can be said to have begun at the end of 1945, when he first obtained the educational commissions. Fry and Drew’s perhaps most important work in West Africa was Nigeria’s

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<sup>269</sup> Rhodri W. Liscombe, “Modernism in Late imperial British West Africa: The work of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, 1946 -1956” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 65 (2006): 1.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>271</sup> Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the end of empire* (England: Ashgate publishing limited, 2003), 132

<sup>272</sup> Iain Jackson and Jessica Holland, *The architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth century architecture, pioneer modernism and the tropics* (England: Ashgate publishing, 2014), 147.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid, 149.

University of Ibadan. Writing on the university's establishment, Kenneth Mellanby, its founding principal, wrote that:

“In December 1946 Sir William Hamilton Fyfe, leader of a delegation sent by the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, pushed his way through the undergrowth into the ‘bush’ a few miles north of the town of Ibadan in Nigeria until he reached a clearing ahead. He planted his walking stick firmly into the ground and said: ‘Here shall be the University of Nigeria’.”<sup>274</sup>

The University's establishment appears to have on the one hand fulfilled the late colonial policy to provide higher education in the colonies, and particularly in West Africa. As Jackson and Holland observe “In implementing the British government's programme of social and economic development, universities were seen as being an important part of nation building, a civilising prerequisite to nation building.”<sup>275</sup> .

As was also noted by Livsey, “Nigerians evidently had expectations of university space before UCI was founded. The university intervened in existing conceptions of modernity formed through a long history of West African interactions”.<sup>276</sup> Brown corroborates this and writes that back “in 1920, a group of West African intellectuals who called themselves the National Congress of British West Africa had petitioned the king for constitutional changes leading to ‘self-determination’, and for the establishment of a West African university”.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> K. Mellanby, *The birth of Nigeria's University* (London: Methuen & Co., 1958), 15.

<sup>275</sup> Iain Jackson and Jessica Holland, *The architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth century architecture, pioneer modernism and the tropics* (England: Ashgate publishing, 2014), 184.

<sup>276</sup> Tim Livsey, “Suitable lodging for students: modern space, colonial development and decolonization in Nigeria” *Urban history*, 41 (2014): 669

<sup>277</sup> Godfrey N. Brown, “British educational policy in West and Central Africa” *The journal of modern African studies*, 2 (1964): 368.

One study which provides an interesting indication on the early phases of the University's construction however, is Huxley's *Four Guineas: A journey through West Africa*. Describing her first visit to the site of the University project, she writes that:

"The scheme when I saw it, was still unfinished and therefore hard to judge; only when the buildings can be seen as a group in their setting of lawns and trees and distant forest will a verdict be possible. They are spacious and have unity. The large flat surfaces, the sweeping horizontal lines characteristic of modern architecture are there, but the walls have been imaginatively treated not by added decoration, but by patterns punched into the concrete: patterns of crosses, squares and petal shapes repeated over whole sides of buildings, most arresting to the eye".<sup>278</sup>

Another observation made on the buildings was in regard to their planning and orientation. As Elleh Observes:

"One of the main planning considerations adopted by Maxwell Fry for the University of Ibadan, was to relate the building design to climatic factors. In this way, he orientated the buildings from east to west, with their main elevations facing north and south, for protection from heat and glare".<sup>279</sup>

These two observations may be seen as direct pointers to Fry and Drews adaptation of tropical architecture principles, which had begun gaining ground in the design of tropical buildings at the time. As it has been suggested by Crinson:

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<sup>278</sup> Elspeth Huxley, *Four Guineas: A journey through West Africa* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1954), 184.

<sup>279</sup> Nnamdi Elleh, *African Architecture: Evolution and transformation* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997), 309.

“A key element in Fry and Drew's success was their close identification with what they called 'tropical architecture'. This has since been given other names - climatic design, development planning, and so on - and it has largely been treated as a matter of building science and, to a lesser extent as a collection of elements (wide eaves, verandas, louvered windows, and perforated walls”.<sup>280</sup>



Figure 22: University tower, University of Ibadan – featuring the characteristic patterned perforated wall, by Fry and Drew Architects, 1947 (Picture taken by author in 2013)

- **Relations between the Late Colonial period and early tropical**

Long before Fry and Drew and other architects who built in the tropical architecture trend of the mid-twentieth century however, Smith had made a case for climate focused architecture for the tropics:

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<sup>280</sup> Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture at the end of empire* (London: Ashgate, 2003), 132.



“If the conditions of life in a tropical climate, are very far removed from those with which we are here conversant, it cannot but be that many differences will exist between the buildings which we are familiar, as suiting our climate and such buildings as will suit the tropics; and it will be our business to consider a few of these differences”.<sup>281</sup>

Also writing on what they perceive to be the earliest use of the term tropical architecture, Chang and King, observe that:

“the earliest use of the term 'tropical architecture' which we identified had described the houses owned by white employees in Central America as ‘Surrounded by broad porches carefully screened in copper wire gauze. Connected with these screened porches were wide halls...looking out in all directions on vistas of tropical perfection’”.<sup>282</sup>

This observation perhaps reinforces the aim of Chang and King’s paper, which is to contest the notion that tropical architecture’s ‘founding moment’, was in the mid-twentieth century. Rather, they suggest that “many of the planning principles, spatial configurations and environmental technologies of tropical architecture could be traced to knowledge and practices from the eighteenth century onwards”.<sup>283</sup> In addition, the authors also argue against the notion which sees tropical architecture from a solely technical standpoint. According to them, this notion had shown that:

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<sup>281</sup> T. Roger Smith “On buildings for European occupation in tropical climates, especially India” *Papers read at the Royal Institute of British Architect*, 1867–68 (1868): 199.

<sup>282</sup> Jiat-Hwee Chang and Anthony D. King “Towards a genealogy of tropical architecture: Historical fragments of power-knowledge, built environment and climate in the British colonial territories” *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* (2011) 293.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid*, 283.

“Tropical architecture was primarily constructed by its metropolitan protagonists as a technical discourse that dealt with the ‘acclimatization’ of modern architecture to the tropics. As it was seen strictly as the techno scientific adjustment of design and planning principles of modern architecture to the timeless ‘natural’ conditions of the tropical climate, it was also rendered ahistorical and apolitical”.<sup>284</sup>

Basing their standpoint on the notion of an earlier existence of tropical architecture however, the authors argue that:

“Unlike the depoliticized technical discourse of tropical architecture in the mid-twentieth century, this earlier history shows that so-called tropical architecture was inextricably entangled with medical and racial discourses, bio politics and the political economy of colonialism; through building types such as the bungalow, military barrack and labourers’ housing in the tropics”.<sup>285</sup>

The spectrum though which this earlier history refracts the discourse on tropical architecture is what my study also adopts in its investigation of buildings produced by the Nigeria PWD. The buildings which make up the discuss of chapter six, are therefore presented in the light of tropical building features, telling an imperial built environment story.

### **Conclusion:**

The chapter has examined and reviewed the literature and theoretical context of the research, and from this, a number of key findings and gaps have emerged. Beginning with the wider and more encompassing context of the tropical imperial built environment, the review looks

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<sup>284</sup> Ibid, 283.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid, 283.

at its two main strands of architecture and urbanism. What it finds are debates mainly emphasizing racial inequalities of colonial townships, and subtle messages of authority etched into colonial buildings. However, while acknowledging that these practices seemed expressive of colonial environments at the time, I argue that it need also be carefully thought out if any benefit accrued from the newly emerging forms of colonial architecture and urbanism? Based on the very lopsided nature of imperial built environment developments described in the literature, which favoured one group of inhabitants against the other, it could be argued that such an exercise need not be contemplated, as it is already self-determined? But while being fully aware of the wider colonial or 'oppressive' context from which PWD buildings are deemed to have emerged, this research favours an academic exercise which also seeks to see the PWD agency as developing new architectural forms, functions and personnel in an environment which was previously lacking in that regard.

## CHAPTER 3: METHODS

*“The vehicles and processes used to gather the data”<sup>286</sup>*

### **Preamble:**

In this research I have mainly adopted archival investigation and field work methods. The reason I have adopted these methods is that, they constitute strategies for gaining insights into the study’s three main strands; What the department was and what it did, what buildings it built and how they fit in the imperial built environment narrative, and who it’s architects were and what this meant for the development of the Nigerian architectural profession. What makes this research original is that there is no known previous study which has examined PWD architecture in Nigeria by generating the strands identified in this research, and deploying the methods I have adopted in their investigation.

### **Chapter Contents**

3.1 Archival Investigation

3.2 Fieldwork

3.3 Unstructured interview

3.4 Limitations to the study and problems associated with doing research in Nigeria

### **3.1 Archival investigation**

- **Why conduct archival investigations?**

Archival research is adopted for varying reasons. In this research for example, the poor record keeping which pervades many government agencies in Nigeria, (including the PWD adaptation now known as the Ministry of Works), makes it difficult to locate and use

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<sup>286</sup> For example, see Gina Wisker, *The postgraduate research handbook: Succeed with your MA, MPhil, EdD and PhD*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 67.

historical PWD records. Because of this uncertainty, archival search in Britain remains about the only means of access. Archival investigation is also important because previous knowledge gained by the research on PWD architecture had solely being sourced from literature. As with any other studies however, the published record included gaps, grey areas, and limited clarification on some issues, biases and subjective arguments. Archival research can therefore provide a glimpse behind the publication, and open up more reliable sources.

Equally, there appears to be a dearth of material in which the focus is specifically the Nigeria PWD. Previous studies on Nigeria's colonial architecture have largely focused on the private-architects who led tropical architecture in the mid-twentieth century. Few of the studies reference works done by the PWD, and thus give very little insights into the genealogy of ideas by which the buildings were developed. Archival research may therefore provide more insights about the buildings than can be gleaned from published material.

- **How Archival investigation is done in the research**

1. *Relevant Collections were identified*

I started with the most immediate and perhaps most obvious archives in the first instance with the intention of searching others as I gained more knowledge of the material and its availability. These archives are the National Archives of the UK, the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and the National archives of Nigeria.

Since the research is based on the history of Nigeria's PWD buildings, a substantial part of the source materials were buildings' drawings and plans, maps of the colonial city setting and other relevant illustrations. Others are travel writings by explorers and settlers, memos and correspondences generated from and to the Colonial office, government policy publications,

records of colonial sanitation, public health and hygiene, and relevant war time correspondence.

## 2. *Archival visits conducted*

As stated in the preceding section, three obvious collections were initially identified at the onset of the research; The National Archives UK, the RIBA architectural library and the National Archives of Nigeria. As the research progressed, I was able to identify, visit and explore a number of other archives, which are also discussed in this section. These investigations have produced a host of relevant source materials on PWD architecture in Nigeria during the period being studied. They have particularly opened up large quantities of documentary materials on the role of the Public Works Department (PWD) in the colonial building programme, which had hitherto not been accessed.

They have also revealed sources relating to what perhaps, might be termed ‘the larger picture’ of the colonial years in the country. These include the operations and policies of the colonial office as it affected Nigeria; the structure of Nigeria’s colonial civil service and the role of district officers; the relation of sanitation, hygiene and public health to colonial building and urban planning; education and missionary activities; the village industry, agricultural development and produce exporting.

Others are the native/settler, colonized/colonizer relationship or divide; the new crop of educated natives and their role in this relationship; banking, commerce, co-operative and business incentives; transport development; Nigeria’s war contributions, the inter-war period and post-war welfare policies and a host of other socio-political and economic activities characterised the period. Although the study is mainly concerned with the architecture of the

period, these materials sourced on the “bigger picture” remain of utmost importance because they also define the context within which PWD architecture in Nigeria is being studied. The archives I visited and a summary of the range of materials sourced are therefore briefly outlined below:

### ***The National Archives (TNA)***

The National Archives, Kew is home to a multitude of public records from British history, as well as from the British presence in the former colonies. The records of Nigeria’s imperial years are located within three major categories developed by the archives. The first is titled ‘Original Correspondence’. It goes by the code CO583 and is a repository for documents dated 1912 to 1951. Another group of documents are found under ‘West African Original correspondence’, coded CO554, and a repository of documents from 1911 to 1965.

The final category is still within the ‘West African Original correspondence’, but coded DO35, and holds documents from 1915 to 1971.<sup>287</sup> . Since the research aims to explore architecture within the wider colonial context therefore, I sourced materials basically under two categories; first, were documents on Colonial Architecture and Urban Planning, and then documents on the wider colonial administration and related work and living atmosphere which pervaded in the period.

### ***RIBA Archives***

At the Royal Institute of British Architects, RIBA, I was able to source materials on Nigeria PWD building outputs before 1960. In particular, I was able to source material on the career

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<sup>287</sup> Mandy Banton. *Administering the Empire, 1801 – 1968. A guide to the records of the colonial office in the national Archives of the UK* (Institute of Latin American Studies, 2008), 258.

records of individual PWD architects in Nigeria, which will be the focus of Chapter five. For both PWD and some architects in the private sector of Nigeria's architectural profession before 1960, I sourced materials on records and directories of architectural societies, architects personal papers and job files, papers of architectural writers among others, architectural drawings, maps, newspapers, press cuttings, and technical papers on building and construction.

### ***The National Archives of Nigeria***

Although the organization of Nigeria's National archive and the ease of consulting its materials are not as good as the National Archives of the UK, I still attempted to find in it the same category of materials sourced at the UK national Archives. My aim at the time was to see if I could obtain completely new sources to complement those I had sourced in the UK, but this turned out not to be the case. I will expand on this in the concluding section of this chapter on "problems associated with doing research in Nigeria".

### ***John Ryland archives***

At the John Ryland Library archive, University of Manchester, the materials consulted were various Nigeria Public Works Department publications, dating from 1907 to 1946. These materials were first identified in the Bibliography of "Village Housing in the Tropics" – a book authored by Jane B. Drew and E. Maxwell fry. Fry and Drew were deemed in some quarters:

“to have developed reputations as experts in what they came to call 'tropical architecture', which was manifested in their design of public buildings in the modernist idiom they had developed during the 1930s. These included perhaps the



most prestigious and most-reproduced commission of all, that for the University of Ibadan in Nigeria.”<sup>288</sup>

Fry and Drew had however cited the Public Works Department publications in “Village Housing in the Tropics”, as part of the book’s larger aim of being:

“a guide to those responsible for locating and designing villages and who have not at their disposal the services of an architect or planning officer. This will facilitate the conversion of villages constructed of impermanent materials, to new and better forms.”<sup>289</sup>

This suggests that such publications were developed to be standardization manuals. The publications which were available at the John Ryland University archives and consulted in this archival investigation are – Departmental Regulations, Public Works Department: Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria 1907; Nigeria Public Works Department: Information Book Hospitals and Dispensaries, January 1939; Nigeria Public Works Department: Information Book Post Offices 1946; Nigeria Public Works Department: Information Book Sanitary Structures, October 1943; Nigeria Public Works Department: Information Book Building Construction, June 1943; Nigeria Public Works Department: N.P.W. Specifications Notes and Data, Feb 1938; Nigeria Public Works Department: Type Joinery, 1944; Salary Scheme for the African Engineering Staff of the Public Works Department, 1934; Nigeria: Selection of Sites for towns and Government Residential Areas, 1939.

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<sup>288</sup> Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (England: Ashgate and Publishing Limited, 2003), 132.

<sup>289</sup> Jane Beverly Drew, and Edwin Maxwell Fry. *Village Housing in the Tropics, with special reference to West Africa*. (London: Lund Humphries, 1947), 3.

### ***University of Liverpool Library and Special Collection***

Here I was able to source the “RIBA Kalender”, a directory of Architects published by the Royal Institute of British Architects. It details their names, RIBA status, Schools of Architecture attended, and their practice addresses. The Kalenda therefore enabled me to identify the architects working in the Nigeria PWD at the time. In a bid to understand the health, sanitation and hygiene dimension to PWD building in Nigeria, I also sourced useful published material from Donald Mason Library at the university school of Tropical medicine. These include - Imperial Medicine, Disease in African History (1978), Freetown from a sanitary point of view 1800- 1870 (1910), Health in Tropical Africa during the Colonial Period (1978), Health, Medicine and Empire (2001), Imperial Hygiene: A critical history of Colonialism and so forth.

### ***Online Archives***

Although I explored a number of relevant online archives in my general investigations, the ones which produced the most relevant source materials for the research are the National Archives ‘Africa through a lens’ collection, the findmypast.co.uk archives, and the Scottish dictionary of architects. Here I was able to source historical pictures of colonial buildings, the bio-data and some other personal information on Nigeria PWD architects as well as the career time-line the architects who are of Scottish origin.

In summary therefore, the archived materials which this research recovered include;

- colonial administrative policy documents
- architectural drawings, photographs and relevant illustrations
- government publications on building standards
- codes and best practices

- maps and town planning publications
- records of professional bodies
- travel writings by explorers and settlers
- Personal memos written by colonial civil servants.

The reason these materials have been sourced is to identify, analyse and explain PWD architecture within the wider context of Nigeria's colonial history, and the imperial built environment history.

- **How archival investigation data is to be analysed**

On closer examination of my archival sources, I see that they mainly fall in three categories - official colonial records including letters and memos, architectural drawings, plans and maps; PWD operational and technical guideline handbooks; and PWD architects professional practice records. To present, analyse and discuss these materials, I looked to the strands through which Davidson's (1957) *The architectural work of the Ministry of Works, Western Region, Nigeria* contextualises the department's works. They are PWD architectural personnel, building output and climatic design factor, as well as building operations and administration. These strands therefore formed the basis for my analysis in the upcoming chapters four, five and six.

Beginning with Chapter four, my archival sources are analysed as a means to fill the gap in the literature on PWD building operation and administration. Davidson's only observation on this strand of the PWD is that:

“the actual construction is carried out by the department either with its own resources or by contract. If it is decided to use the department, working drawings are prepared and forwarded to the provincial engineer who is then responsible for the erection, using direct labour under the supervision of inspectors of works”.<sup>290</sup>

But certainly this was not all that defined building operations in the department? Writing from a wider imperial built environment context on PWD departmental operation’s Carrol had also observed that:

“The minister for public works is its ministerial head. The director of public works is the permanent head and directly responsible to the minister for the efficient functioning of the department. The director has direct control of the engineering functions of the department, while the deputy director and secretary assists him in its administrative activities as well as in controlling the architectural branch and building construction and maintenance branch. The deputy director and secretary are free to deal directly with the minister and keep the director informed of all matters of special interest”.<sup>291</sup>

Here again, although Carrol gives further insights on the structure and operation of the PWD, his focus was on the New-South wales, Australia department. The archival sources I will analyse in chapter four are therefore the PWD operational and technical guideline handbooks, as well as relevant official colonial records and documents. From these materials, I look to glean further insights on the department’s structure, its bureaucracy and relations to the colonial government hierarchy, its methods of drawing preparation, and project implementation.

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<sup>290</sup> Ibid, 220.

<sup>291</sup> W.R. Carroll, “The administration of the department of Public Works”, *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 20, (1961): 90.

Another way in which I will analyse the archival sources is by using them in chapter five to build on the PWD building output described in Davidson's study. According to him, "the scope of work is varied and interesting, and a short list of projects undertaken within the last five years would include hospitals, schools, post offices, remand homes, law courts and not least a new parliament building".<sup>292</sup> Out of the three categories of my archival data therefore, those which will be analysed in chapter five, are the official colonial records of architectural drawings, plans and maps.

In analysing them, I look to glean insights on how the drawings and plans bring to light other types of PWD buildings aside from those mentioned by Davidson. I will look to see if these drawings also make up staff housing, police stations, railway stations and so forth. I will also synchronize the drawings and plans with surviving PWD buildings sourced from fieldwork. More importantly, I will place the drawings and plans in the wider context of architecture and empire, by seeing what the plans represented politically and administratively.

But Davidson's study on PWD building output also stressed the 'climatic factor':

"Certain factors control design. they are (a) Exclusion of the sun from the interior of the buildings and protection of the exterior walls from direct rays during the heat of the day; (b) Siting so as to catch as much as possible of the prevailing breeze which is south-west; (c) The small variation in shade temperature coupled with a high differential in rainfall, causing high humidity; and (d) Glare, either direct or reflected from surrounding buildings or from the ground".<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Ibid, 220.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid, 221.

This significance of climatic design has been echoed not just in relation to PWD buildings but in tropical buildings generally, as seen in the last two chapters. To analyse archival architectural drawings and plans therefore, I will be drawing a link between them and the tropical design factors of attaining improved living conditions. Another way I will analyse my archival sources is by filling the gap in Davidson's third strand of study – the architects who make up the PWD. Writing on the architects, he notes that “To deal with the volume of work, the architectural branch has an all too small establishment of a chief architect, a senior architect and five qualified architects, plus a fluctuation number of drawing office staff normally numbering twelve”.<sup>294</sup>

These certainly were not the only architects who worked in Nigeria PWD at the time. To gain more insight on this I will be analysing my third group of source materials which are the professional practice records. Through analysing the sources, I aim to see the number of architects who worked in Nigeria at the time, why they had come to work in Nigeria and where they worked, what they built, and what the significance of their practice was to Nigeria's architectural profession.

### **3.2 Field work**

Although the review of literature and archival investigations provide a level of insights, a physical appraisal of the PWD buildings is required to give suitable analysis. The fieldwork activity will involve tracking down surviving examples of these buildings, producing photographic studies, doing an on-the-spot visual assessment of the buildings, and making comparison and related linkages between buildings of similar functions at different fieldwork locations.

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<sup>294</sup> Ibid, 220.

- **Why do fieldwork?**

The first reason for visiting the buildings is to confirm that they exist at all. This is a very important step considering that many of them were constructed between fifty–five and one hundred and fifteen years ago, and in a country where architectural preservation is not high in the list of priorities. Several of the buildings may have been demolished to give way to newer developments. The fieldwork therefore aims to confirm the existence of these buildings, as well as draw linkages and connections between them and the archival source.

In addition, it aims to clarify, confirm or justify any earlier assumptions and preconceptions that were made about them from previous sources. It is also important to stress that a drawing or photograph of a building (as those sourced in the archives) is not the same thing as the actual building. By visiting the site I had hoped to see the building in its ‘wider context’ and to appreciate the scale, and materials. Visiting the buildings also gives the researcher an advantage over other researchers who may be undertaking a similar study, but whose investigations are only based on secondary sources.

A field survey of these buildings therefore gives the researcher more authority in their analyses and further authenticates their work. Furthermore, I documented the condition of these buildings as they stand today, and checked on the level of dilapidation or restoration which they may have experienced over time. In acquiring a first-hand experience of buildings, the researcher is most likely to begin raising new questions based on new observations which may not have been obvious during the literature review and archival search.

- **How was the fieldwork done?**

1. *Identifying the scope and focus of the research*

The relevant field-work sites are those colonial towns which, going by their role in Nigeria's history and colonial building program, may best explain PWD architecture. These towns had played strategic administrative roles at the time, and had therefore become virtual hubs for the display of law courts, post offices, railway stations, government houses and residential quarters, among other contemporary architecture of that period. These buildings now present a relevant collection of material for investigating the department and the way it operated. It needs be noted however, that the three towns, Lagos, Kaduna Abeokuta which have been identified as fieldwork sites, were not just random administrative centres; they represent the different levels of Nigeria's colonial administrative classification (Which will be further examined in the proceeding Chapter 4)



Figure 23: Map of Nigeria showing selected fieldwork sites and cities of similar interest



Another reason the towns were identified as fieldwork sites is that they also represent the different modes by which colonial towns evolved in Nigeria. Kaduna for example was purpose planned as the administrative capital of the country at the time. Lord Lugard's account about this reads that:

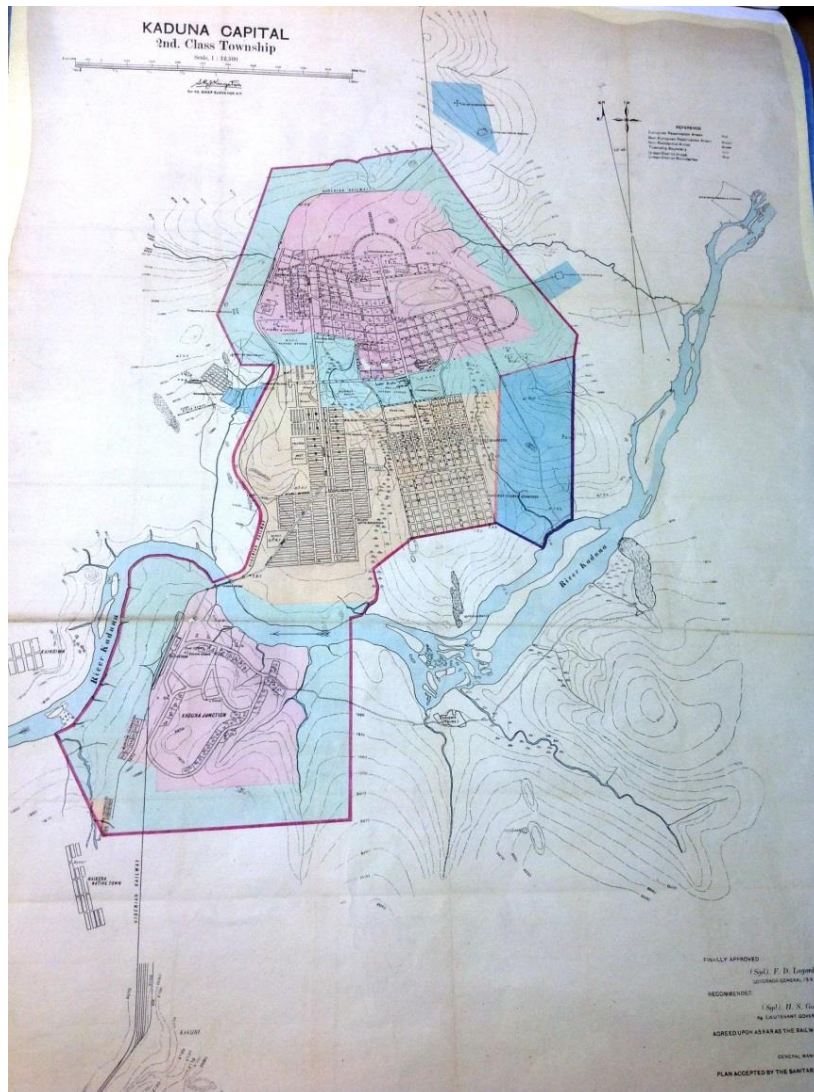


Figure 24: 1917 Map of colonial Kaduna<sup>295</sup>

“I desired to explore without delay the basins of the Kaduna, Gurara, and Okwa rivers, with the special view of finding a site for the administrative headquarters. Separate expeditions

<sup>295</sup>The National Archives, MPGG 1/129/17 “Kaduna capital 2<sup>nd</sup> Class township: Plan showing rivers, streams, relief and the division of the settlement into native and European sections” 1918.

were sent by these three routes for the peaceful exploration of the country. Eventually Colonel Morland traversed the Kaduna, till then almost unknown, and it was mapped with great care by Captain Abadie”.<sup>296</sup>

Abeokuta and Lagos on the other hand were not purpose planned Colonial administrative centres, but had evolved as largely native towns. However, As echoed in Lugard’s account, the Kaduna town plan was carefully surveyed and mapped out to produce this 1917 map, which had the heading “Kaduna Capital – 2<sup>nd</sup> Class township”. 2<sup>nd</sup> class township was the hierarchy of Kaduna in the then Colonial administrative structure. This structure will also be further examined in relation to PWD work in chapter four. The other highlights of the map are that, it was drawn to a scale of 1:12,500inches, and signed by the Acting Chief Surveyor General N.P. (meaning Northern Protectorate). In line with the racial segregation principles of colonial city planning at the time also, the map had a colour code reference at the top right hand corner, which read:

European reservation Area	Pink
Non-European reservation Area	Brown
Non-residential Area	Green
Township boundary	Blue
Urban district Areas and	Purple
Urban district boundaries	

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<sup>296</sup> Frederick D. Lugard, “Northern Nigeria” *The Geographical Journal* 23, no 1(1904): 10

The information at the bottom right of the map also gives an indication into which officials coordinated town planning administration, and in what capacity this was done. This bottom right corner information specifically outlined the following:

First stage of plan approval reads: - Plan accepted by the sanitary branch. It is then signed by the senior sanitary officer.

Second stage of plan approval reads: – Agreed upon as far as the Railway is concerned. It is then signed by the General Manager.

Third stage of plan approval reads: - Recommended. It is then signed by H.S. Goldsmith, Acting Lieutenant Governor of Nigeria 11.8.17

Fourth Stage of the approval reads: - Finally approved. It is signed by F.D Lugard, Governor General, and dated 13.9.17



Figure 25: Present day map of Kaduna and surrounding areas

A present day map of Kaduna is also being presented. In chapter five, this map will be used

for presenting the location of all Kaduna PWD buildings investigated in this research. As for Abeokuta and Lagos however, these towns developed more initial historic Yoruba settlements, which later evolved into major colonial administrative centres.

### Abeokuta Maps

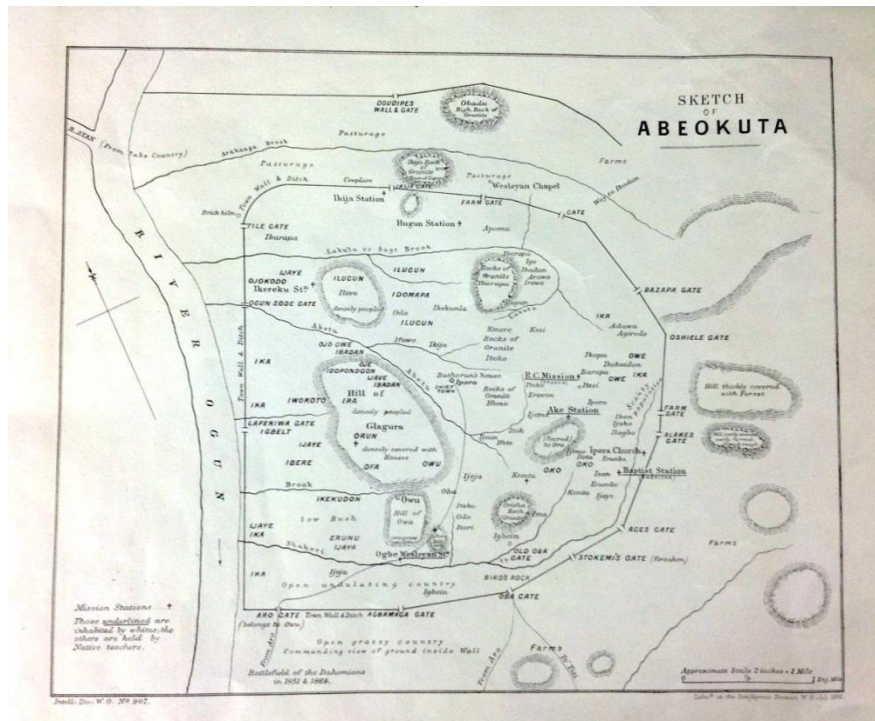


Figure 26: 1892 Map of Abeokuta <sup>297</sup>

Produced by: The intelligence division W. O. (War Office) July 1892 [Reference Number Intell: Div: W.O. no 907] Scale 2 inches = 1mile

Major map features: “Battle field of the Dahomians in 1851 and 1864”; “Mission Stations....those underlined are inhabited by whites, the others are held by native teachers”.

This 1852 sketch layout of Abeokuta perhaps remains one of the earliest attempts at producing a town plan of Abeokuta. Abeokuta at the time appears to have been a walled

<sup>297</sup> The National Archives, MPG 1/850/2 “Sketch Map of Abeokuta, Nigeria, showing its position on the River Ogun” 1892.

native settlement. The city wall completely enclosed the city, and was punctuated at intervals by gates leading into the various compounds. The map appears to be a complete representation of the terrain at the time, depicting the rock outcrops, low bushes, brooks and major footpaths of the time. The only ‘modern’ elements of the map are the Christian mission stations, which are also depicted as being inhabited by whites, or held by Native teachers.

This may perhaps be a subtle pointer to the racial segregation which later featured in later colonial town plans. Colonial town plans were to later provide a structure where European Reservations were distinctively separated from native towns. This 1852 sketch layout however provides little relevance to the government buildings being studied in this research. These buildings were produced at a later period in the twentieth century, and are represented in a 1930 surveyed town plan of Abeokuta, which was redrawn in 1964 and is shown below.

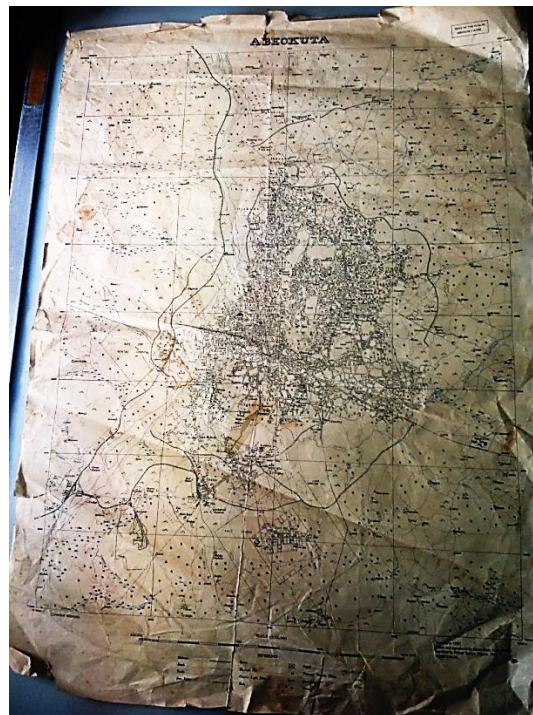


Figure 27: Abeokuta Town plan, Surveyed in 1930 and redrawn 1964<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Ogun State Ministry of Lands and Surveys Archives, Abeokuta Nigeria Reference No OGMLS/115-ZL1930/Maps of Abeokuta-Ake.



Figure 28: Present day map of Abeokuta

This present day map of Abeokuta will also be used in chapter 5 to locate all the Abeokuta PWD buildings examined in this research.

### Lagos Maps



Figure 29: 1942 Map of Colonial Lagos<sup>299</sup>

Before 1800, Lagos was merely an island fishing village known in the Yoruba language as Oko or "farm" (Baker 1974:17-18). Under British control the Portuguese name, Lagos,

<sup>299</sup> Oyo State Ministry of Lands and surveys archives, Ibadan, Nigeria M565/Lagos/1942Colony/Z44

meaning "The Lakes," was applied, and the character of the place became increasingly more cosmopolitan; by mid-century (1861 precisely) Lagos Island was both a major port and a British Protectorate

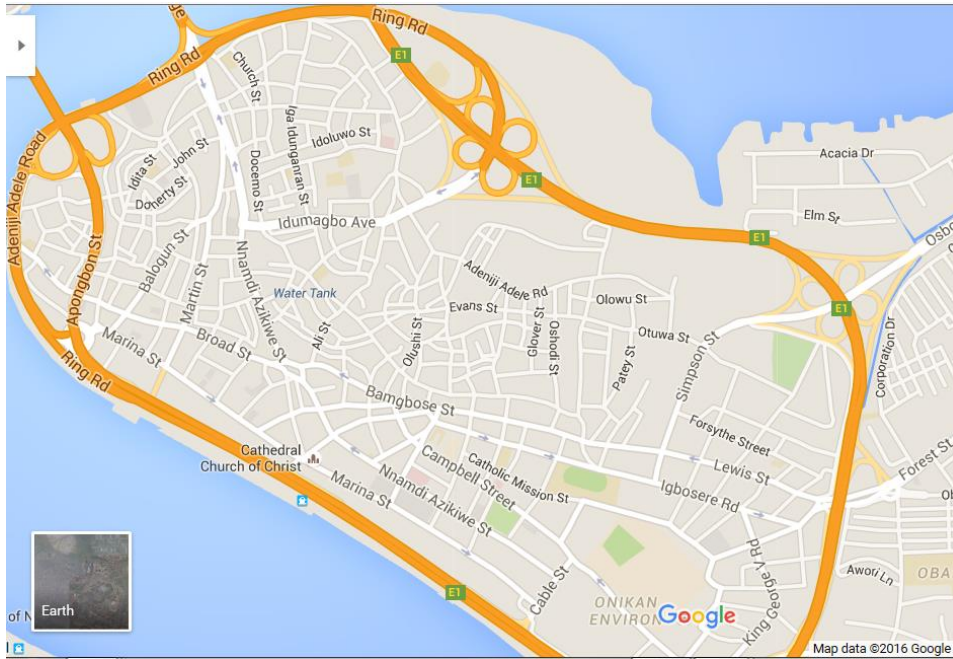


Figure 30: Present day map of Lagos highlighting former 'Colonial Lagos'

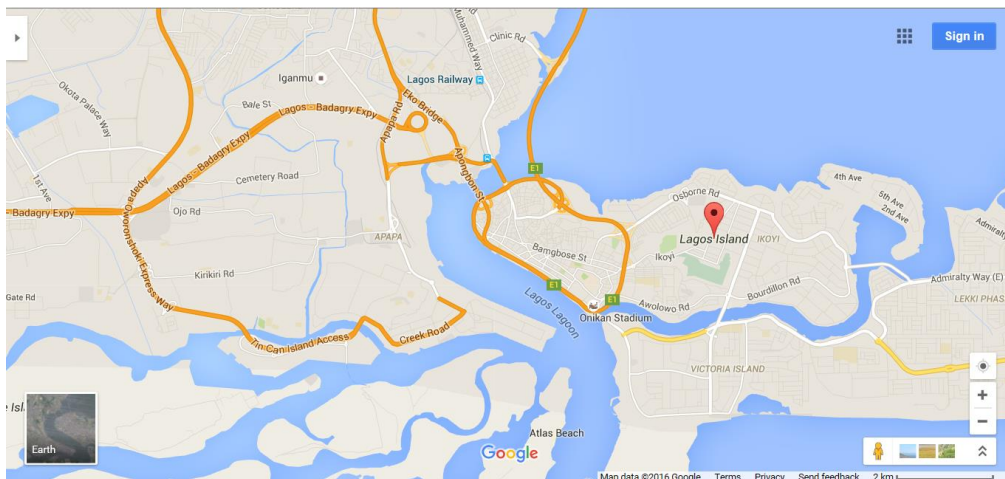


Figure 31: Present day Lagos highlighting former colonial Lagos, entire Lagos Island and Parts of the mainland

The fieldwork sites were also selected with regards to their comprising (a) government buildings which are representative of those found in other major Nigerian towns outside my scope of study (b) government buildings which are representative of those found in other Nigerian towns, and which belong to the same administrative/political structure as my fieldwork sites, but are outside my scope of study, and (c) government buildings which are symbolic of major developments, constitute historical milestones, and therefore play a significant role in the building of modern Nigeria. Referring to the representative nature of my fieldwork sites, Abeokuta for example, was front line in missionary and early educational influences and the same could be said of Calabar, which is not within my scope of study.

Kaduna's role as the administrative headquarters of the Northern region could also represent Enugu which is headquarters of the Eastern region, and also outside the scope of my study. Lagos was the crown colony, and combined both missionary and administrative roles, with being Nigeria's economic and commercial capital. For the purpose of this study, Lagos can therefore in some way be representative of Kano, a city in the heart of Northern Nigeria with long trans-Saharan trade route history, and the region's major commercial capital till date. The fieldwork sites have therefore being identified through their administrative and planning context distinctions.

## *2. A fieldwork plan was developed*

Having identified the colonial towns that will be investigated in the research the next step will be to develop a fieldwork plan. The fieldwork plan will mainly be allocating time for the highlights of the trip which are: Planning the trip and security concerns in Nigeria, locating the buildings, doing a validation with the contemporary adaptation of PWD and the National Archives Nigeria. Planning the trip is intricately linked to the current security situation in



Nigeria. In recent years there has been a high level of insurgent activities particularly in the North-east of the country. The northwest, where Kaduna is located is relatively calmer, but has also suffered bouts of insurgency attacks in the past. Normalcy has however been restored in more recent times, and these attacks are gradually fading into the past. I therefore took advantage of the relative peaceful atmosphere which pervades at the moment, and began my investigation of the three towns from Kaduna.

- **What Fieldwork entails**

Field work investigations will under usual circumstances, entail a number of procedures and activities being undertaken to obtain significant data. This will usually include visiting a building, taking photographic records of specific details, interior shots where possible, wider context/streetscape, measured survey and so forth. However, in this research the only fieldwork activity which I was able to achieve was taking photographic images of the overall building composition; and this was mostly secretly. The reason for this and the other not very conventional strategies I needed to adopt are further discussed in the section of this chapter titled 'Problems associated with doing research in Nigeria'.

- **How Fieldwork data is to be analysed**

The fieldwork data will be analysed with some similarity to the group of archival sources that were based on colonial records of architectural drawings and plans. The fieldwork data are essentially the surviving PWD buildings which exist in Nigeria till date. As with the archival drawings and plans the data will be analysed by looking to build on Davidson's third strand of study, which features PWD building output and climatic factor. As with the archival sources also, the data will be analysed to shed more light on the architecture and empire debate, by having political and administrative considerations for building categories.

Buildings will also be analysed along wider tropical building factors which Davidson and other authors of imperial building had shed light on.

### **3.3 Unstructured Interviews**

- **Why conduct unstructured interview?**

It is based on the need to harness retrospective accounts of the PWD years that its departmental veterans were sought out by the research. 1945 to 1960 were the main flourish years of PWD's architect's office, and accounted for the years when many young, and even some middle aged architects, left Europe post-war, to seek their chances for employment in the colonies (though many got their employment to the colonies through the crown agents while still in the UK - before setting out to the colonies). The unstructured interview method is therefore employed in this research because of the high chances it portends for gaining access to a living veteran for the interview. A young architect who was perhaps, twenty-five years old in 1950, will now sixty-four years later in 2014 be aged eighty-nine. With the growing numbers of people living longer, particularly in western societies, I reasoned that my chances of finding one veteran out of the Eighty-three British and other European architects whose names were sourced in the research, was slim but not impossible.

When I find the veteran(s), my purpose for conducting the interview will be to gain more insights on the PWD through his/ her living memories. Although it is important to be aware such an account may work in both ways of sometimes corroborating my other sources and at other times saying something different from them. But in either of these situations, conducting the interview will also give a human angle to my studies of the department, rather than leave it at the level of history pieced together from archival sources and surviving

architectural legacy on the Nigerian Landscape. Talking with a person who walked its office corridors, designed at drawing office tables, received briefs and submitted drawings for approval to the Director of Public works (DPW), supervised its building projects, liaised while on these projects with native administration, provincial commissioner and other government officials of the time, signed for cement or other building materials from the PWD yard materials store among other things, may provide other insights which could hardly have been gained from archival sources. In essence, to gain data from somebody who was actually there at the time will also offer a different perspective than a mute building or dry colonial office memo.

- **How unstructured interview is conducted in the research**

I did eventually track down two veterans from the period, a veteran PWD architect and another from the private architectural sector of the time. My intention was to have face to face interviews with both architects, but because of travel logistics I eventually had a face to face interview with the private architect, while I did an online skype interview with the PWD architect. In both cases however, I employed strategies to harness the utmost useful information from the exercise. My first strategy was to have amply familiarised myself with the PWD archival sources before I undertook the PWD architect interview.

Second, at the start of the interview, I provided a briefing about the interview – what the interview is about, the use of a tape recorder, the expected duration, and so forth - as the interviewee is a veteran may have special needs. Helpfully though, the interviewee's daughter (who was present all though the interview) and I had been in touch for months before the actual date of the interview, and she had passed on messages from me and prepared him ahead of the time.

Being a skype interview however, we still carried out a few initial settings and adjustments despite the long period of preparation. I also will not say his daughter's presence at the interview affected the findings in any negative way. On the contrary, her presence was very helpful, as she helped repeat some of my questions to the interviewee (her father), who was a bit hard of hearing.

- **How the unstructured interview is analysed**

The unstructured interview will be analysed by first transcribing the data. Being data generated from a veteran who actually worked as a PWD architect, I will look to analyse it in relation to the entire cohort of PWD architects working in Nigeria at the time. As with the archival professional practice records of PWD architects therefore, I will also be analysing the unstructured interview data in chapter six. This is the chapter aimed at filling the gap in literature, and building on Davidson's findings on the architects who worked in the Nigeria PWD. In addition, I am looking to analyse the data to give first-hand insights and reactions to practicing in the colony as an architect, and not so much as a colonial agent.

### **3.4 Problems associated with doing research in Nigeria**

A preceding section of this chapter had shed adequate light on why fieldwork investigations are important in the research. Because it aims at enhancing more robust data on surviving PWD buildings, I planned and made a trip to Nigeria for the investigations in the summer of 2013. The focuses of my field investigations were the townships of Abeokuta, Kaduna and former colonial capital Lagos. The purpose for selecting these locations has also been previously discussed in the chapter. My trip was however not limited to conducting fieldwork, but included visits to the country's National Archive. Unlike the UK's National

Archives located in Kew, The National Archives of Nigeria's repositories are located in four cities, three of which are located in my study area.

### General attitudes towards research

Conducting a fieldwork investigation in Nigeria poses daunting challenges to the researcher. In my opinion these reasons begin with the general societal attitudes to research and innovation, which are currently at a very low ebb. The observation I made during the trip was that, many people do not really understand what research entails, what the ultimate aim is, why the researcher undertakes the task, and why they should offer him/her the needed cooperation in that regard. But while this observation emanates more from the less literate of the society, it is interesting that even the schooled and literate would often, also display a very unenthusiastic attitude towards improving the researcher's research experience. I will say that these widely encompassing attitudes are what translate into the hurdles and frustrations which the researcher encounters at every stage of their investigations in Nigeria.

### Perceived immediate gains from the researcher

One interesting group of individuals who belong in the more enlightened group, but also contributed to a researcher's frustrations, are some of the government officials. I was very fortunate though, to meet some really wonderful civil servants who went out of their way, to provide me with helpful information and materials where needed, and even offered to help me locate places within the town. The help rendered by such officials greatly enhanced my data collection and I owe them much gratitude. However, on the other end of spectrum were some other civil servants who just fell a step short of openly soliciting gifts, before they could grant relevant information for the research. Although this was very distressing, it was also

consoling to know that the Nigerian government is aware of such untoward practices and is fighting an all-out war against corruption.

### Snail-paced bureaucracy

The fall out of such corrupt practices often result in the researcher experiencing delays with approvals to access building(s). This is because a corrupt official may deliberately refuse to process or forward the researcher's application for the next stage of approval. The motive in most cases is to frustrate the researcher into parting with cash gifts, before processing whatever application they have made. But corruption indeed, is not the only deterrent to getting applications or permissions quickly approved. The other deterrent is that, a significant number of government offices in Nigeria still carry out operations manually by recording daily entries in hardback exercise books, using office filing cabinets, and, 'in' and 'out' desktop filing trays, etc. Almost all documents exist in hard copy paper format, and are hardly ever digitized. This makes it easy for them to be lost, hidden or stolen. Many offices don't have computers, and where they do, there will most likely be a power outage for a significant part of the day. Internet connectivity is also rarely available in these offices. Aside from the non-availability of new technologies, the administrative structure of most departments are such that, there is too much emphasis on the position of 'the man at the top' (called in Nigerian everyday parlance – *oga at the top*), such that his immediate subordinates cannot approve the most basic applications. Most approvals and official decisions therefore grind to a halt at the director or head of department's absence. But even when you are lucky to visit the government office when the *oga* is around, the other logistics problems of no computers, or unavailability of electricity to power it etc., may just mean that you will still be asked to come back at another time.

### *The 'hide and seek' of taking building photographs*

When I started this section of the chapter on 'problems associated with doing research in Nigeria', I noted the general attitudes to research. In my observation, the attitude to fieldwork investigation is particularly significant. This is because it involves working in the outdoors, which for some reason draws a lot of attention from onlookers. The group who particularly take interest in this exercise are many in the informal sector who can be found lulling around the streets and other public spaces. A very interesting theory they have developed is that, your research, or whatever purpose you are taking the photographs for, will fetch you financial gains. They therefore believe that they should also benefit from your 'luck' by you handing them some cash. But it isn't just the informal sector individuals who do this, there are the overzealous building security guards. Once they sight a researcher (like I was doing) taking a snapshot around the building, they leave their post and approach him/ her, most often in a not very polite manner. On getting closer to the researcher however, they may begin soliciting for cash gifts. Such frustrations are what could lead a researcher, like I did, to take the photographs of the whole building composition from a secret or hidden location. There were various methods which I adopted for secret image capture. I could pretend I was trying to make a phone call, and couldn't get a clear telephone signal. Then I will raise my phone up, and make a quick click. Some shots were also taken from inside a moving vehicle, or sometimes I will go inside a sweet or convenience store opposite the building and capture the angle I wanted.

### *Insurgency and security concerns*

Added to the more usual challenges of dealing with street urchins and overzealous security staff is the very high rate of suspicion which now characterises taking government building pictures. This comes on the heels of the Boko Haram insurgency in North-eastern Nigeria.

This has even become more rife with high rates of suicide bombings being recorded not just in the North-east, but also in the other parts of Northern Nigeria. Although the south of the country remains relatively safe, the insurgency up north has heightened the sense of insecurity in all areas, and kept all on high alert regarding any form of ‘suspicious movement’.

I therefore had to find a balance between taking pictures discretely, while not giving the impression that my movements generated any suspicion. The insurgency particularly meant that I had to limit my travel radius, and avoid the far north all together. This meant not having a Northern native administration example, in the same way I adopted Abeokuta for Southern Nigeria. Thankfully however, Kaduna, which was the colonial administration in the north, and a key PWD buildings township has remained relatively calm and hardly affected by the insurgency.

#### *Poorly organized archives with scanty records*

I also visited the National archives of Nigeria repositories located at Ibadan, Abeokuta and Kaduna. The aim was to see if there were archival materials still existing on the PWD, and which differed from what I already sourced from archives in the UK. This was however not to be the case. The archives were disappointingly lacking in records. At two of the locations, I was told that they had no records on the PWD. I then surfed through their list of records to see if there could be any related materials of interest. I found one or two letters, but aside from that, there was largely nothing of significance that pertained to the department.

At the third archives, they admitted to having had some PWD records. They however apologised that those records were mostly irreparably damaged by water, when the archive



building was renovated six months earlier. At this stage I became exasperated, but still politely asked if further checks could be made to see if, perhaps any items had survived the 'flooding'. The officials seemed very unhappy at my persistence, and made some unkind comments in a Nigerian Language he thought I did not understand. He did go into the storage room, to fish out what remained of some PWD files. They were actually very damaged and it was difficult to make out what they were about.

Aside from not hosting a vibrant repository, the archives' general organization and study rooms need great improvement. One archive study room was so dusty, I never sat. The files and documents used by previous researchers are not removed, but stacked high on the study tables. Going by the relatively impressive buildings which house the archives, the study rooms are surprisingly very small and cramped. The staff also carried out their administrative duties within the study room, making it difficult for researchers to have full concentration.

### **Conclusion:**

The chapter has discussed methods adopted in conducting the research, and they are archival investigations, fieldwork and unstructured interview. What the chapter finds significant about the approach are in three folds. First is that insights about the department are broadened because they are being generated from three different standpoints - documents and paper trails, the building legacy and an individual's PWD work experience. Second is that the data gathered through one method, are sometimes replicated in another method (in a different form), and thereby brings about further authentication. For example a building plan is sourced during archival investigations conducted in the UK, and the building is identified and during fieldwork in Nigeria, and probably even mentioned during the PWD veteran's interview. This gives more credence to the data and provides more insight for analysis. Third,

is that unlike most studies done on architecture and empire, this study stands out as one whose method incorporates a living voice who built for empire, but also lived in the everyday realities of working and living his new environment. The chapter also looked at the problems of doing research in Nigeria. The aim is to provide clarity on the impediments to doing research in a developing country as it affects this work, and clarity to a reader who is accustomed to conducting research in more organized and developed societies.

## CHAPTER 4: NIGERIA PWD BUILDING OPERATIONS

*“It should be remembered that the conditions under which the department operates are exceptional, and perhaps peculiar to Nigeria. It is a large department entrusted with works dispersed over a large territory”<sup>300</sup>*

### **Preamble:**

This chapter examines the emergence of the Nigeria PWD, its structure and administrative hierarchy, as well as the operations and systems which it employed in implementing building projects. The chapter is being examined in this way because, first, it seeks to relate the department’s early days to the preceding Royal Engineer traditions and see what connections existed between them. Second it aims to develop on Davidson’s (1957) *The Architectural work of the Ministry of Works, Western region Nigeria*<sup>301</sup> and Carroll’s (1961) *The administration of the department of Public Works*.<sup>302</sup> Davidson had written on departmental building operations and their linkage to Nigeria’s colonial government structure. Carroll had also written on the department’s organizational structure and how it carried out functions in Australia.

However these studies were not done in any great detail. By employing colonial records and official publications therefore, this chapter will be conducting more in-depth explorations on the operation of Nigeria PWD. In doing this however, the chapter will be an attempt to obtain further insights on two main issues. One is on the role of Native staff in building, as well as in operations and bureaucracy. The other is in taking a position regarding Scriver’s

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<sup>300</sup> The National archives, CO 583/177/7 “Memorandum by the director of Public Works [CL Cox] on the Report of Mr G. McC. Hoey, Advisory Officer” (Lagos: The Government printer, 1931), 22.

<sup>301</sup> *The Builder*, “Architectural works of the ministry of works, Western region, Nigeria.” (Feb 1 1957): 220 – 221.

<sup>302</sup> W.R. Carroll, “The administration of the department of Public Works”, *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 20, (1961): 86 -98.

observation that “The PWD had soon become an over-centralized bureaucracy with all the faults of a deplorable system - wittily defined by a victim as 'Government of files and dispatch boxes, tempered by occasional loss of keys’”<sup>303</sup>

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4.1 Nigeria PWD early days

4.2 From military expeditions to works department

4.3 Departmental and project implementation structure

4.4 Building operations: The PWD Yard and Native staff role

4.5 Building operations: The drawing office

### **4.1 Nigeria PWD early days**

The earliest reference to a Public Works Department in Nigeria was made in an 1888 *Mirror* article regarding poor sanitary conditions in Lagos. According to the newspaper:

“The condition of some of the thoroughfare is so wretched that the greatest wonder is if there ever existed a sanitary department in the government....in face of these evils, the Public Works Department of the government is maintained at an annual cost of £3,000. For what then is the army of officials kept up? A system of drainage has been perfected at Cape Coast which will be well for Lagos to copy”<sup>304</sup>.

An important factor to note here however, is that after its annexation in 1861 and beginning from 1866, Lagos was initially governed under the West African settlement headquarters in

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<sup>303</sup> Peter C. Scriver. "Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India", in *Colonial modernities: building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon*, eds. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London: Routledge), 2007.

<sup>304</sup> The *Mirror*, 25 February 1888.

Sierra Leone and later in 1874, by the Governor of the Gold coast. It only became an independent colony twelve years later in 1886.<sup>305</sup> It may well be therefore, that the public works department and ‘army of officials’ being referenced in the article, was that which undertook infrastructure works for the colonial government of the West African sub-region, and not just for Nigeria.

The Nigeria public works department may have therefore evolved from this wider sub-regional office. Although the Mirror’s article appears to have been about sanitary improvement works on the Lagos harbour, was PWD’s production of administrative buildings equally emphasised at the time? It appears that there wasn’t such an emphasis. The reason for this may have been that the colonial administrative sphere in Nigeria was still limited to Lagos, and even at that, it was run by very few officials as compared to the mostly mercantile British presence, which meant that administrative building needs were still very limited. The other likely reason could be that the Public Works department was mostly perceived as a government agency for producing engineering infrastructure, and less in the light of producing colonial administrative buildings. This was particularly so in the department’s early years.

- **Engineering works or colonial administrative building production?**

This early perception of the department appears to have a historical link to the Royal engineers before it. According to Gardner-Medwin, “like the Royal Engineers, the traditional PWD were staffed with jacks of all trades, ready to tackle any job anywhere with military

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<sup>305</sup> Arthur N. Cook, *British enterprise in Nigeria* (London, Oxford University press, 1943), 77.

thoroughness, particularly in the matters of roads, water supply and drainage”.<sup>306</sup> It may therefore be said that The Royal engineers were the first organized unit to develop infrastructure on behalf of the colonial government, and according to Bigon, the PWD “grew out of it”.<sup>307</sup>

However, beginning from 1896 when the department received its first director in the Lagos colony<sup>308</sup>, and by 1900 when the colonial administrative system was extended hinterlands and administrative building needs increased, it appears that the earlier engineering only orientation of the department began to change. This is reflected in Godwin’s observation that:

“During colonization, works departments were set up, with government engineers in charge of designing, and constructing roads, bridges, drainage and eventually public buildings. Thus in Lagos around the turn of the century, a fine secretariat, law courts and the governor's lodge and even a lighthouse had been constructed. At the same time the railway had been constructed and a power station provided light on the island”.<sup>309</sup>

Although Godwin appears to highlight the department’s shifting emphasis from engineering works to a larger scale inclusion of administrative building production, Cox has suggested that the department’s early days should be assessed within a wider context.

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<sup>306</sup> Gardner-Medwin, R.J. “The position of the architect in the tropics,” in *Conference on tropical architecture: A report of the proceedings of the conference held at the University College London, March, 1953*, ed. Arthur M. Foyle (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1953), 117 -118.

<sup>307</sup> Liora Bigon, *A history of urban planning in two West African colonial capitals: Residential segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar 1850-1930* (New York: Edwin Mellen press, 2009), 132.

<sup>308</sup> Kunle Akinsemoyin, and Alan Vaughan-Richards. *Building Lagos*. (Jersey: Pengrall Ltd, 1977) 47.

<sup>309</sup> John Godwin. “Architecture and Construction Technology in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s” *Docomomo Journal* 28, (2003): 51.

- **Early limitations to PWD operations**

Drawing from his observations on the department's early limitations therefore, Cox argues that:

“It should be remembered that the conditions under which the department operates are exceptional, and perhaps peculiar to Nigeria. It is a large department entrusted with works dispersed over a large territory; but it is a very youthful organization virtually without departmental traditions. And staffed in greater part by young and in-experienced Engineers, who, owing to their disproportionate numbers and the exigencies of the service, have had little opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of procedure and practice by serving a period of apprenticeship directly under more experienced seniors. The risk of undertaking heavy work under such conditions was made quite clear to government”.<sup>310</sup>

The observations produce a number of insights into what limitations actually existed and how they impacted on the country's wider colonial building programme. Cox reference to the department's 'youthfulness' for example is perhaps related to its 'late' establishment at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as opposed for example, to India where the department had been in existence forty-five years earlier since 1855.<sup>311</sup> For him, this created a dearth of 'departmental traditions', which led to another official suggesting that “we cannot but learn from the experience of India”<sup>312</sup> and also led to the Governor of Nigeria requesting an expert advice visit on matters of departmental policy and organization.<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>310</sup>The National archives, CO 583/177/7 “Memorandum by the director of Public Works [CL Cox] on the Report of Mr G. McC. Hoey, Advisory Officer” (Lagos: The Government printer, 1931), 22.

<sup>311</sup> Peter C. Scriver. "Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India", in *Colonial modernities: building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon*, eds. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London: Routledge, 2007), 76.

<sup>312</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 208.

<sup>313</sup> The national archives, CO 583/168/2 “Visit of expert to advice generally as to organization and policy of Public Works Department” 1929.

Second, is his reference to Nigeria's territorial size in relation to the works to be undertaken, and in relation to a disproportionate number of inexperienced engineers. This observation may have been informed by his comparing the department's initial years of building works in Lagos - the only Nigerian settlement directly governed by the colonial administration at the time - with later administrative expansion over large swaths of areas that became Northern and southern protectorates of Nigeria. With this expansion and eventual amalgamation of the two regions, the PWD like every other government department of the time were also required to extend their operations hinterlands for a continuation of the colonial building programme.

Cox's argument it will seem, is that there wasn't a significant corresponding increase in the number of PWD engineers to go with these changes. In Cox's third observation therefore, he notes that not only was there a disproportionate number of engineers over a large territory, but that the few were mostly very young and inexperienced – making him highlight a risk to the undertaking of any heavy work. This could perhaps be a contributing factor to why Nigeria PWD resulted in many basic, every day, and unassuming architecture in its official buildings. Making a similar observation about early Nigeria PWD buildings, Moffet has also noted that “the best that can be said about it is that it is unpretentious - an oversimplified architecture, stripped of everything including its charm”.<sup>314</sup>

But the simplicity of PWD buildings may not always have been related to minimizing heavy work for the inexperienced engineers. It was perhaps also based on the rural nature of some of the settlements where they were required. It may not have made any economic or even common-sense to locate a massive post-office or courthouse in a village of about four hundred inhabitants. This again seems to be the reason why 'type' designs were developed;

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<sup>314</sup> Noel Moffet, “Nigeria Today” *RIBA Journal* (June 1977): 244-254.



so that a range of prototype public building designs were made on a settlement-appropriate basis.

#### **4.2 From military expeditions to Works Department**

To further understand the PWD's Royal Engineers' origin, it is important to explore Atkinson's historical insights on constructing government buildings in the older West Indian colonies. According to him:

“For the construction of government and military buildings in the early West-Indian architecture an officer called the ‘colonial engineer’ seems to have been responsible. He was a military engineer - a jack of all trades – and an architect-engineer who designed churches, iron bridges and canal systems”.<sup>315</sup>

Arguing however that these ‘engineers’ were mostly “self-trained through experience and book reading”<sup>316</sup>, Atkinson goes on to outline the emergence of the more formally trained Royal engineers:

“From 1825, there was an organized course of training for military engineer-architects before they went overseas. So the young military engineers posted to the West Indies, West African coast and other colonies were not so ill prepared for their jobs to maintain government houses, build barracks and prisons, and organize convicts into useful gang of road builders”.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> G.A Atkinson, “British Architects in the tropics” *Architectural Association Journal* 69 (1959): 9-10.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

One example of the royal engineers' early building activities in West Africa however, is seen in an 1873 military engineering expedition to the Gold Coast (Ghana).

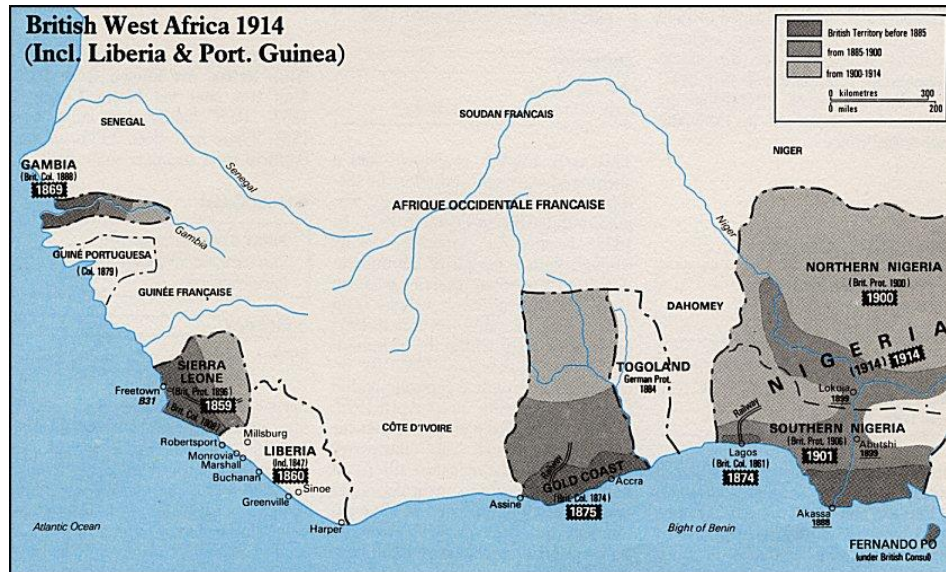


Figure 32: 1914 Map of British West Africa

Here the expedition's leader, Lieut. Colonel home had written that "On being ordered to the Gold coast, I knew the intention was to clear the area termed the British Protectorate of the Ashantees, and consider what duties I should be called upon to perform in military engineering".<sup>318</sup> He also wrote of how he based his work on two main principles which were,

“that the engineering must be adapted to the country and not the country to the engineering, and second, that a rough, ugly erection, when wanted, and answering its purpose, was of far greater value than a neat, artistic production which was only ready after the necessity for its use had disappeared”.<sup>319</sup>

<sup>318</sup> Ibid, 85.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid, 85.

Although it is almost needless to say that the possibility of any artistic production in the circumstances was very remote, the engineers had put up among other structures of the expedition, bridges for crossing streams and a hospital hut for yellow fever cases.

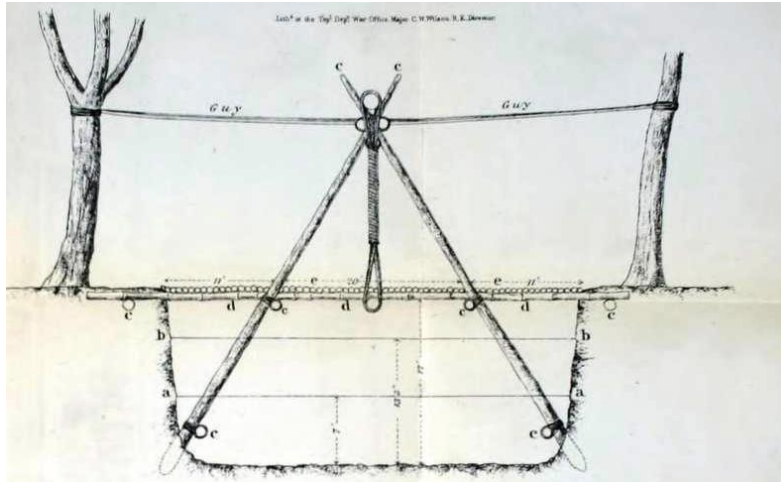


Figure 33: Drawing of nineteenth century bridge construction by Royal engineers<sup>320</sup>



Figure 34: 1873 Hospital hut constructed for the Gold coast by Royal engineers (End elevation)<sup>321</sup>

<sup>320</sup> Lieut. Colonel Home, "On the engineering operations on the Gold coast during the recent expeditions" Papers on subjects connected with the duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Contributed by officers of the Royal engineers 23, (1876): PL XIV.

The hut's side and end elevations are covered in boards of seasoned timber held together by sills and plates. Wooden stanchions are erected at equal intervals on the gable ends of the hut, and angle posts and ties connected to support its struts and rafters. The upper gable intersection is also braced by roof boarding. At the intermediate end of the hut, weather boarding are propped against the sides and braced at the ground level by wooden stumps for support. The hut's interior features an eight bed space rectangular plan, and its entrance door opens into a hall way that is flanked on the left by a store and on the right by a washroom. The hall way then opens into the main ward, and continues as an unobstructed passageway to the rear entrance of the hut. An equal number of windows line both of the hut's side elevation walls, and were orientated to be in exact opposite directions.

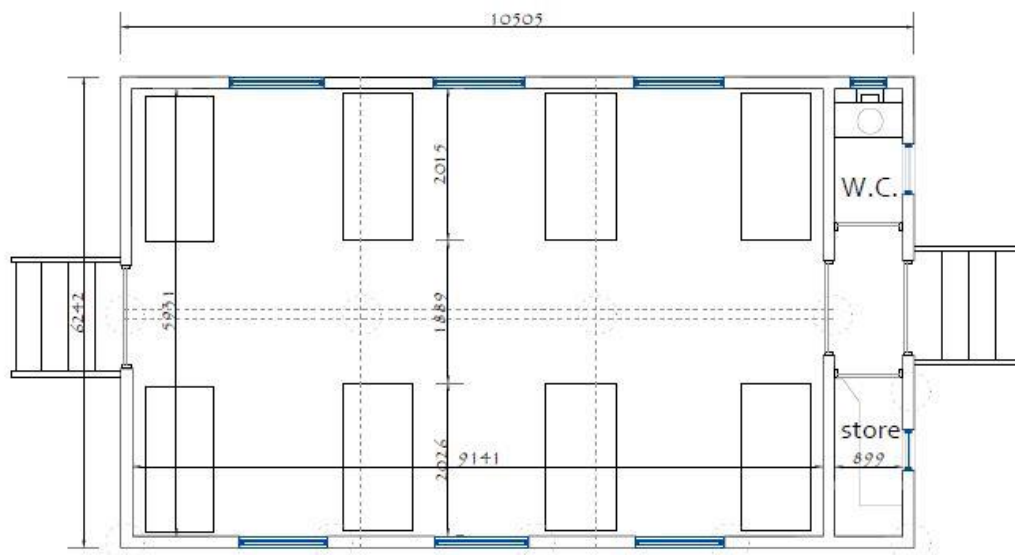


Figure 35: Gold Coast Hospital hut (Plan)<sup>322</sup>

This was most likely done to optimize both the hut's air inflow, and to optimize the circulation within it. The need to optimize air flow is also reflected in the elevation of the hut

<sup>321</sup> Ibid, PL XXL.

<sup>322</sup> ibid, PL XXL.

off from the ground level. This had become a common practice in early tropical building and also has its origins traceable to the West Indies. As Weiler Observes:

“The most typical of the small vernacular Caribbean houses whose roots lie in the late seventeenth century had the whole structure raised from the ground to allow circulation of air which both cooled the air and protected the building's wood from insect attack”.<sup>323</sup>

By adopting the principle of cross ventilation and raised floor levels in the hospital huts therefore, the Royal engineers appear to be passing on the message that, we are not only providing a health facility where yellow fever cases will be treated, we are also providing one in a purpose designed environment. Another interesting feature of the hut was its prefabricated configuration. According to Home:

“These huts were, were very roughly made. They were framed in London, taken to pieces and put together in bundles (all corresponding pieces of one hut being put up together and hooped with hoop iron, certain spare bits being introduced), each hut being numbered and lettered, and the nails, locks, bolts, &c., with tools putting the huts together, being all carefully put in separate boxes”.<sup>324</sup>

Which raises the question as to why the prefabrication was the preferred method of construction by the Royal engineers at this time? One reason the engineers perhaps chose prefabricated construction is seen in Home's observation that “modern scientific appliances

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<sup>323</sup> John Michael Weiler, “Army architects: The royal engineers and the development of building technology in the nineteenth century” (PhD diss., University of York, 1987), 427.

<sup>324</sup> Lieut. Colonel Home, “On the engineering operations on the Gold coast during the recent expeditions” *Papers on subjects connected with the duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Contributed by officers of the Royal engineers* 23, (1876): 87.

which required large numbers of Europeans to work them were out of place”.<sup>325</sup> This can then translate to mean that prefabrication helped achieve tropical building with smaller company of junior non-commissioned officer. It was also quick, meant little site works or ‘wet trades’ were required and didn’t require specialist joiners, just basic knowledge.

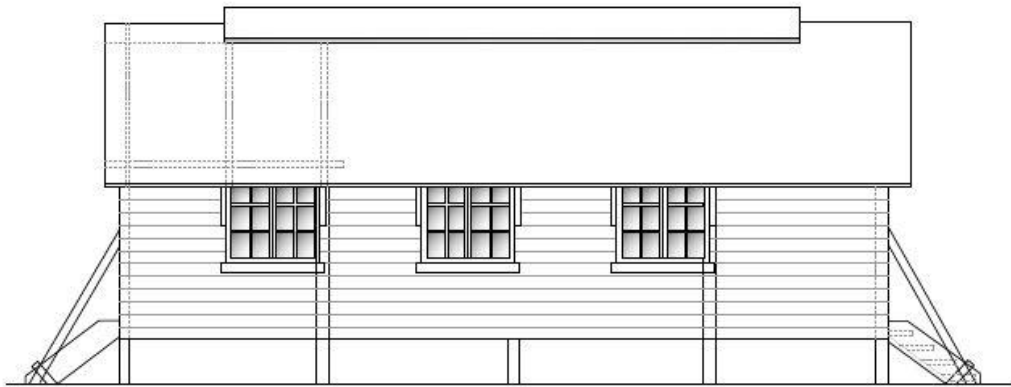


Figure 36: Gold coast Hospital hut (Side elevation)<sup>326</sup>

This hospital hut and pedestrian bridge in the earlier illustration typify the types of constructions which Royal Engineers undertook during their initial expeditions on the West African coast. One phase which appeared to run through the memoirs of the Royal engineers, - and as is expected from the ethics of the profession - is ‘on being ordered to’. So this meant that the engineers never took up permanent residence to develop infrastructure in any settlement. They only did construction work in places following precise orders, and soon withdrew after another set of directives. This was also the case in Nigeria until the Surveyor general’s office was established in 1894 for the commencement of railway construction. According to Akinsemoyin, a director general was later appointed for the office in 1896, and by the turn of the century became the Nigeria public works department. Unlike the transient nature of operations adopted by the Royal engineers before it, the department became the

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid, PL XXL.

official infrastructure development unit of the colonial administration. It was run by departmental rules and regulations and had an organizational structure based largely on an engineering hierarchy. Known mostly for the construction of harbour works in its early days, the department's building construction programme was initially the purview of a 'drawing office' within this engineering hierarchy. As discussed in chapter two however, 1945 Post-war developments had seen the drawing office become a full-fledged architectural section, which will be the focus of chapter seven.

### 4.3 Departmental and project implementation structure

After a first few years of its existence, the department appears to have achieved a major milestone. It did this by restructuring its operations from a "jack of all trade" status to become a well-organized government agency, run by a 1907 book of 'Departmental regulations', for the then Colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria. The book provides an organizational structure outline and presents the duties and responsibilities of officials in the hierarchy.

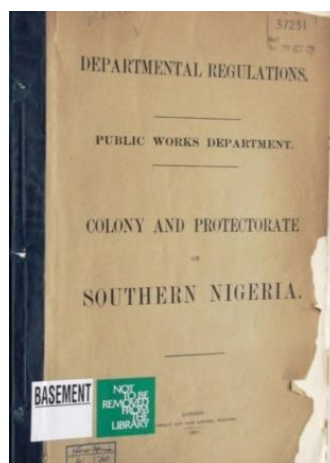


Figure 37: Departmental regulations handbook for PWD in the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 41Folio E 32 DW "Departmental Regulations: Public Works Department Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria" London: Waterloo and sons limited printers, 1907.

It also provides procedures for handling the inflow and outflow of departmental correspondences, departmental purchases and expenditure as well as health and safety regulation requirements for official quarters occupants.

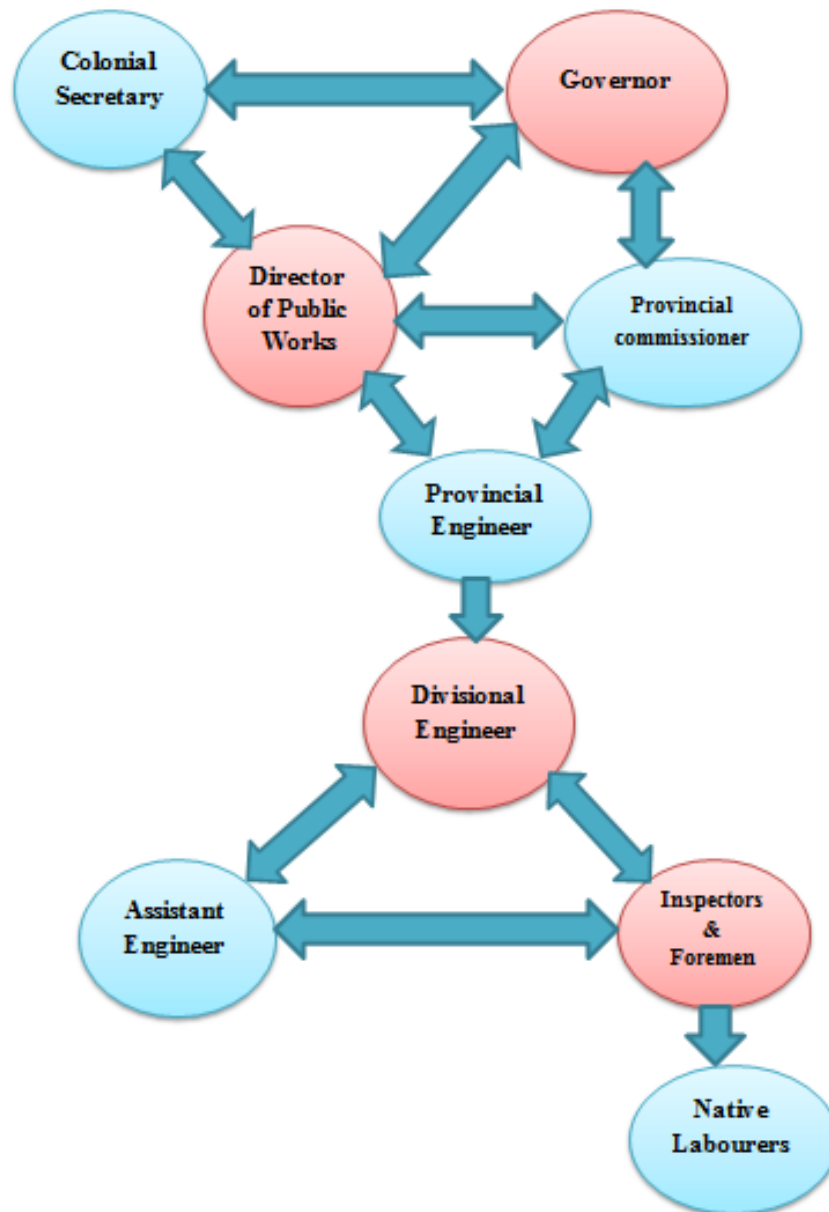


Figure 38: A Sketch illustrating Nigeria PWD organizational and project implementation structure<sup>328</sup>

<sup>328</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 41Folio E 32 DW “Departmental Regulations: Public Works Department Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria” (London: Waterloo and sons limited printers, 1907), 3 Part 2.



More importantly to this study however, the document outlines the duties of key departmental officers; the Director of Public Works, Provisional Engineers, Divisional Engineers, Assistant Engineers and Inspectors and foremen of works, and thereby gives an insight into the organizational structure of the department, the observation of protocols between superiors and subordinates officers and bureaucratic linkages between the department and the government.

### *The Director of Public Works (DPW)*

One official who held a very central role in the department's organizational structure is the Director of Public Works (DPW). The reason his role may be deemed central is because, on the one hand it entailed being the department's principal officer who supervised the efficient implementation of projects. On the other hand however, the DPW served as the significant link between the government and department, and reported directly to the governor and/or colonial secretary depending on the type of project.

These duties are perhaps best summarised in Paragraph 1 Section 1 and part 2 of the regulations which state that, "The director of public works is responsible to the government for the efficient carrying out of the work of his Department throughout the colony and protectorate".<sup>329</sup> Details of this responsibility are then expanded and read that,

"The director of public works will thus exercise general control over the engineering operations of his department. It will be his duty to examine estimates and drawings, and to inform himself of the progress and completion of works, to suggest projects and designs suitable for effecting the objects proposed to him by government, or by him to government,

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<sup>329</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 41Folio E 32 DW "Departmental Regulations: Public Works Department Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria" (London: Waterloo and Sons Limited printers, 1907), 3 Part 2.

and to bring clearly before the government, accompanied by his own remarks, all subjects reserved for the decision of the governor”.<sup>330</sup>

What this clause of the regulations demonstrates is that the initiation of projects was not the reserved responsibility of government, nor of the director of public works; rather, projects could be ‘suggested’ by either parties – and although not included in the clause, was most probably as the need arose. In the next chapter for example, this research will present selected buildings of interest from the field work trip, and this will be done along with surviving administrative letters which show how some of the projects were initiated.

The clause also gives more insight on the Director’s responsibility to the government, which is seen to be on two levels (as illustrated in the organizational structure sketch). On the first level, the DPW’s immediate superior officer is the Governor, and is quoted in Part 1 of the regulations; “the director of public works is responsible, in theory, under the Governor’s orders, for the execution of all public works.”<sup>331</sup> Further to this, the document states that “any project which requires the approval of the governor shall be put forward by the director of public works with full explanations for considerations by his excellency.”<sup>332</sup>

The director’s second level of relations to the government is that of direct correspondence with the colonial secretary. This happens where drawings do not require the governor’s approval before being sent to the colonial secretary. Although we are not told what categories of drawings this are, their submission guidelines are similar to those for submitting drawings

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid, 3 (part 1).

<sup>331</sup> Ibid, 1 (part 1).

<sup>332</sup> Ibid, 4.

to the governor, and read that “the Director of Public Works is responsible that all projects for new works submitted to the Government are prepared in a complete and proper form”.<sup>333</sup>

To better understand how drawings were to be made to meet the criteria of ‘complete and proper form’, the next section of this chapter will further explore operations in the early Public Works Department’s drawing office. Just as the director was responsible to the government on two levels (depending on if drawings needed the Governor’s approval or not), so did his responsibility to the governor require in some circumstances to be transmitted through another official known as the provincial commissioner.

### *The Provincial commissioner*

A provincial commissioner became necessary in some regions of the country as explained in Part 1 of the regulations that, “In the central and eastern provinces it is inconvenient for the Governor to give his orders directly on matters of detail or settled principles of the administration, and he therefore delegates his powers to the provincial Commissioner”.<sup>334</sup> But while acting under the governor’s directions, the provincial commissioner had the power to decide at what level a project was going to be executed. He could either have it executed provincially through his office, or under the DPW’s direct instructions.

In the event that he chose to execute it provincially, then he was assigned an assistant with the title of provincial engineer. However, although the hierarchy provided the provincial engineer to be under the general directions of the provincial commissioner, he was equally part responsible to the Director of public works. Clause 10 section 2 and part 2 of the regulations therefore states that:

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<sup>333</sup> Ibid, 4 (part 1).

<sup>334</sup> Ibid, 1.

“the provincial engineer is responsible to the Director of public works for the proper design and execution of all public works carried out by him, and copies of plans of all buildings estimated to cost £100 or over are to be supplied to the director to be filed in his office. He is also responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of all Public buildings, Roads and Bridges in his province”.<sup>335</sup>

One notable factor here is that, beginning with the provincial engineer’s post, we begin to see officials taking on more practical tasks, such as designing, providing estimates and maintaining public works. With the higher hierarchies - the governor, director of public works and provincial commissioner - we had seen their duties more in the administration, initiation, approval, and implementation, of projects as well as directing or coordinating departmental efficiency.

### *The Divisional engineer*

While his responsibilities were to the Provincial commissioner and the director of Public works, the provincial engineer was equally assigned a subordinate Divisional engineer. The duty of this officer was to:

“chiefly be executive in the supervision of assistant engineers, inspectors and foremen of works and being responsible for the maintenance of public buildings, roads and Bridges if under his control, and for the proper construction of all new works in the district under his charge.”<sup>336</sup>

This position seems to be the first on the departmental structure that has construction outlined as a core duty.

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<sup>335</sup> Ibid, 4 (part 2).

<sup>336</sup> Ibid, 6,(part 2).

PWD and the colonial administrative structure

An important factor about the department's project implementation structure is the way it also highlights and possibly reflects the colonial administrative structure of Nigeria at the time. Colonial Administrative classifications began with the highest level of 'Colony', which was followed by 'Provincial centre' and finally, 'Native authority'.<sup>337</sup> Another form of administrative classification which existed at time was that which rated towns as first, second and third class townships.<sup>338</sup> Lagos was therefore the crown colony and the only first class town,<sup>339</sup> Kaduna and second class town in the north,<sup>340</sup> and Abeokuta a Native authority<sup>341</sup> and second class town in the south.



Figure 39: Schematic diagram showing the Administrative structure of Nigeria before 1906

<sup>337</sup> William Edward Simmet, *The British colonial empire* (England: Norton, 1942) 79

<sup>338</sup> Robert K Home, "Urban growth and urban government: Contradictions in the colonial political economy" in *Nigeria Economy and Society*, ed. Gavin Williams (London, Rex Collins Ltd, 1976),64

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid*,64

<sup>340</sup> The National Archives MPGG 1/129

<sup>341</sup> William Edward Simmet, *The British colonial empire* (England: Norton, 1942) 80

**TOWNSHIPS IN NIGERIA**  
**GAZETTED UNDER THE ORDINANCE OF 1917**  
*(Date of abolition in brackets)*

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*1st-Class Township.*

Lagos

*2nd-Class Townships, Northern Provinces.*

Ilorin (1922)	Lokoja
Jos	Minna (1926)
Kaduna	Zaria
Kano	

*2nd-Class Townships, Southern Provinces.*

Aba	Itu (1929)
Abeokuta (1924)	Onitsha
Calabar	Opobo
Enugu	Port Harcourt
Forcados	Sapele
Ibadan (1936)	Warri

*3rd-Class Townships, Northern Provinces.*

Abinsi	Jebba
Ankpa	Kontagora
Baro	Maiduguri
Bauchi	Offa
Bida	Okwoga
Bode Saddu	Sokoto
Ibi	Zungeru
Idah	

*3rd-Class Townships, Southern Provinces.*

Abak	Brass (1939)	Kwale
Abakaliki	Burutu	Obubra
Ado Ekiti (1924)	Degema	Obudu
Afikpo	Eket	Ogoja
Agbor	Ejinrin (1938)	Ogwashi-Uku
Agege (1938)	Epe (1938)	Okigwi
Ahoada	Ife (1940)	Ondo (1924)
Arochuku	Ijebu-Ode	Oron (1929)
Asaba	Ikrom	Owerri
Awka (1929)	Ikorodu (1938)	Ozuakoli
Badagry (1938)	Ikot Ekpene	Ubiaja

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Figure 40: 1917 Administrative structures of townships in Nigeria<sup>342</sup>

<sup>342</sup> Gavin Williams, *Nigeria Economy and Society* (London: Rex Collins, 1976), 68

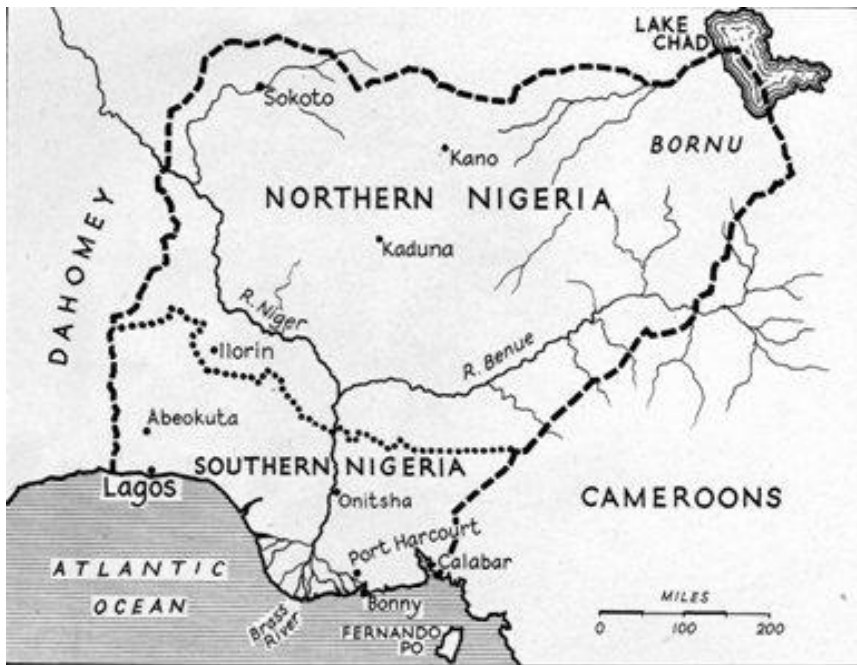


Figure 41: Map of Nigeria showing the Northern and Southern Protectorate Administrative structure after 1914 amalgamation; also some Key townships and Lagos Colony

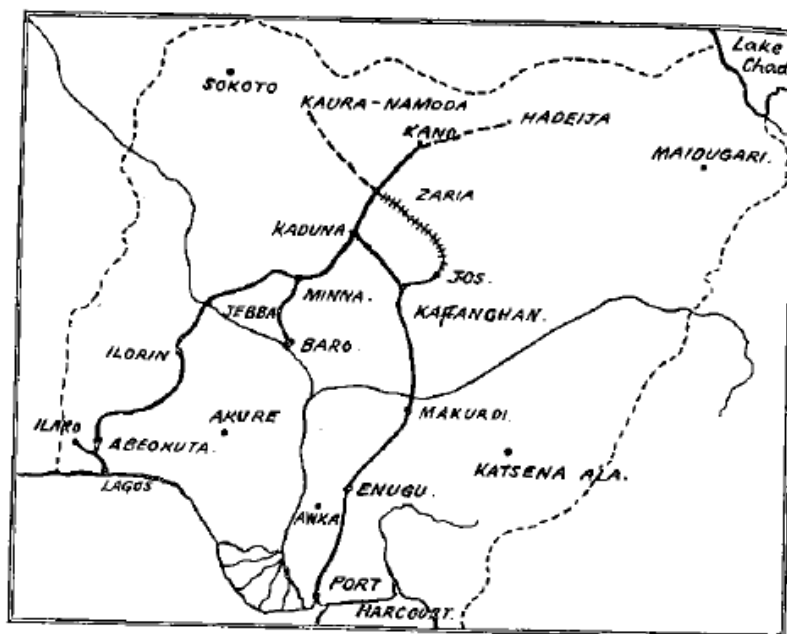


Figure 42: 1929 Map showing connection of townships (and PWD work) by Railways. Map does not indicate boundary adjustment with the Cameroons.

- Administrative structure and PWD

The colonial government's administrative hierarchy at the time ran from top to bottom as a colony, province, provincial headquarters, and districts or divisions (also termed native administrations). The relation to PWD hierarchy therefore showed that the southern provinces' seat of administration was the Lagos colony, and it was headed by a governor. In the same vein, the director of public works was the chief administrator of all public works in the province, the provincial commissioner (assisted by the provincial engineer) for the provincial headquarters - Abeokuta being the example used here - and the divisional engineer heading construction work in the major divisions of a provincial headquarters. Again, the 'Divisions' in the then Abeokuta provincial headquarters are outlined as an example. The divisional engineer was however to act in an executive capacity in these duties.

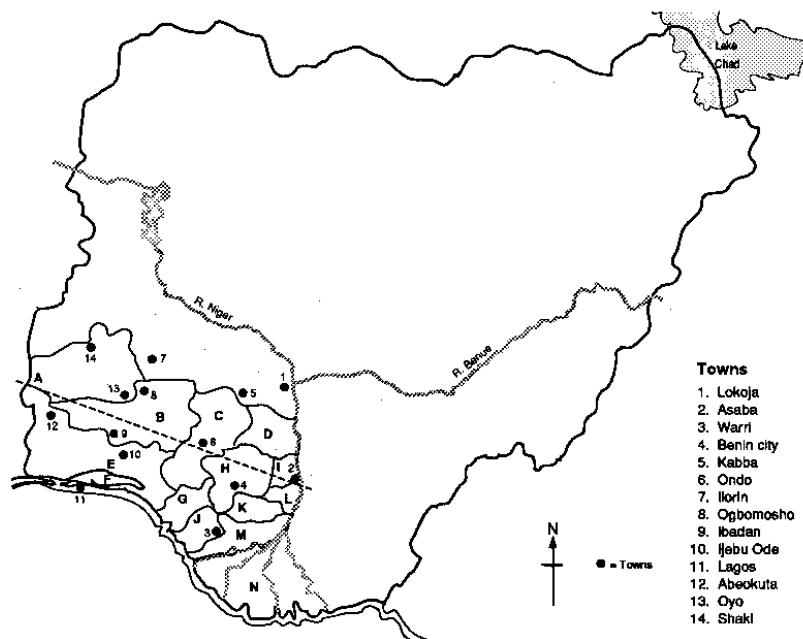


Figure 43: Map of Nigeria showing Key townships in the later Western Region adaptation of 1945



*The inspector of works and native labour*

How then were construction operations carried out and who were the ‘men on the ground’? From the departmental structure sketch, we see that there are three positions which line up to report to the divisional engineer. On the one hand is the assistant engineer and on the other are the inspectors and foremen of works. The assistant engineer was the ‘drawing office man’, and his role and the operations of that office will be further explored in the next section of the chapter. For the inspectors and foremen of works, their primary duties are stated in section 5 and part 2 of the regulations, and read that “All native workmen and labourers are under the supervision of the inspector or foreman who is responsible that the men perform a proper amount of work”.<sup>343</sup>



Figure 44: Picture in the Nigerian field Journal titled ‘constructing a maternity unit in Okigwe Division’.<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> Ibid, 7(part 2).

<sup>344</sup> E.R. Chadwick O.B.E. “Community development in South-eastern Nigeria” *The Nigerian field: the Journal of the Nigerian field society* 3, (1951) 117.

In ensuring that this is done, another clause of the regulations state that:

“Inspectors and foremen of works are responsible for the proper control of expenditure on works, and the correct keeping of the time of men under their charge, and must see that the time-keepers keep an accurate record of the time of the men”.<sup>345</sup>

It may seem here that the department was attempting to inculcate in the labourers, a culture of time-keeping as an integral part of the construction of Government projects, which were often to be built towards a commissioning date. Aside from its direct responsibility for native labour and ensuring maximum productivity levels:

“An inspector or foreman is responsible for the custody and serviceable condition of all tools, plant and machinery in his charge, and for the accounting for and use of stores and materials issued to him for public service or consumed on works under his supervision, and he is further responsible that proper precautions are taken to prevent loss, theft or other causes”.<sup>346</sup>

One source which provides further insight on these inspector and foreman duties and the technical arm of building production is the 1934 technical paper on Native Administration Works in Katsina. This technical paper describes the handling of tools, plant and machinery, the provision and accountability for materials and their storage, as a means to explain wider building operations within the department. However, this is done within the wider context of what became known as the PWD yard.

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<sup>345</sup> Ibid, 7 (part 2).

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, 7 (part 2).

#### 4.4 Building operations: The PWD yard and Native staff role

Having examined the department's administrative structure, a study of the yard will perhaps give more insight on the running of its building operations. However it is not the PWD yards themselves that are that interesting, rather what they enabled. They were part of the machinery of empire. Without the yards the British presence could not be maintained. They were the production units that enabled other activities to take place.

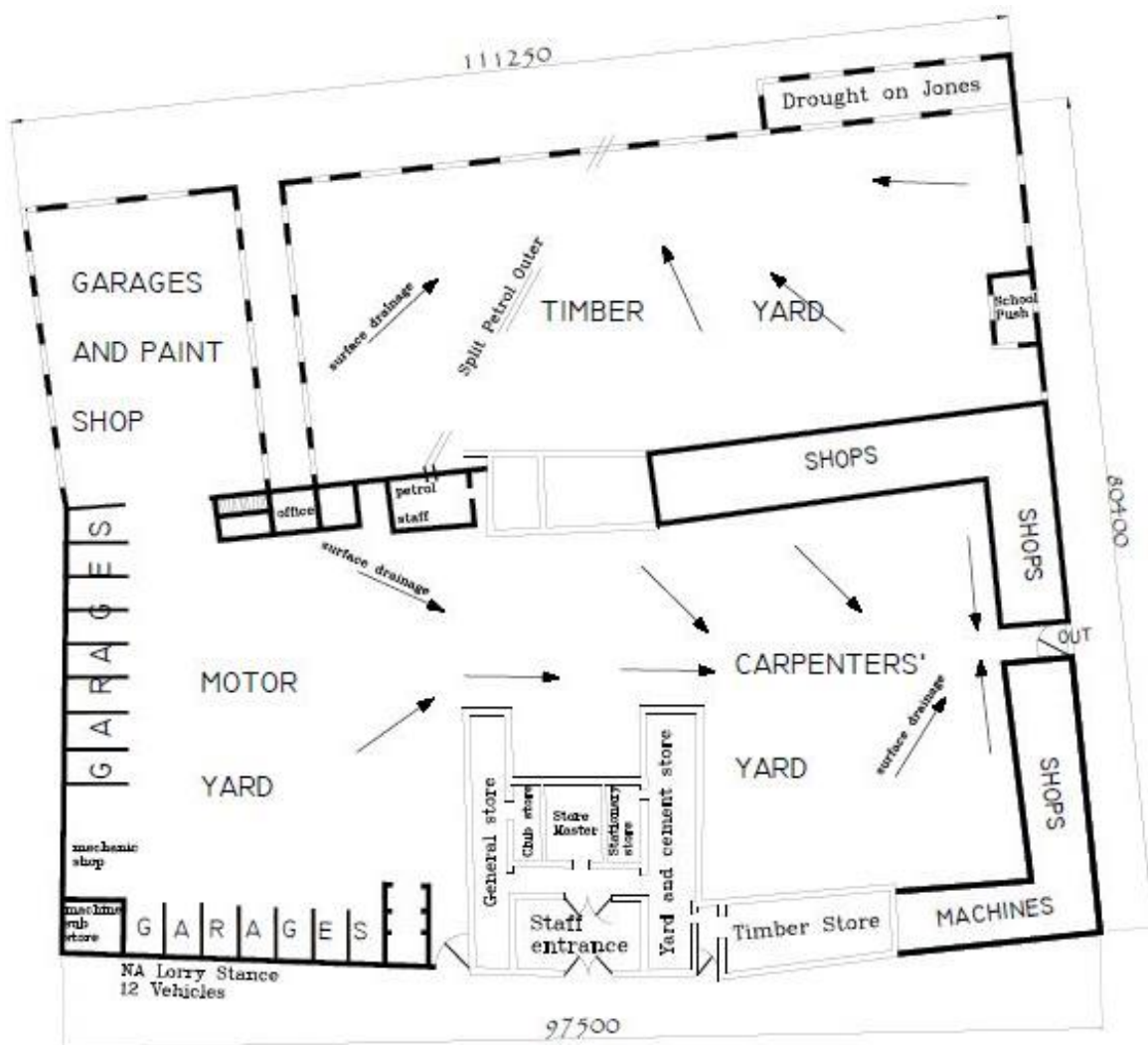


Figure 45: 1929 drawing titled 'Katsina Native Administration Workshop layout'<sup>347</sup>

<sup>347</sup> Re-drawn from The National Archives, CO 583/197/12 "Native Administration" holding [Nigeria Public Works Department (Technical paper No. 3) Native administration works in Katsina], 1935.

The Katsina yard, whose plan is shown above (and probably others at the divisional level) occupied an approximate area of about nine thousand square meters, and was compartmentalised into four main sections of a timber yard, carpenter's yard, motor yard and a garages and paint shop. A fifth section which was also the main building and had a staff only entrance, housed the store master's office and four different stores; the general store, the club store, the stationery store and the yard and cement store. This last store gives an indication of cement being already employed for PWD building at the time.

What the yard's set up indicates to me however is that it was virtually the 'engine room' though which PWD building materials and components were first stored or processed, before their onward movement to the project site for the commencement of construction or for use during it. Regarding the make-up of the yard, I observed that about seventy percent of it comprised construction work related spaces, while the other thirty percent or so, were dedicated as a motor yard of garages and a mechanic shop. There is also a petrol office to keep the Lorries running and what looks like a surface petrol pipe that is tagged 'split petrol outer'. I find it rather odd though that this runs through the very flammable Timber yard!

#### The timber yard, carpentry works and standardization of building components

Back to the yard's engine room analogy, the timber yard appears to be where rough and newly logged timber was first stacked. It should be noted here however, that because Katsina was located in the far north, the timber logs must have been transported by rail from the rain-forest region of southern Nigeria. The technical paper then sheds more light on the processing stages which must have followed, noting that "woodworking plant costing £500 was installed in 1930. The machines and the general layout follow Government Public Works Department

practice for outstation workshops".<sup>348</sup> And to further buttress the strategy of involving native input, the paper equally notes that "the workshops are being run entirely by apprentices under the supervision of one imported southern native expert".<sup>349</sup> From here processed timber boards would have been transferred to the Carpenter's yard for the commencement of joinery works.

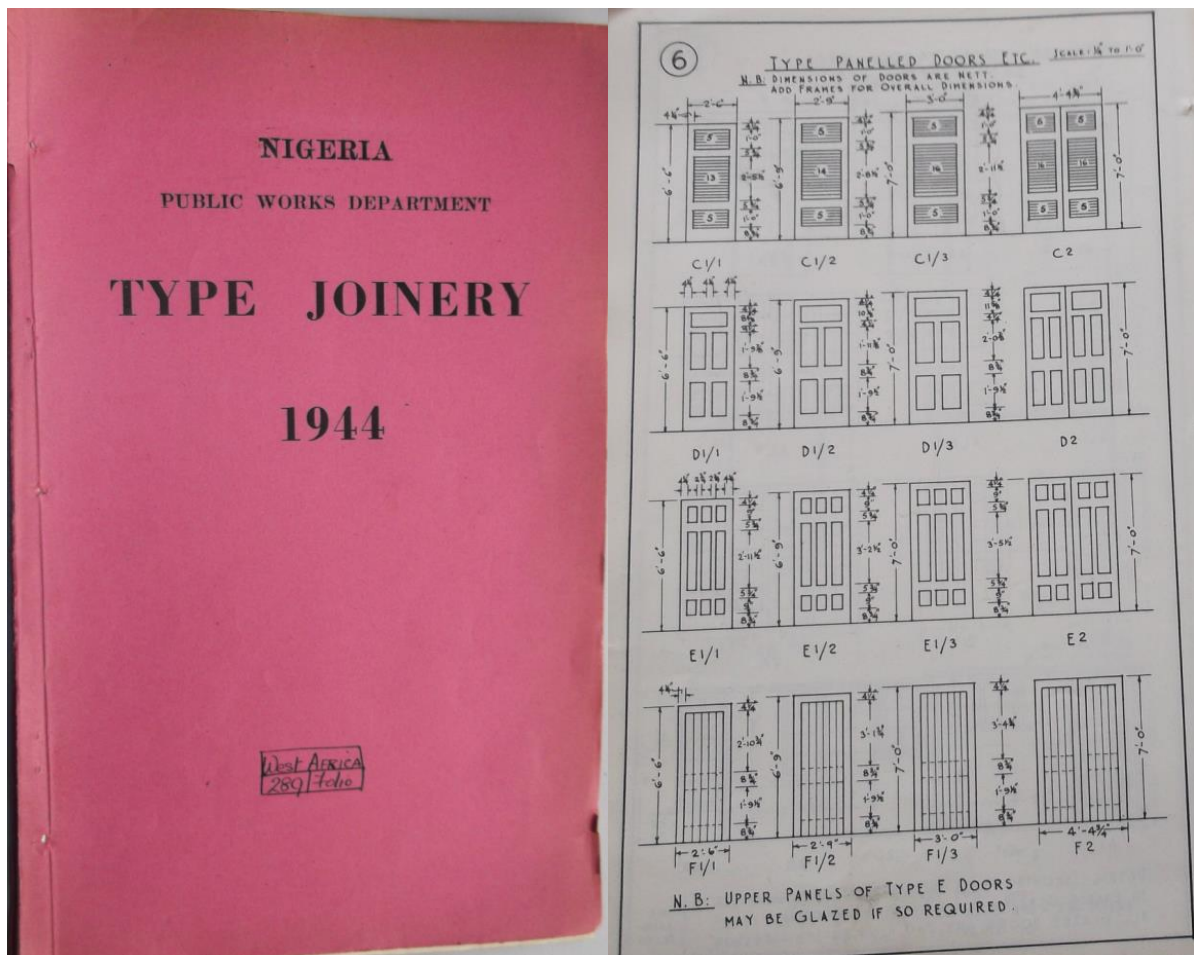


Figure 46: 1944 Nigeria PWD Type joinery book, showing type panelled doors page<sup>350</sup>

<sup>348</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives, CO 583/197/12 "Native Administration" - Nigeria Public Works Department (Technical paper No. 3) Native administration works in Katsina, (1934), 1.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>350</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 289 Folio E3E9D "Type Joinery 1944" (Nigeria Public Works Department, 1944) Cover and 6.

To have better insights into joinery works in the building operations, a 1944 PWD joinery information book can be consulted. The wider significance of information books is that they provide more clarity about the work, methods, systems, standards of the department. Although the information book was most probably a periodical publication, this edition particularly focused on PWD joinery works on the fittings and furnishings such as glazed doors, internal and external window frames, door frames, louvers, panels and wardrobe fronts. The method or system which I observed that was employed in this regard, is that various components were standardized in space appropriate sizes. Information for door frames for example read that "It should be noted that the heads of door frames Types A3,

AL3, B3, X3 and F3 are 5 3/4" x 2 3/4" whereas the posts are 5 3/4 " x 3 3/4". This will enable lintel soffits to line".<sup>351</sup> The standardization of components seen here is reflective of the wider PWD methods of building standardization and 'type' designing. This is a practice where buildings (or components in this case) are produced in prototypes or built to fit standards. This will still be further examined in the ensuing section on 'PWD drawing office. Further insight were also given on the carpenter's yard; "the carpenters work in a long mud-brick building surrounding a quadrangle where large work may be set out."<sup>352</sup> Katsina was struck off my schedule of fieldwork sites because of the unstable security situation in Northern Nigeria, and so I was unable to confirm if this PWD site had survived into present times. In my Abeokuta and Kaduna trips however, I confirmed the continued existence of the PWD yards in both towns.

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<sup>351</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>352</sup> The National Archives, CO 583/197/12 "Native Administration" holding [Nigeria Public Works Department (Technical paper No. 3) Native administration works in Katsina, 1935], 8.



Figure 47: Painting section of PWD yard Abeokuta [Picture taken by author in 2013]

The yards now operate under different names – in Abeokuta as the Ogun State Ministry of Works and Infrastructure, and at Kaduna as the Kaduna State Ministry of Works and Transport. The paint shop and other features of Katsina PWD yard features were equally repeated at the yards in Abeokuta and Kaduna, but rather than the mud brick buildings at Katsina, the buildings were in the more contemporary cement blocks – for the office buildings and stores, and in steel framed structures for the vehicle maintenance yards. This perhaps meant that they were built later than the 1929 date of the Katsina drawing. The new insight which my field trip provided about the yards, were three-fold - the presence of rail terminals within the yard, the type design motor yards, and the emphasis on storage spaces particularly in Kaduna.

### Railway link to yard and storage spaces

In Abeokuta, as well as Kaduna, I observed that rail lines were constructed to branch off from the major town lines and to terminate within the PWD yard. This suggests that heavy duty materials such as machinery and maintenance equipment which were being imported from England through the port of Lagos, could be transported from its Iddo railway terminus and delivered directly into the yard. Equally, cement (which was initially also imported) and other building components, and probably furnishings could be delivered directly by rail and stored in the yard.

Rail link into the yard would have also eased the transfer of materials and other goods from a PWD yard in the southern provinces to one in the Northern provinces. I had given an earlier example of how timber was more abundant in the southern rain forest region than in the Northern savannah, and so this could be easily transported by rail northwards. The other observation made on surviving PWD yards was the emphasis on greater storage spaces in Kaduna. It does appear that the yard particularly required greater storage for two reasons.

In 1900 when control over the area north of the Niger changed hands from the Royal Niger company to the British administration, Lokoja was declared as the new 'capital' of Nigeria. High levels of humidity, a rugged terrain and lack of room for expansion made the capital to be relocated first to Jebba in 1902 and then later to Zungeru. Both were later rejected for this role because of mosquito infestation and terribly high temperatures, making the Lugard government 1913 to consider Kaduna as the next appropriate capital.



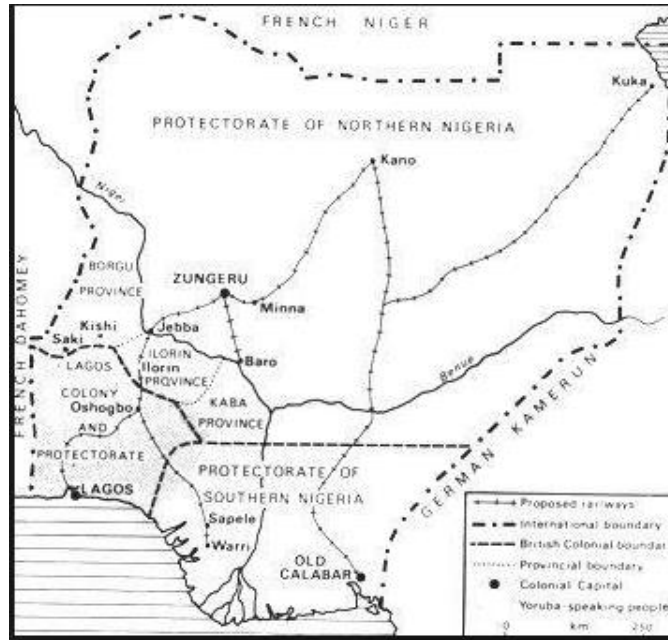


Figure 48: Railway map of Nigeria showing Zungeru and other Nodal towns

The building needs of the new capital thus virtually exploded, as it went from being a small sleepy settlement around the river Kaduna, to a colonial administrative capital. Although Nigeria's new rail network was still under construction, it had been extended to Kaduna to meet these needs. Kaduna did not stay long in its administrative role as the capital of Nigeria, as it instead became the capital of the Northern Region following further administrative restructuring after Lugard's retirement in 1919. It does seem however, that its former colonial and later regional capital roles set it as a nucleus for the lesser northern provincial capitals and their works departments and yards.

Because of its direct rail access and because it was the regional capital's PWD yard, larger storage and wider logistics could be provided, which will benefit not only the Kaduna colonial building programme, but those in other the less important northern provincial capitals, to which stored materials could be ferried by trucks.



Figure 49: PWD yard stores in Kaduna [Picture taken by author in 2013]



Figure 50: PWD maintenance yard and offices in Kaduna (Picture taken by author in 2013)

By and large however, the wider significance of the yard can be seen in three ways. First from the surviving document drawing of the Katsina yard to the surviving buildings of the Abeokuta and Kaduna yards, the general outlook of the yard strikes an almost industrial note, where activities were coordinated to facilitate the production of PWD buildings. Second because the yard had a rail line branch terminating in it, it might have also facilitated the export trade of for example, pure grade timber, mahogany and other tropical woods which had been produced in PWD saw mills and stored in the yard. Third, the yards may have also

reflected the PWD type-design strategy. Here a prototype design is developed and replicated for use in townships grouped in similar categories. The mechanical section and stores of Kaduna PWD yard for example were exact replicas of those at Abeokuta.

- **Native staff role**

From the earlier discussed PWD departmental and project implementation structure, the divisional engineer had directly overseen the foremen and inspectors of works, who in turn supervised the native labourers on building sites. However, it is important to take another closer look at the role of native labourers who did the construction. The pertinent question will be, was the only role in which native people participated in Nigeria PWD building operations? One way to get an answer to this question and to obtain further insights will be to once again consult the 1934 technical paper on Native Administration Works in Katsina.

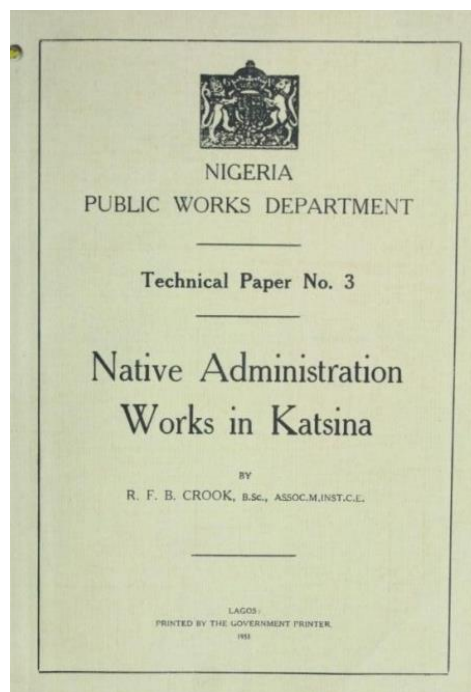


Figure 51: PWD technical paper No.3 on Native administration works in Katsina<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> The National Archives, CO 583/197/12 “Native Administration” holding [Nigeria Public Works Department (Technical paper No. 3) Native administration works in Katsina], 1935.

A background to Native administration works is that, the department had been administered along three tiers of government, the colony, the provincial and divisional tiers, but we see here that this paper was specifically prepared for operations at the divisional level of government. At this level, the department had been mostly administered by a native authority in light of keeping with the Lugardian principle of indirect rule.

The native administration works is one way to draw a relation between PWD as an agent of empire, and PWD as a body that was in tune with local realities, which resulted in some form of mutual benefits and created a foundation for future development. It's foray into native administration works, to me shows that irrespective of a wider imperial agenda, this step was geared at natives taking positions of responsibility in the building production programme, rather than just being the construction site labour force. In 1931, Crook (who prepared the native administration pamphlet, and had probably been the Divisional Engineer in Katsina) acknowledged the newness of the initiative and wrote that, "Organized native administration are an innovation of the latter half of the past decade".<sup>354</sup> He then goes on to make a linkage between the new initiative and the Lugardian in-direct rule policy:

"The methods of organization are based on Public Works Department procedure, adapted to meet local conditions. The closer they approximate to this, the better are the results obtained. At the same time, the principles of self-administration are always kept in view, on how the local native controls his own affairs in the administration of his Public works".<sup>355</sup>

While Crook's observation on the native taking control of his administration sounds laudable, it also could be read as a bit inconclusive as he doesn't state the still very eminent

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<sup>354</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid, 3.

supervisory role of PWD engineers. However, although such supervisory role was still to continue, the native administration works saw the participation of native people in much more significant roles. These roles were seen in project organization and policy making, accounting, book and timekeeping, store keeping, as trainee apprentices, and as building supervisors.

#### Role in project organization and policy making

In the project organization and policy making role, one significant native position was the Wazirin Ayuka (controller of works). According to Crook:

“The Emir appoints one of his people to the Engineer's office, as his representative for public works, with the title of Wazirin Ayuka, or controller of works. He meets the Emir daily, acquainting him with the general state of works progress and informing him of any requirements. He also keeps the Engineer in constant touch with the Emir's views and opinions. His position as Controller of Native Administration works requires a salary in keeping with the big responsibility of the post”<sup>356</sup>

Although the controller was still basically under the supervision of the Engineer, the position he occupied shows that, the native participation had also existed at the policy making level, even if it was just at the native administration arm of government.

#### Role in Accounting, Book and Timekeeping

In the accounting, booking and timekeeping roles, Crook explains what positions the native people worked in, and the job description of these roles:

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<sup>356</sup> Ibid, 4.

“All works accounts are kept by Katsina malams (scribes) who have been carefully trained in the Engineer's office. The Chief Account Malam keeps the A.I.E. (allocation to incur expenditure) account record in which are entered as liabilities the total costs of all goods ordered, and of sanctions issued. Each month the total balance in each A.I.E. is checked with that shown in the Native Administration Treasurer's books. Time keeping malams assist the chief accountant by keeping the sanction books of European and African staff who have works in their charge. The responsibility of accounting for every penny of expenditure from Native administration funds on Native Administration works is thus shouldered by Katsina natives”.<sup>357</sup>

Traditionally in Northern Nigeria, a Malam or scribe was a learned Islamic scholar, and usually taught the Koran to children outside his home. But with time Malam became more of a term of respect for the gentry or upper-class men. Because PWD native administrative work saw it relating closely to the Emir on building matters, he may perhaps have recommended some of these men to be trained by the office. This saw them undertaking basic accounting and time keeping roles for the smooth running of administrative work.

#### Store keeping and Transport coordination

Corroborating this argument regarding the elite native class in PWD administrative roles, Crook also writes on the Store-keeper position:

“The important post of Chief Stores Malam is held by one the Emir's sons. All receipts and issues are recorded by him, and this information is sent to the Engineer's office on a transcript of his daybook. Receipts are then prized and entered in the Stores Cost Ledger. The usual tally-sheet record of receipts, issues and balances of stores is kept by the Chief Stores Malam.

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<sup>357</sup> Ibid, 7.

All vouchers, cost books and tally-sheets are printed in Hausa, and are entered up by native staff”<sup>358</sup>.

What I find more interesting about Crook’s explanation though, is not much about the native elite staff, but in the fact that administrative workbooks were printed in Hausa. This showed that native people were not only being introduced to office administration, but the procedure was made easier by being undertaken in the native language. This was also practiced in another section of related importance to building works – the transport section of which Crook also write that:

“Sixteen lorries are maintained for general transport requirements. All requirements for transport are made through a transport Malam on Hausa printed forms. He is instructed to supply no transport unless a source of payment is definitely quoted. Each work pays for its own transport”<sup>359</sup>.

### Trainee apprentices

Based on the native work discussed so far, a question raised could be that aside from site labour works, was the only other native participation in the department based on administrative works? Where the natives also involved in building works for which they had undergone formal technical training? Providing an answer for this Crook writes that:

“The chief function of the inspector of works and Yard superintendent lies in training of apprentices in the various trades. All apprentices receive a five-year course, with as wide an education as possible. Non can yet speak any English, and it is therefore essential that all

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<sup>358</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid, 9

European staff should have a good knowledge of local customs and the lingua franca. Bench lectures are given regularly, and in addition a specially trained Malam gives half-hourly daily lectures in the three R's to all illiterate apprentices in the yard".<sup>360</sup>

One question which could arise from the training of native people for expertise in various trades, is one which pushes the argument that it achieved cheap labour for empire building – that this training will produce more skilled native artisans, and therefore get more colonial building and expansion done at cheaper rates. In my observation however, the recipient of any training is always the better for it. The training becomes a permanent additional skill. Besides in this case, the training of native apprentices only really produced additional technical knowledge to the building skills of most recipients. Most builders particularly in the north were already skilled in the native mud buildings which were initially adopted for use in colonial administrative buildings (which will be discussed in details in the next chapter). With such combined skills, the native could themselves supervise building works as will be seen in the next section.

### Building supervisors

On the completion of their training, Crook has equally described the building supervisory role played by natives in PWD native administration works:

“No houses are now built by the administration without employing a trained native supervisor who gives lines and levels to the builders, sets out arches at economic spacing, and ensures the many improvements in construction that can be made by proper knowledge of building designs”. Brick buildings are supervised by the head of the Katsina builders' guild and two

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<sup>360</sup> Ibid, 6.



assistants who are salaried officers of the administration. No new mud brick buildings are undertaken without discussing them fully with these experts. In this way most of the work of erecting and maintaining building is still carried out by local natives in a manner which they understand”<sup>361</sup>.

However, although natives had priority roles in native administration building construction works, where mudbrick buildings were mainly adopted in the early days, can this be said of the other arms of government where cement blocks were gradually replacing mud bricks constructions? An argument might even be raised in some quarters that, the native builders were only incorporated into supervisory roles in PWD administrative building to harness their expertise in working the local adobe mud building material.

However, another argument views native administration works from a wider context, and that is based on the Lugardian policy of in-direct rule. This policy actually made room for some traditional institution autonomy so they could manage their own affairs, while still within the wider imperial rule. This is what led to the creation of the native administration arm of government in the first place. So if this arm of government also created its works unit, it should in-fact encourage native builders participate as much as possible.

#### **4.5 Building operations: The drawing office**

As well as being the engine room of design, the drawing office also operated in the purview of the PWD assistant engineer’s duties. The assistant engineer was a significant position because, aside from the few architects whose names have appeared in the pre-1945 PWD drawings, the assistant engineer is the only other official whose duties make reference to the preparation of drawings. This is stated in the departmental regulations as:

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<sup>361</sup> Ibid, 12.

“His duty will be to make surveys, prepare drawings, specifications, Bill of Quantities, indents, or any work of a similar nature and if required to supervise Inspectors or Foremen of works who may be employed on the construction of works and buildings”.<sup>362</sup>

Insights into how the assistant engineer went about preparing required drawings are perhaps best seen in the 1943 Nigeria PWD Information on building construction. This handbook dedicates a section to drawing office instructions, beginning with a ‘plate’ on the instruments which are required for drawing. This ranged from set of compasses to dividers, ruling pens, spring bows, to different types of pencils, celluloid edge T-squares and various angular set squares.

Considering that there were obviously no computers and soft wares for making drawings at the time, the assistant engineer, who had been mostly trained in the Royal Engineer tradition, was usually versed in the use of these instruments, and knew how to employ them in translating the graphical information required for constructing the building. Aside from drawing instruments, the handbooks equally had instructions regarding the use of architectural legends. Shown in figure 25, are those indicating various types of building materials – mud, brickwork, concrete and so forth, as well as icons representing section line, types of doors and windows and the north point arrow. But the question to ask regarding the

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<sup>362</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 41Folio E 32 DW “Departmental Regulations: Public Works Department Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria” (London: Waterloo and sons limited printers, 1907), 7( Part 2)

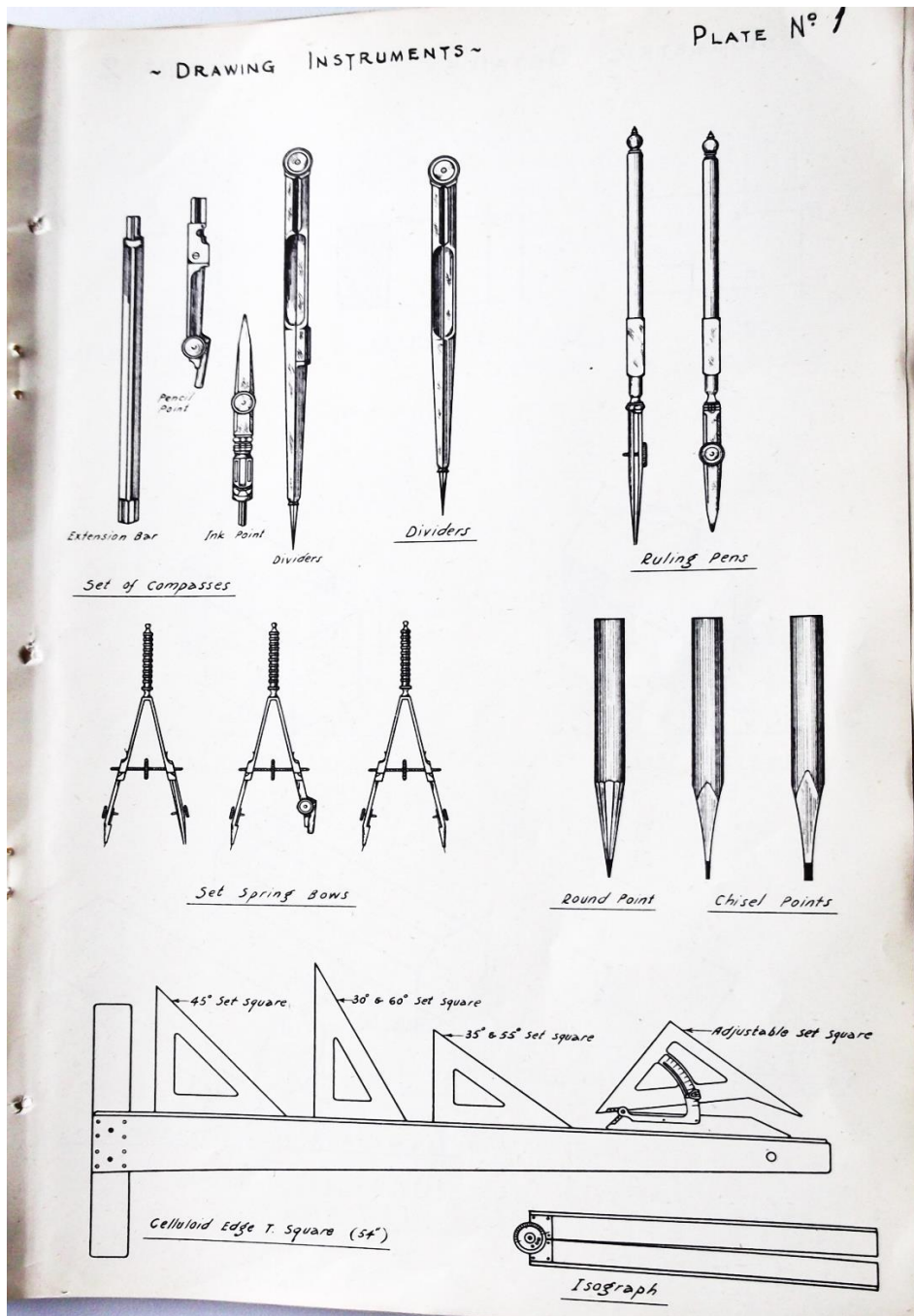
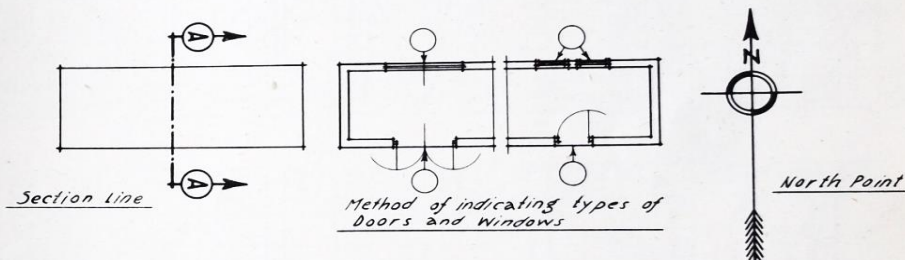
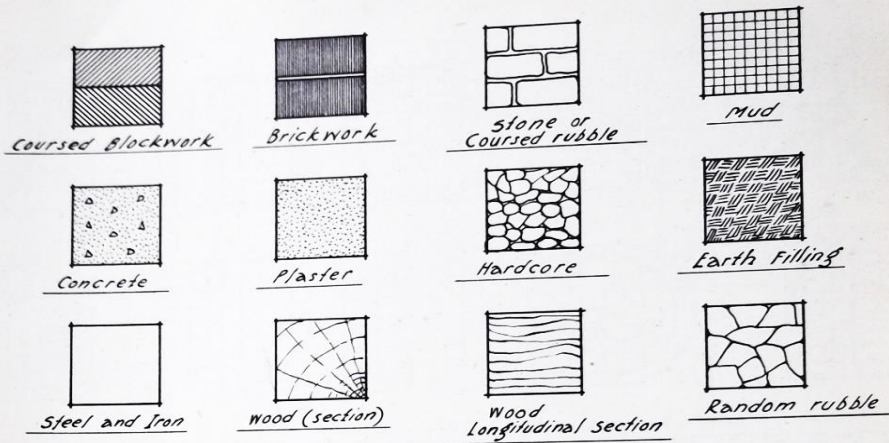


Figure 52: Drawing office instruments<sup>363</sup>

<sup>363</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 291 Folio E3E9F "Information Book Building Construction" (Nigeria Public Works Department, 1943), Plate 1.

ARCHITECTURAL LEGENDS



A B C D E F G H I J K L M N  
 O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z.

HEADINGS: PROPOSED BUNGALOW  
 SUB-HEADINGS: PROPOSED BUNGALOW MAIDUGURI.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z  
 DETAILS: GROUND FLOOR PLAN, FRONT ELEVATION,  
 LONGITUDINAL SECTION: AB. 1/2 F. S. DETAIL.  
 BED ROOM, HALL, KIOSK, PORCH, STORE, ETC  
 NOTES: a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z 3. Rebate.  
 chamfer, grooved, match board, Door frame, Soakaway pit, Floor joist @ 16" centres.

Figure 53: Architectural legends<sup>364</sup>

the legends will be, what are their significance? The legends show there was a desire for drawing standards, homogenisation of techniques and lettering. If one person left the PWD

<sup>364</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 291 Folio E3E9F "Information Book Building Construction" (Nigeria Public Works Department, 1943), Plate 3.

another could be recruited and immediately step into their shoes and you wouldn't know a new hand had taken over. The legends also included examples of the appropriate lettering required in various aspects of a drawing – headings, subheadings, details and notes. These lettering instructions are exemplified in another guideline plate (100), entitled 'Method of setting out sheet for working drawing'. However, the plate was actually less about lettering. The purpose as the title implies, is to provide guidelines on the proper way to set out or arrange drawings on sheets, what correct dimension of sheet was required, and how to present drawing information and other official material on the panel space at the lower end of the sheet.

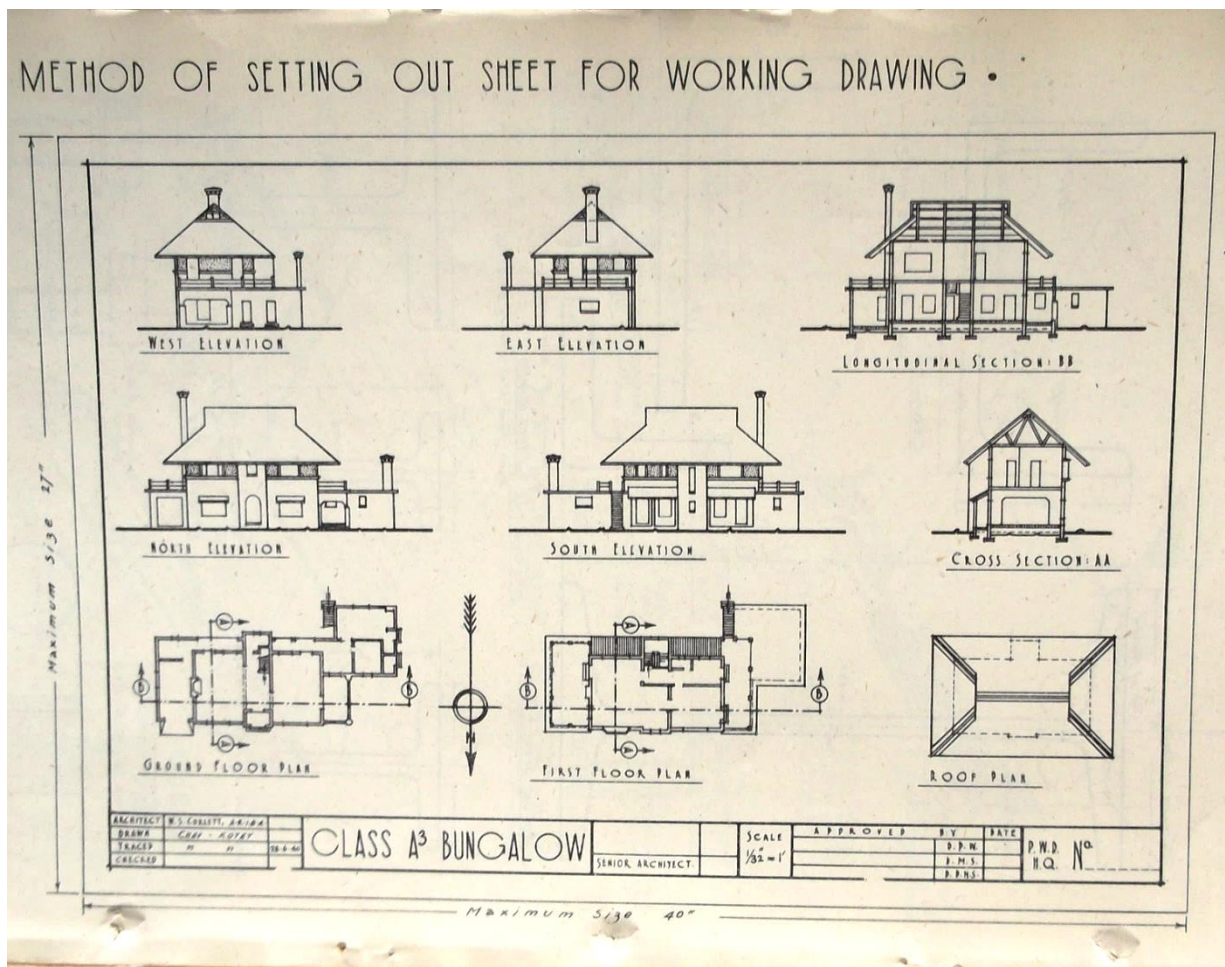


Figure 54: Instructions for setting out drawings<sup>365</sup>

<sup>365</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 291 Folio E3E9F "Information Book Building Construction" (Nigeria Public Works Department, 1943), Plate 100

But more importantly, I will argue that this was all about efficiency, standardization of methods, almost a taylorist method of making architecture. In the setting out example shown on this, page the building’s west and east elevation as well as Longitudinal section made up the first row of drawings, it’s north and south elevation and cross section make up the middle row, and its ground floor plan, first floor plan and roof plans make up the third and last row, presumably so that the sheet provides clarity and proper

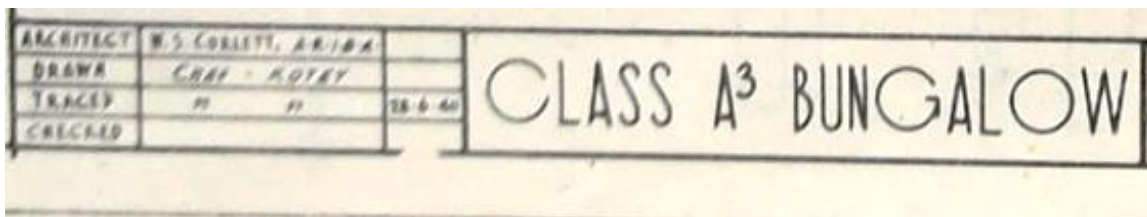


Figure 55: Snippet of drawing information panel (1)<sup>366</sup>

organization. Regarding the lower information panel, which contains the standard information of dates, scale and so on, also list the building’s category – in line with the building standardization practice that characterised PWD building programme. In it, government buildings were produce in prototype ‘type designs’, and designated for particular town or village hierarchies in the colonial government structure. Type designs buildings could also be purpose designed for designated levels of officials within the colonial administrative hierarchy. The building featured in this case therefore belonged to the ‘Class A3 Bungalow’ that was most probably designated for the senior staff category.

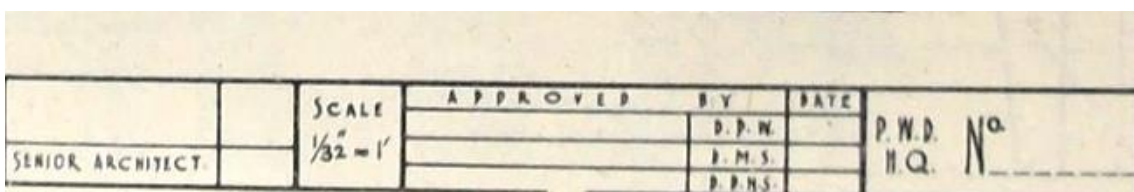


Figure 56: Snippet of drawing information panel (2)<sup>367</sup>

<sup>366</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 291 Folio E3E9F “Information Book Building Construction” (Nigeria Public Works Department, 1943), Plate 100.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid.

The involvement of the Medical Services Department in approving drawings is highly significant to understanding the tropical health context of P.W.D. buildings, and this context is discussed and extensively analysed in the next chapter. The seventh and last section of the drawing information panel provides the drawing number, which was categorised as P.W.D H.Q., followed by the specific serial number. P.W.D. H.Q. symbolised Public Works Department Head Quarters. Placing emphasis on PWD Head Quarters before writing the serial number, is again another indication of the ‘type design’ practice.

### **Conclusion:**

In conclusion, the chapter has examined and sought to better understand the Nigeria Public Works Departments, by looking at its origins, its place in the colonial administrative structure, its departmental regulations and the mechanisms it adopted in the administering colonial building projects. In doing this, it discovers that although the department’s origin can be linked to Royal engineer beginnings in West Africa, with wider tropical imperial building practices.

In designing and constructing colonial administrative buildings however, it created a structure which worked in tandem with all levels of government to achieve a coordinated building programme. It also employed the mechanism of a construction depot or yard in administering construction works. Because of the stratified colonial government structure, there was a very vibrant native administration construction works system, where native staff were actively involved in building operations and administration.

Because the colonial government comprised a stratified structure also, buildings were designed by the drawing office to suit the administrative needs at various levels, in a

coordinated system of type designs and standardization. Some thinkers argue that the department had become an overcentralized bureaucracy. But for the Nigeria PWD, I will argue that the high level of bureaucracy, which had also involved native participation was good practice which helped to lay a foundation for building administration in what is mostly known today as the Ministry of Works.



## CHAPTER 5: NIGERIA PWD BUILDINGS: FEATURES AND EXPRESSIONS

*"Were the British occupation to terminate tomorrow, the visible tokens would survive in our canals, and our railways, our ports, and our public buildings, or at least, the remains of them for centuries to come."*<sup>368</sup>

### **Preamble:**

This chapter showcases the building output of the Nigeria Public Works Department, as collected from my fieldwork investigations, and looks at the various types of buildings which make up its architecture. The reason the buildings are being showcased is that they constitute a collective legacy of the PWD era in Nigeria which have survived till date. The aim of showcasing them therefore, is (1) to show how Nigeria PWD buildings were largely reflective of the three major defining strands of tropical imperial rule – Administrative / political control, Climatic adaptation and prioritization of improved health conditions, and sustenance of travel, trade and communication platforms with the metropole.

(2) to see how the buildings explain the diversity of Nigeria PWD building production and to explore further on the building works showcased in Davidson's (1957) Builder article on "*Architectural works of the ministry of works, western region, Nigeria*".<sup>369</sup> (3) To see how the buildings explain imperial grandeur architectural symbolisms, as seen in *Metcalf, Thomas R. (1989)*<sup>370</sup> and *Morris, J and Winchester, S. (1983)*<sup>371</sup>; On the flip side, is also to see how

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<sup>368</sup> T. Roger Smith, "Architectural Art in India" Journal of the Royal Society of Arts 21, (1873): 286.

<sup>369</sup> The Builder, "Architectural works of the ministry of works, Western region, Nigeria." (Feb 1 1957): 220 – 221.

<sup>370</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Imperial Vision: Indian architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press) 1989.

<sup>371</sup> Jan Morris and Simon Winchester, *Stones of empire: the buildings of the Raj*. (New York: Oxford University Press Inc.), 1983.

the buildings explain modest Public works architecture as seen in *Fuchs R. (2000)*<sup>372</sup>. (4) To see how Nigeria PWD buildings employ the tropical climatic factor in design as described by Davidson, but also to further examine the buildings within the wider tropical health context. But further to this is to see how tradition symbolisms were incorporated in the buildings. The aim of showcasing Nigeria PWD buildings is also to see how some of the typologies of post offices and railway stations were representative of trade and communications linkages beyond Nigeria and into the wider empire. Finally, Nigeria PWD buildings are being showcased to see if they characterise the “consumables of empire” argument in *Scriver (2007)*<sup>373</sup>; or if they provided more benefits, particularly for native people.

## **Chapter contents**

- 5.1 Administrative and Symbolic buildings
- 5.2 Tropical health / climatic factor typified buildings
- 5.3 Travel, Trade and Communication buildings

### **5.1 Administrative and symbolic buildings**

Although PWD buildings were all built to serve colonial administrative purposes, they were also symbolic expressions. As earlier explained in my methods chapter, my fieldwork covered Kaduna, Lagos and Abeokuta, so the buildings being examined are located in any one of these cities. However I included one building illustration taken from Katsina, and another on Zaria - two towns outside my fieldwork area - to discuss regional symbolism. I

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<sup>372</sup> Ron Fuchs, "Public works in the Holy Land: Government buildings under the British Mandate in Palestine 1917–1948", in *Twentieth Century Architecture and Its Histories*, ed. Louise Campbell (London: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain), 2000.

<sup>373</sup> Peter C. Scriver. "Empire-building and thinking in the Public Works Department of British India", in *Colonial modernities: building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon*, eds. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London: Routledge), 2007.

observe that administrative symbolic buildings are either in the grand scale or monumental building or the modest practical buildings category. In addition to this however are the buildings which are symbolic of the region’s traditional or indigenous architecture.

Administrative and symbolic – Monumental buildings

The Two main buildings of interest in this category are the 1894 Lagos Government House and 1947 Kaduna Lugard Memorial council chamber (more commonly known as Lugard hall). Other related buildings being examined in this category are, the 1929 Katsina and 1926 Kaduna European staff quarters, 1954 Broadcasting house Lagos – but based more on their symbolic design. Other monumental buildings are 1933 PWD headquarters Lagos, 1906 Customs house Lagos, and 1930 Centenary Hall Abeokuta. The table below provides a snapshot of basic information on the selected buildings, followed by a discussion on why they were selected to shed light on the category of buildings.

*Table 2: Administrative and symbolic (Monumental) buildings*

<b>Selected Administrative Building</b>	<b>PWD Architect or engineer designer</b>	<b>Building Character</b>	<b>Data sourced and presented</b>	<b>Current use of building</b>
Government House Lagos (1889)	F. Anderson (Surveyor general) 1889	Monumental / neoclassical/ tropical design features	Fieldwork picture and archival floor plan	Government House Lagos
Lugard Memorial Council Chamber (1947)	Thomas Scott O.B.E (PWD Chief Architect)	Monumental / Hausa Architecture symbolism/ tropical design features	Fieldwork picture and archival floor plan	Kaduna state House of assembly legislative chamber
Other related monumental and symbolic PWD buildings in the discussion				

St Francis of Assisi Seminary Zaria (Construction Date unknown)	Not known	Hausa architecture symbolism	Picture from Author's archives	St Francis of Assisi Seminary Zaria
European Staff Quarters Katsina (1929)	Not known	Hausa architecture symbolism	Archival floor plan, section and elevation	Not known
European Staff Housing for the Northern provinces (1926)	Henry Porter	Hausa architecture symbolism	Archival floor plan and perspective drawing	Not known
Broadcasting House Lagos (1954)	Jack Murray	Tropical modernist architecture	Archival picture	Broadcasting house Lagos
Customs house Lagos (1906)	Not known	Monumental / neoclassical / tropical design features	Fieldwork picture	Government office
PWD headquarters Lagos (1933)	Henry Porter	Monumental / neoclassical/ tropical design features	Fieldwork picture	African renaissance building
Centenary Hall Abeokuta (1930)	Not known	Monumental / neoclassical/ tropical design features	Fieldwork picture and letter of construction completion	Centenary Hall Abeokuta

The reason I have selected them as the main buildings through which to shed more light on the monumental category are three fold. The first reason regards what they represented politically and administratively rather than the size or scale of their architecture. The second reason they were selected is because they symbolize the grandeur of the colonial administration across the two main divides of political power in Nigeria – the North and the

south. Lagos had remained the power hub of the colonial administration since the 1861 early British presence and the Government house was built in 1894. Although Lord Lugard moved the capital of Nigeria from Lagos to Kaduna in 1912, the capital was back again to Lagos in 1919. However, 1946 saw the enactment of Richard's constitution.<sup>374</sup> This constitution provided devolution powers for regional governments, rather than all administrative powers being centred in Lagos. Although the regional governments were still to function under a colonial governor, the constitution included provisions, which for the time, would see elected representatives from the native population. This arm of government was to be called the "House of Chiefs". Lugard hall was therefore built to accommodate the Northern House of chiefs. But the building's significance went beyond providing a parliamentary space. It exuded a grand architectural symbolism that proved a new found political and administrative significance for Northern Nigeria.

The third reason Lugard hall in particular was selected is because of its salient Hausa architectural symbolism, which connected the building to more local architectural realities of the region. However, three other buildings are being introduced to the regional architecture discussion of Lugard hall to give further clarity. The final reason why the buildings were selected to shed light on the symbolic nature of monumental PWD buildings is because of the enduring legacy of both buildings, which still large function in the same capacities for which they were initially designed.

Provided below is a table that explains why the other buildings have been selected:

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<sup>374</sup> The Royal Institute of International Affairs *Nigeria: The political and economic background* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 42.

Table 3: Administrative symbolic buildings presented and why

Selected Building(s)	Reason buildings are selected for study
<p>(1) St Francis of Assisi Seminary staff quarters Zaria            (2) 1929 European Staff quarters Katsina            and (3) European staff housing for the Northern provinces (1926)</p>	<p>To further highlight the discussion on Lugard Hall Hausa architecture symbolism, which the buildings themselves encapsulate. Although these buildings were not on the grand scale of Lugard Hall, they do represent the adaptation of the traditional Hausa house for European domestic use.</p>
<p>Broadcasting House Lagos (1954)</p>	<p>To show that regional symbolism in PWD buildings did not always mean that the whole building had to take on the character of the region's architecture. It could be done in less obvious design forms, while still being symbolic.</p>
<p>Government Printers House Lagos (1895) and PWD headquarters Lagos (1933)</p>	<p>The Government Printers house is an example of monumental and symbolic buildings because, of its grandeur and very impressive neo-classical character. It may well have been one of the colonial administration's prize buildings from the time it was built in 1895. The 1933 PWD headquarters is another building that was of symbolic importance in its size and grandeur, as well as political significance, since it was from here that building projects were coordinated across the whole country.</p>
<p>Centenary Hall Abeokuta (1930)</p>	<p>The centenary hall Abeokuta shows that buildings displaying monumentality and grandeur were not only restricted to the more significant colonial townships. Abeokuta at the time was a divisional native administration headquarters.</p>

- 1894 Government House Lagos



Figure 57: Government house Lagos, 1923<sup>375</sup>

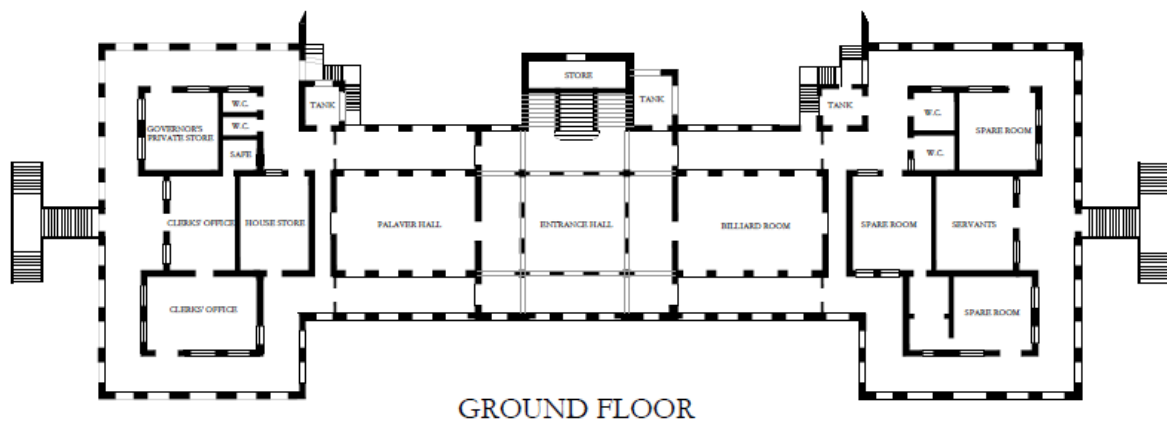


Figure 58: 1889 ground floor plan of proposed new Lagos government house<sup>376</sup>

<sup>375</sup> The National archives, CO 1069/65 "Panorama of Lagos from station - Government House" 1923.

<sup>376</sup> Drawing traced from: The National archives, MR 1/1729 "Lagos colony, 6 sheets of plans and sections of the proposed new government house" 1889.



Figure 59: Government house Lagos, 2013<sup>377</sup>

The Government House Lagos was designed in 1889 by colonial surveyor general F. Anderson. According to Wright, a colonial government official who wrote regular letters to his father about his sojourn in Nigeria (the letters have now been compiled and published as a book), and who worked and lived at the government house for a while, “it was built in 1894 for a Lagos European community of 150”.<sup>378</sup> Being the colonial administration’s seat of power, and because hotels were yet to be built at the time, the government house had also served as a transit lodge, in situations which Wright describes as “Everyone flying home from almost everywhere comes through Lagos. This brought a stream of important persons to Government house, now described as ‘the best hotel in Africa’. But there were only four spare bedrooms, which were always full”.<sup>379</sup> Wright also reminisces on his appointment as an administrative officer and on his first arrival at the government house Lagos on 17 May 1940.

According to him:

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<sup>377</sup> Picture taken by author in September 2013 during field trip to Nigeria (Hiding in a little stall across the road, and zooming my camera was the only strategy I could come up with to obtain this 2013 picture of government house Lagos. I described in details in my fieldwork chapter, the problems which may be encountered while doing fieldwork in Nigeria. This picture exemplifies that discussion.

<sup>378</sup> Robert Pearce, *Then the wind changed: Nigerian Letters of Robert Hepburn Wright, 1936-49* (London: Radcliff Press, 1992), 75.

<sup>379</sup> *ibid.*, 59.



“The appointment was of course a terrific shock to me. The government house itself is a good place with a lovely garden of which I hope to be able to send some photographs some time. There we had a stately tea, on the stately lawn under a stately tree.....”<sup>380</sup>

However, proceeding from Wrights personal memoirs of the building to exploring its distinct architectural features, we see that the building initially featured a letter ‘H’ plan form, before undergoing further modifications in later years. Going by its 1889 ground floor plan presented above, the building comprises of three major areas of spatial use. First is the mid-section or horizontal bar of the ‘H’ form, which serves as a large rectangular reception area. Within this is a central entrance hall that is flanked on the right by a billiard room and on the left by a ‘palaver’ hall, mainly for receiving and entertaining guest, dignitaries and delegations. With a palaver space and an accompanying gaming section, the reception area provides a relaxed and welcoming atmosphere that precedes the more formal administrative areas.

Not much administration appears to take place on the ground floor though. Its entire right wing section was a four bed unit, two of which were occupied by servants and two others being spare and probably guest rooms. Its left wing on the other hand, has an administrative presence of two clerks’ offices, but has the remaining spaces occupied by stores (one specifically for the governor’s private use) a safe and toilets. This 1889 plan also features a total of five staircases. The most prominent one within the building straddles the entrance hall and leads to upper floors. Two others emerge from the back verandas of the building’s left and right wings, and lead up to what appears to be roof tanks. The last two are emergency staircases descending from upper floor side verandas unto the ground level.

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<sup>380</sup> *ibid*, 60 -61.

An important thing to note about the ground floor plan is that its features differ to some degree from those of the completed building suggesting that modifications had been effected over time. For example, while the plan's front elevation drawing features a flat wall between the two projecting left and right wings, the initial completed building's central entrance area is seen to projected outwards.



Figure 60: Government house Lagos before front entrance extension<sup>381</sup>

In addition, later pictures of the Government house began featuring a very prominent front entrance porch (Fig. 45 and 46) which does not appear at all on the 1889 proposed floor plan. The emergency staircases were probably later thought to be unsuitable on the façade, and completely removed from it. The Government house plan also employed a major colonial tropical building feature which was the veranda. Tropical climatic conditions, building excessive temperatures and highly intensive solar glare had seen the veranda being mostly adopted as shading, as well as a cooling device.

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<sup>381</sup> The National archives, CO 1069/80/44, "Government House Lagos" Undated.

Although the veranda was a major feature of buildings in the PWD era, its use was sometimes restricted to only a part of the building, depending on its design. However, in the case of the Government house and some other buildings of the time, the veranda was designed to run along the entire perimeter of the functional spaces. Other than its traditional functions of cooling, shading and circulation, the all-encompassing veranda may also have been employed in the government house to achieve an impressive all-round arched gangway to improve aesthetics and to relay an air of grandeur, striking proportions and an imposing symmetry. (Fig. 45)

My archival investigation for the building's drawings yielded only the floor plan presented above, thereby giving me a limited insight of what obtains on the upper floors. This insight is however to be seen in some of Wright's memoirs. Explaining what his job specification entails for example, he writes that "I work from 8.00 to 4.00 in the Governor's office dealing with his mail etc".<sup>382</sup> He then gives an insight into his after office hours and the spaces where he spends them within the government house:

"I have been part of the establishment and have a magnificence suite on the third floor in amongst the cool evening breezes from the sea. I have a large office for my papers, a handsome bedroom with a chest of drawers and hanging cupboard and a bathroom. There is also a dining room and sitting room which I share with H.E. It is all very unreal and very wonderful...."<sup>383</sup>

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<sup>382</sup> Robert Pearce, *Then the wind changed: Nigerian Letters of Robert Hepburn Wright, 1936-49* (London: Radcliff Press, 1992), 60.

<sup>383</sup> *ibid*, 61.

This goes to show that unlike the ground floor which provides a reception, utility and spare rooms, the upper floor was exclusively for the official, but also domestic use of the governor, his family and very close aides, such as Robert Hepburn Wright.



Figure 61: Government house Lagos with extended front entrance porch<sup>384</sup>

Wright also provides further indication on the other type of spaces which existed on the Government house grounds, and what their function was. According to him:

“a less attractive side of my work is the running the household. The worries of the staff - there are 130 (women and children included) in the government house compound - the tradesmen's bills, the whole question of supply and demand; all this sort of thing together with the social arrangements”.<sup>385</sup>

Although a site plan was not one of the drawings recovered from my archival investigations, it can be assumed that a staff strength of 130 people living in the government house compound, translates into the existence of several servants quarters and other ancillary spaces

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<sup>384</sup> The National archives, CO 1069/64, “Nigeria” Undated.

<sup>385</sup> Robert Pearce, *Then the wind changed: Nigerian Letters of Robert Hepburn Wright, 1936-49* (London: Radcliff Press, 1992), 60.

in its grounds. The tradesmen and suppliers perhaps had an outpost within the compound where they reported for any impending maintenance works. The reference to social arrangements may also mean that hierarchies did exist among the servants and staff, which had to be reflected in their living arrangement within the compound. However it was not all administration and work related living for the governor, Wright and other occupants of the government house. It would seem for instance, that its proximity to the sea provided occupants with some interesting pass times. As Wright explains:

“When I am let out to play at 5 p.m. there is a bewildering variety of attractive occupations to be chosen. The Governor's Launch for bathing picnics on lovely sands by the sea turf or in sheltered little bay full of fish and kingfishers; sailing and fishing or exploring the mangrove swamps in the creek; polo, cricket, golf, tennis - everything. It's simply marvellous”<sup>386</sup>

Wright's musings here paint an almost picture-perfect setting of life as an administrative officer in the government house and perhaps in other settings at the time. But was this actually the case? Is the Government house representative of administrative life and buildings throughout the Nigerian colony? This might not have been the case. Aside from this building and Wright's supporting account of it therefore, I will be examining administrative buildings elsewhere in the Nigerian colony to explore their architectural features and their own expressions of empire. By the way, Wright appears to have skipped the garden parties!

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<sup>386</sup> Ibid, 60.



Figure 62: Government House Lagos Garden Party

- **1947 Lugard memorial council chamber Kaduna**



Figure 63: Lugard memorial council chamber Kaduna, 2013 (Picture taken by Author)

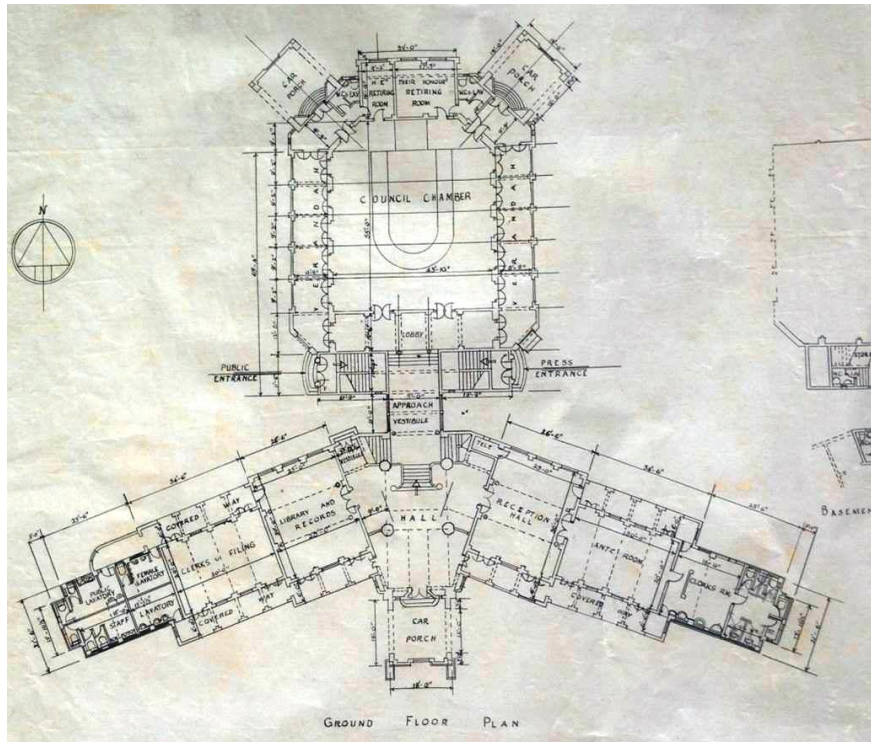


Figure 64: 1947 ground floor of Lugard memorial council chamber Kaduna<sup>387</sup>

Lugard memorial council chamber (more popularly known as Lugard Hall) was designed by the Public works department Kaduna in 1947, under the supervision of its chief architect Thomas Scott, O.B.E. Lugard hall came into being as a result of the changes to Nigeria's constitutional development after 1945. In particular, it was built in response to the new 1946 'Richard's constitution', which contained "proposals for constitutional change outlined by the then Governor of Nigeria, Sir Arthur Richards".<sup>388</sup>

Among the other issues outlined, a significant part of the proposal's mandate was "to secure greater participation by Africans in the discussion of their own affairs, by setting up a new legislative council which for the first time was to have an unofficial African majority".<sup>389</sup> In order to achieve this, House of assembly buildings were required to be built in the northern,

<sup>387</sup> Kaduna State Ministry of Works and Transport Archive, MOW/1947/Lugard Hall/4824-A Lugard memorial council chamber drawings, 1947.

<sup>388</sup> The Royal Institute of International affairs *Nigeria: the Political and Economic Background* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 42.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid*, 42.

western and eastern provinces of the colony. This mandate therefore prompted the building of Lugard hall in Kaduna to serve as the house of chiefs for the northern house of assembly.

Its plan features a two-tier design of an administrative front office building in the approach, and a council and political deliberation chamber at the rear. The administrative front offices are accessed through a projected entrance way that also doubles as a car porch. Past this entrance into the building, is an inverted trapezium shaped hall of about 130 square meters. This hall also serves as a transition into the three major sections of the building – the left side front offices, the right side front offices and the rear end council chamber. Although a major approach vestibule provides access between the hall and chamber, the latter still features four other entrance or access points – a public entrance, a press entrance and two private entrances / car porches for ‘His Excellency’ and ‘their honours’ at the rear of the building.

These political figures also had special ‘retiring’ rooms adjoining the car porches, with one room solely dedicated for the use of his excellency. The chamber itself was an octagonal room of about 221 square meters. This space would have created ample room for the northern provinces representatives from 12 provincial headquarters and 42 native administrations.<sup>390</sup>

As explained by the RIIA “The members of the houses of assembly were chosen by native authorities from among the members of their councils, together with a number of officials and members appointed to represent special interests, but all of African majorities”.<sup>391</sup> In line with the necessary requirement of keeping tropical buildings as cross ventilated and as shaded from sun glare as possible, Lugard hall also features external veranda spaces. They particularly feature very prominently in the council chamber and straddle both lengths of the

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<sup>390</sup> Allister Macmillan, *Red Book of West Africa; Historical and Descriptive commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures & Resources*. (London: Frank Cass and Co Ltd, 1968), 53.

<sup>391</sup> The Royal Institute of International affairs *Nigeria: the Political and Economic Background* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 42.



hall. This coupled with the chambers multiple double doors and large window openings make for the required ventilation, ample airflow and cooling.



Figure 65: Regional architecture features of Lugard memorial council chamber, 2013  
(Picture taken by author)

One feature which particularly stands out in the Lugard hall, however, is its very visible representation of the regional Hausa traditional architecture of Northern Nigeria where it is located. It expresses this in four distinct ways - through the continuous regional-Islamic arches which line outer verandas, a flat parapet roof bearing water spouts at regular intervals, flat parapet roof topped by repeated phallic features, though the adoption of a dome roof structure, and although not very visible from this view, a decorative wall mural on its parapet.

## Other Northern Nigeria PWD Buildings with similar Hausa architecture symbolism

*Saint Francis of Assisi Seminary, Zaria*



Figure 66: Hausa traditional house form adopted for Saint Francis of Assisi seminary, Wusasa Zaria (Picture from author's archives).

The Saint Francis of Assisi seminary and European quarters in Katsina are some further adaptations of Hausa traditional house forms for colonial administrative use. They also bear its salient features of parapets, domes, flat roofs, water spouts, arches, murals, and the phallic roof projections. Writing on how these Northern Nigeria mud brick buildings were constructed, Foyle observes that:

“Walls are built by simply setting the native bricks, "tubali" around the perimeter of the building, and first floors and roofs are supported by mud arches which are reinforced by lengths of split palm, "azara" which is naturally termite -proof”.<sup>392</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> Arthur M. Foyle, “The Architecture of Nigeria” *The Builder* (August 3 1951): 144.

## 1929 Katsina European Staff Quarters

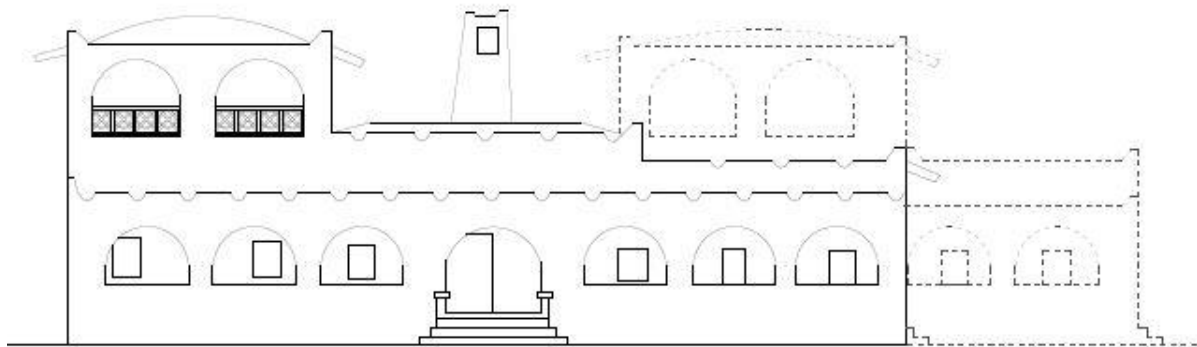


Figure 67: 1929 drawing of European quarters adapted to the Hausa house form, Katsina (elevation)<sup>393</sup>

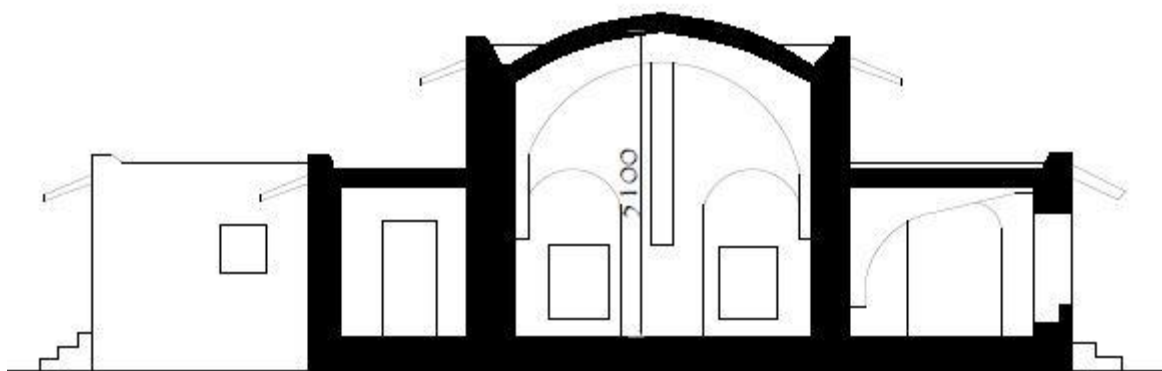


Figure 68: 1929 drawing of European quarters adapted to the Hausa house form, Katsina (section B-B)<sup>394</sup>

So although PWD European quarters in Katsina and the other parts of Northern Nigeria had modern floor plan designs (fig 41), walls were often completely constructed in Adobe mud bricks, and roof rafters made from the stem of date palm trees (azara), a widely available plant in the northern Guinea savannah. An interesting point of departure between

<sup>393</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives, CO 583/197/12 “Native Administration” - Nigeria Public Works Department (Technical paper No. 3) Native administration works in Katsina, (1934), 14.

<sup>394</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives, CO 583/197/12 “Native Administration” - Nigeria Public Works Department (Technical paper No. 3) Native administration works in Katsina, (1934), 14.

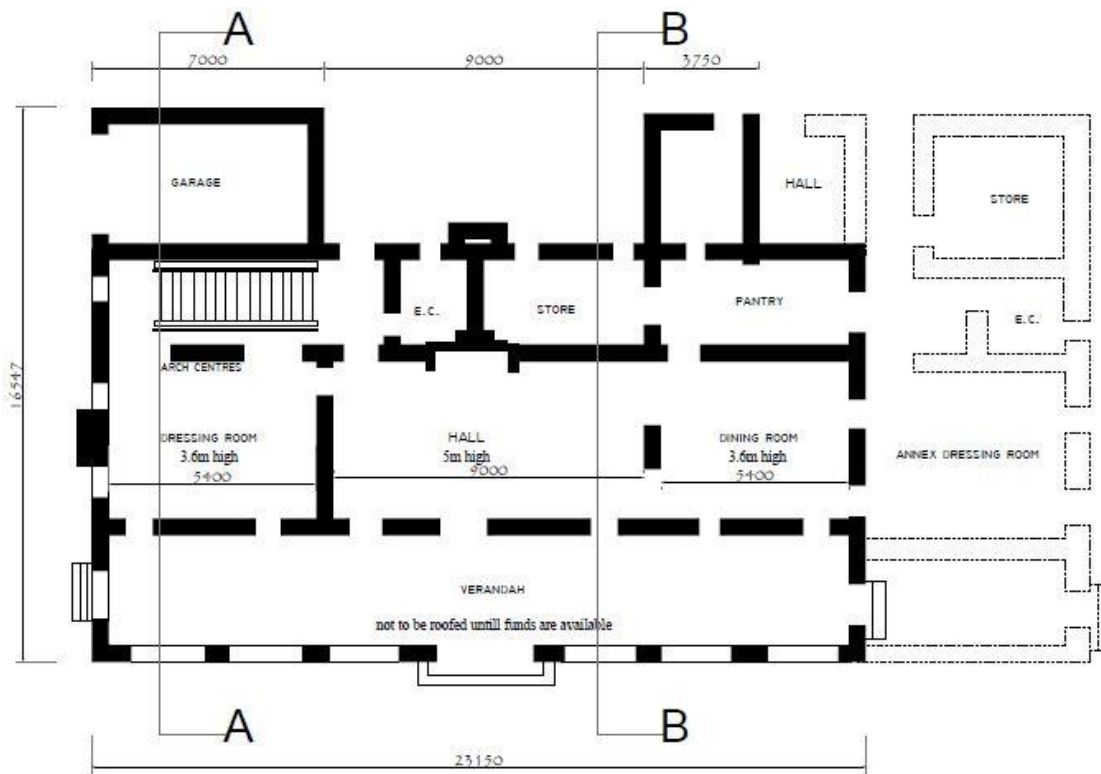


Figure 69: 1929 drawing of European quarters adapted to the Hausa house form, Katsina (Ground floor plan)<sup>395</sup>

the two buildings however, is the frontal veranda seen in the European quarters and which is not part of the St Francis of Assisi seminary design. Could this just be that Hausa house forms were usually of varying types, those with veranda spaces or the plain elevation ones without verandas? Or was this an indication that the verandas were included to the Hausa form as part of wider tropical building strategies adopted across empire?

This raises even further questions with the Katsina floor plan veranda being accompanied by a sub-text that reads ‘not to be roofed until funds are available’ – suggesting a ‘can temporarily do without’ connotation. Two issues arise here. First is that the veranda was probably not included in the Saint Francis of Assisi variant of adaptation because it was

<sup>395</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives, CO 583/197/12 “Native Administration” - Nigeria Public Works Department (Technical paper No. 3) Native administration works in Katsina, (1934), 14.

based on the pre-European settlement Hausa house form. King argues for example, that the veranda had not always been an integral part of African traditional house forms.

Referring to the influence of an older colony, India and its *bungalow*, which became the European dwelling house model across empire, King notes that “The most essential part of the bungalow was the veranda, an element which though significantly absent from the large majority of traditional African and Asian dwellings had long been a feature of European colonial houses in the tropics”.<sup>396</sup> But does King’s bungalow analogy suite the adapted two storey of Hausa house form? His next explanation suggests the affirmative:

“It might be well to clarify just what is meant by the term ‘bungalow’: for this, no better authority exists than the Governor of Lagos, W. Egerton, writing to the Secretary of State to the Colonies in 1906: ‘the term “bungalow”.....is strictly only applicable to a house with no floor above the ground floor but I gather it is used in your lordship’s despatch to include *any house built for European occupation*’. Although they might have two storeys rather than one, they invariably had other common features: they were ‘detached’, contained a number of specialized rooms, and were built according to European (English) standards and technology. Most importantly, they provided for one person or for a nuclear family”.<sup>397</sup>

This leads to the second point of interest in the Katsina European quarters. One of its ‘specialised’ spaces is the veranda, but a subtext below the veranda title reads ‘not to be roofed until funds are available’. I will relate the lack of urgency which this connotes to the very purpose for verandas. Perhaps the reason its roofing was postponed is because, the

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<sup>396</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 213.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid*, 195.

ground floor type veranda featured in the building did not hold any structural function, but rather, functioned as a climatic comfort space and psychological barrier.

Home brings this to bear by first explaining its climatic control usage, followed by its psychological function in buildings. According to him the veranda “functioned as a climatic comfort regulator, keeping the main house walls cool and dry, and providing a relatively cool transition space between interior and exterior”.<sup>398</sup> For its other sublime psychological function however, he writes that it was “a place of hospitality and refreshment and allowed surveillance of the surrounding landscape. Psychologically, the veranda was a defiant acknowledgement, signalling an unwillingness to be more deeply rooted in the country and an uneasy detachment”.<sup>399</sup> It could then be that in a case where the government was experiencing limited funds, the space was not priority for urgent completion.

#### 1926 Staff Accommodation for the Northern provinces

The preceding discussion on Hausa traditional house forms has been aimed at shedding further light on the 1947 Lugard memorial hall form, with major inferences being drawn from the Saint Francis of Assisi seminary building in Zaria and 1929 PWD European staff quarters in Kastina. Although the seminary and staff quarters reflect local regional forms and were built in the locally available adobe mud bricks of the region, their floor plans were on the other hand, of European space usage. This in effect means that the staff quarters plans would have been designed by early PWD architects or engineer designers of the period. However, aside from the building’s drawings, my archival investigation did not provide any information in that regard. This brings to the fore the case of the 1926 proposal for

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<sup>398</sup> Robert Home, *Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities*. (E & FN Spon, an imprint of Chapman & Hall, London, 1997), 87.

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid*, 87.

“accommodation for officers resident in the Northern province”.<sup>400</sup> whose architect was named and project initiation project explained.

In this case, a committee was set up to look into staff housing in the Northern provinces (See appendix 2 for, ‘1926 Government of Nigeria / Secretary of state to the colonies’ letters on Northern province staff housing project in Kaduna’), after which PWD chief architect Henry A. Porter – who was also a member of the committee – was assigned to prepare staff quarters designs. The architect then set to work and prepared eleven ‘type design’ quarters for various categories of colonial administrative staff. The eleven proposed ‘type’ drawings T1 to T11, were then attached to the report on the committee’s deliberations and documented to become the “Report of the Northern Provinces Housing committee – February 1926”.<sup>401</sup>

Of Porter’s eleven type designs, T5 to T10 were all senior staff quarters, but having only three floor plans. Each floor plan then had two elevation options, one in the Hausa house form, and the other in the ‘regular’ colonial bungalow elevation (colonial bungalow in the sense that it was built for European occupation and not in terms of number of floors). Despite all being senior staff quarters designs however, types T5 to T10 were further categorised into classes A1, A2 and A3, based on the income of respective officers. According to the report therefore:

“Class A1 Types T5 & 8: A house suitable for an "A" Class officer holding an office, the salary attached to which would ordinarily be £1,200 or over.

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<sup>400</sup> The National Archives, CO 554/70/6 “Report of the Northern Provinces housing committee” in *Bungalows and houses*, 1926.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid.

Class A2 Types T6 & 9: A house suitable for an "A" Class officer holding an office, the salary attached to which would ordinarily be in excess of £720 and not in excess of £1,150.

Class A3 Types T7 & 10 - A house suitable for an "A" Class officer holding an office, the salary attached to which would ordinarily not be in excess of £720".<sup>402</sup>

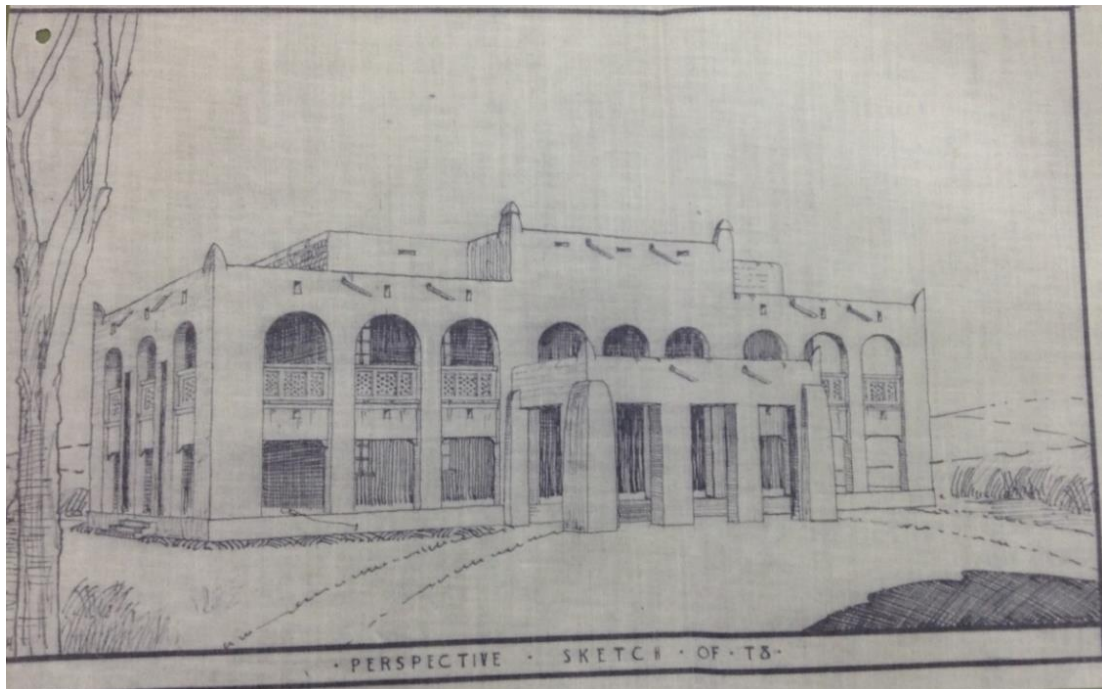


Figure 70: 1926 Perspective drawing of Type T5 & T8 Northern province staff housing, Kaduna<sup>403</sup>

It is interesting to see that, not only was the Hausa form adopted in these 1926 proposals, it was particularly adopted for senior colonial administrative staff whose salaries were in the top range of between £720 and £1,200 or over. What this suggests to me is that, although there were other variants of Hausa house forms, the *particular* one adopted for senior staff housing, as well as in the Lugard memorial hall, was the most elitist among building forms in the highly stratified traditional Hausa society.

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<sup>402</sup> Ibid, 3 (report).

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.



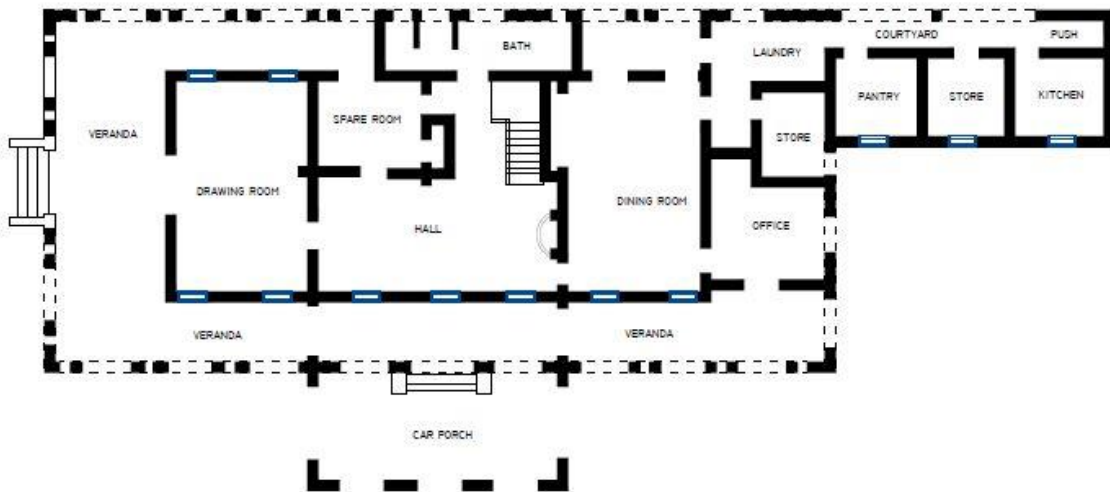


Figure 71: 1926 Floor Plan of Type T5 & T8 Northern Province staff housing<sup>404</sup>

There were a range of other simple house forms which had been used by commoners, some of which feature simple rectangular or square plan huts of either saddle back or hipped straw roofs, or circular huts topped by conical straw roofs. However these phallic figure topped parapet roofs forms adopted for European building were symbolic of strength, wealth, power and influence which commoners hardly ever emulated on their buildings. This and the other arches, the domed roof and upper floors were the reserve of Royalty, and very wealthy merchants.

So it is perhaps not surprising that the colonial administrators of Northern Nigeria (and even missionaries, as seen in the saint Francis of Assisi seminary building) adopted this elite Hausa building form. It can be read as a way of stamping their authority, by equating their status with that of traditional Royalty. And again the adoption of this form could have been a strategy of befriending the royal class, and letting them know we admire your architecture

<sup>404</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives, CO 554/70/6 "Report of the Northern Provinces housing committee" in *Bungalows and houses*, 1926.

and do not see it (or you) being beneath us – we have even adopted it as our own dwelling while we are here. Adopting this royal building form for senior staff quarters may have again sent a message in the rank and file of the colonial administration regarding issues of seniority.

By and large however, one reason the Lugard hall may have adopted Hausa architecture symbolism is that unlike the more enlightened southern province where western education had taken root as early as the mid nineteenth century, and many citizens travelled abroad to receive higher education and also developed a taste for political activism, the northern province had remained highly conservative and remained largely subordinated to the ruling emirs, while acquiring only koranic education. Although a Nigerian legislative council preceded the 1946 ‘Richard’s Constitution’, the council comprised only a handful of native members, and none of whom were from the north.<sup>405</sup>

The changes brought about by Richard’s constitution for more African representation in council and construction of assembly buildings in each province, meant that northerners were coming into partisan politics for the very first time. Lugard hall’s symbolic Hausa architecture design therefore appears to have taken this into consideration.

- **1954 Broadcasting house Lagos – later form of regional symbolism**

It is important to note here also, that regional symbolism was not always reflected on the elaborate scale of the Lugard memorial council chamber. In his 1954 design of Broadcasting House Lagos, Jack Murray uses a simple wall mural to illustrate indigenous methods of broadcasting events in the native setting of Nigeria’s three major tribes, Hausa, Yoruba and

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<sup>405</sup> The Royal Institute of International affairs *Nigeria: the Political and Economic Background* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 43.

Ibo. The mural's figures show three men dressed in the costume of each tribe, and each man holding a native 'public address' instrument used by his tribe.



Figure 72: 1954 Broadcasting house Lagos<sup>406</sup>

The building itself, made up of three floors and topped by simple pitch roofing, is in the tropical modernist trend of the period. The offices on each floor are fronted by long colonnaded verandas to enhance cooling and shading from the tropical sun. However, the feature which stands it out the most as tropical modernist is the perforated wall space located at the end of the block, and which probably fronted the building's toilet and staircase service areas. More significantly though, Jack Murray incorporates the symbolic wall murals as a means of defining and representing the building's innate function - broadcasting in Nigeria.

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<sup>406</sup> "Buildings in the new" *The Architect's Journal* (April 22 1954): 483.

- **Monumental and symbolic administrative buildings and the town plan**

It needs to be clarified however that not every administrative building in the Lagos or Kaduna were monumental buildings designed as symbols of imperial grandeur. In Lagos for example, the administrative buildings which displayed such attributes, were those which were at the heart of the colony on the Lagos Marina and its adjoining Broad Street. These areas have a long history of missionary and merchant activities,<sup>407</sup> and later evolved into the core area of governance. In the 1942 colonial map of Lagos presented below, I have drawn a yellow line to outline the core administrative areas in which the Government house and other architecturally impressive buildings like it are located. The buildings are those rendered on the map as hatched boxes, and include the Government house (highlighted by in blue text),

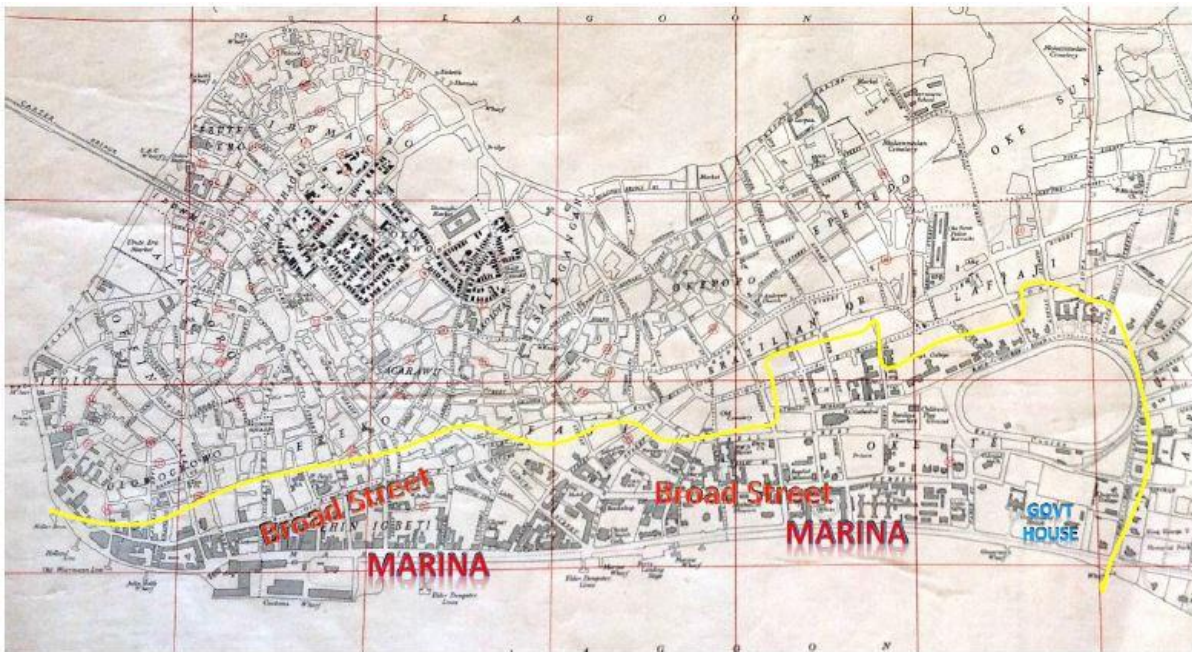


Figure 73: 1942 colonial map of Lagos<sup>408</sup>

Custom House, Government Secretariat, Survey Office, Courthouse at Tinubu, Government offices on broad street, General hospital, General Post Office, and Cable Office among others.

<sup>407</sup> Missionary papers, For the use of the weekly and monthly contributions to the Church Missionary Society, (No. IX, Ladyday, 1818), 20.

<sup>408</sup> Oyo State Ministry of Lands and surveys archives, Ibadan, Nigeria M565/Lagos/1942Colony/Z44.



Figure 74: 1933 former PWD Head office on Broad Street (Picture taken by author in 2013)



Figure 75: c 1906 Custom house, Broad Street, Lagos (Picture taken by author in 2013)

The unique features of the Custom house in particular may well have been echoing Metcalf's view of imperial classical architecture at the turn of the century. Although he specifically referenced British Raj in India, it appeared to be also relevant to the Nigerian situation:

“Classical architecture proved exceptionally well suited to the declining British empire of the early twentieth century. In the first place, and above all, this style spoke clearly of empire to a European Audience anxious for reassurance. The size and monumentality of its structures, their ordered regularity, and their evocation of the glories of Rome together announced that the Raj still mattered, that Britain, despite its loss of world pre-eminence, still remained an imperial power”.<sup>409</sup>

The administrative area of the map also includes the race course for playing polo, cricket and other games. But other government buildings which could be found outside of the yellow line, as well as further into the Lagos mainland (not shown on the map), were what one could term the more ‘everyday’ type of government buildings in simple basic designs. They served the purpose of everyday governance and administration, without the need for elaborate power symbolism. While Fuchs describes such buildings as “modest examples of official architecture,”<sup>410</sup> “unassuming official buildings” as well as “modest practical buildings,”<sup>411</sup> Wright describe them as buildings “erected on a modest and economical scale, and most were not outstanding works of architecture”.<sup>412</sup> They were the type of government buildings also commonly found in the provincial and divisional areas hinterlands of the vast Nigerian colony, echoing Lee’s observation that such structures were the “lesser buildings which form a vernacular of public architecture and announced the federal government in far-flung places”.<sup>413</sup> This of course does not insinuate that administrative buildings in the provinces

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<sup>409</sup> Ibid, 247

<sup>410</sup> Ron Fuchs, "Public works in the Holy Land: Government buildings under the British Mandate in Palestine 1917–1948", in *Twentieth Century Architecture and Its Histories*, ed. Louise Campbell (London : Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2000), 282.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid, 282.

<sup>412</sup> Janet Wright, *Crown assets: The architecture of the public works department 1867 – 1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997), 5.

<sup>413</sup> Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architect's Office* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2000), viii.

and divisions were only limited to the ‘lesser’ or modest, ‘everyday’ category, but that grand scale buildings in those areas were more the exception than the norm.



Figure 76: 1930 Centenary Hall, Abeokuta (Picture taken by author in 2013)

This 1930 Centenary or city hall for example, is likely to have been one of its type in the small sleepy settlement of Abeokuta at the time. Going by its distinctive neo-classical arches, key stones, a broken pediment, cornices, friezes and Doric order trimmed entrance porch, the centenary hall portrayed a ceremonial outlook, and had actually been built to commemorate the 100 year anniversary of Abeokuta. It remains only in occasional use even today. I say it must have being a stand-alone in the city at the time because unlike the ‘crown colony’ status of Lagos, or the only 2<sup>nd</sup> Class township in Nigeria status of Kaduna, Abeokuta was then a native administration Divisional headquarters.

### **Modest and practical forms of Administrative and symbolic buildings**

Going by the discrepancy which made on the location of monumental and modest buildings on the Lagos town plan, it would have been expected that the modest building examples will

be in Lagos. This is however not to be. This is because during fieldwork, a day was set aside to traverse the length and breadth of Lagos Island as shown on the map, but not a single example of surviving modest and symbolic PWD buildings were found. The reason that can be adduced to this is the high level of development which has characterised Lagos Island for decades; because of its status as the then political and economic capital of Nigeria. There is a high rate of landed property constantly being bought, sold and redeveloped – and in some cases, including government buildings. Another reason of course, will be the almost non-existent architectural conservation programme, which sees historic buildings being knocked down to give way to the new.

The examples of modest symbolic PWD architecture which are therefore being presented are in Kaduna and Abeokuta - and they are a police station, court house, and district officer's office. The reason for presenting these buildings is because they belong to the law enforcement buildings category which at the time represented a new form of legal order from what the natives had previously practiced. They were usually pragmatic buildings with no elaborate design form, and fit into the vernacular of colonial public architecture on the modest, practical scale.

So as Metcalf noted, “monumental buildings provide a way to approach the study of power in colonialism”<sup>414</sup>, is such symbolism also reflected through modest pragmatic buildings? This research argues that it is. Wright equally writes on the political and power symbolism projected through the more modest everyday PWD buildings, such as those I am examining in this section.

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<sup>414</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Imperial Vision: Indian architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), xii.



“Federal buildings had two principal functions; providing the necessary accommodation for government institutions, but also the important role as symbols representing the federal presence in towns and cities across the country. In some cases, these symbols were expected to take the form of imposing architectural landmarks; but the majority of federal buildings - post offices, custom houses, drill halls - were erected on a modest and economical scale, and most were not outstanding works of architecture. However, they too were built to project a suitably dignified architectural image that would reflect credibility on the state. They were also invariably welcomed with enthusiasm and regarded as valuable and pleasing assets to the community”.<sup>415</sup>

Taking the court house for example, prior to the adoption of English law as the legal system in Nigeria, disputes had mostly been resolved in the village head’s palace in southern Nigeria and make shift sharia and Alkali courts in Northern Nigeria. Nothing elaborate at all. So it can be argued that modest designs like this 1920 court house may have been an attempt to maintain the simplicity of the native built environment and the scale of buildings they were used to at the time, while also still projecting the image of the state.

I have also selected the district officer’s office because it doesn’t only constitute a modest building design; it is also very symbolic of Yoruba traditional architecture in Abeokuta. The District officer position itself was the administration’s closest contact with native people and this was perhaps reflected in the architecture. I also go with the argument that these modest buildings were received with some enthusiasm in the communities, going by the new ways in which they accommodated old functions. For example, there had always been law enforcement procedures in traditional time, but no purpose built structure for it; and the

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<sup>415</sup>Janet Wright, *Crown assets: The architecture of the public works department 1867 – 1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997), 5-6.

district officers was fast replacing traditional chiefs in terms of importance, since he was the most direct link of the community to the government.

Table 4: Modest and practical forms of administrative and symbolic buildings

<b>Selected Administrative Building</b>	<b>Architect or engineer designer</b>	<b>Bldg. General character</b>	<b>Data sourced and presented</b>	<b>Current use of building</b>
Court house Kaduna (1920)	Not known	Basic, modest, non-monumental	Fieldwork picture and archival floor plan	Magistrate court Kaduna
Police Station Ibara, Abeokuta (1945)	Not known	Basic, modest, non-monumental	Fieldwork picture	Police Station Ibara, Abeokuta
D.O.'s office Abeokuta (c. 1930)	Not known	Basic, modest, non-monumental, Yoruba house symbolism	Fieldwork picture	Office in the ministry of forestry, Abeokuta

- **1920 Court House Kaduna**

Lugard Hall may have been the colonial administration's show piece of grandeur and excellence in regional and power symbolism, but the majority of its administrative buildings were in the practical, modest, and unassuming narrative. A surviving example is the 1920 courthouse presented above. Although some slight changes were made – such as the colonnade which was later introduced along the length of the veranda, the courthouse design retains most of its original plan. The number of offices adjoining the court were also increased, making the building longer than its original plan length. The court room occupies one end of the building and originally had two side entrances and four inner offices linked to it. In the surviving building however, the two side entrances have been converted to windows, and the three former front windows, replaced with blind arches. The central among this has also become the main entrance door way. Perhaps, to enhance what has now become

its front elevation, archway components are embossed over the central blind arch (which now holds the entrance door) and a parapet raised over it. On this parapet is inscribed the phrase ‘1920’ – the courthouse’s year of construction.



Figure 77: 1920 Court house Kaduna – front view (Picture taken by Author in 2013)

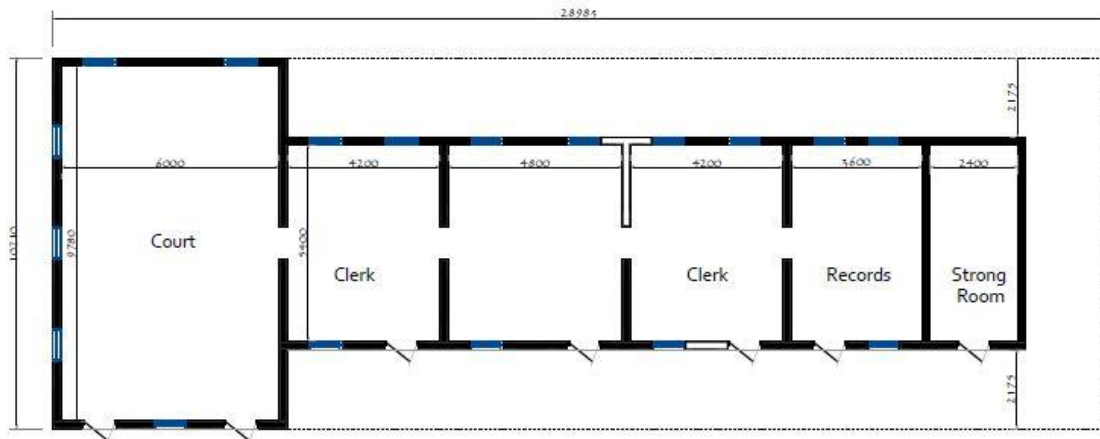


Figure 78: 1920 Plan of Court house Kaduna<sup>416</sup>

<sup>416</sup> Drawing traced from The national Archives “Offices and staff housing at Kaduna” CO 583/11.

- **1945 Police Station Abeokuta**

The 1945 police station building was the more prevalent administrative building type at Abeokuta's level of government. But like the other practical and more widespread administrative buildings in its league, the police station design made no pretences. It comprises a simple rectangular block plan of three bays, and is fronted by a projected entrance porch. The pitch roof over the main area intersects the entrance porch roof, portraying a pediment look with the phrase '1945' inscribed on it. Although the building's floor plan could not be sourced, an inspection of its interior revealed a reception area and police booking space for suspects or criminals. To the right of this is an office, and at the rear is a doorway that leads into a major corridor. This corridor is flanked on both sides by offices and terminates at the entrance of the little cell at the rear of the building.



Figure 79: 1945 Police Station Abeokuta (Picture taken by author in 2013)

- **C. 1935 District Officers office Abeokuta**

The basis of the enthusiasm is perhaps best explained by Bradley. According to him, “For the great mass of primitive people, 'the government' is a remote and shadowy abstraction; they see it only through its visible embodiment of administrative officers – in particular, the District officer”.<sup>417</sup> As Kirk-Green observed, the D.O. was “the proverbial man-on-the-spot, and a symbol and executive agent of Britain's imperial administrations”.<sup>418</sup> Because of this status, he virtually became a personified version of the new administrative system that natives were grappling to understand. Writing on the very varied duties of the D.O., Cook notes that

"He was required to discharge the functions of all departments - postal, customs, marine, police engineering etc. He was the medium of communication between the military or departmental officer and the native chiefs, and was expected to render assistance to the missionary, the miner and the trader. The enforcement of ordinances, the issuing of licenses, the keeping of records, were all in his hands".<sup>419</sup>

Pearce therefore made a valid observation regarding memos that were later written by officers on their personal experiences after colonization, that being a D.O. transcended the basic colonial administrative role. According to him,

"the real interest of the memos lie not in politics but elsewhere – in their energy and humour, in the evocation of the sights, sound and 'feel' of the Nigerian landscape and of the houses they lived in, and in general, of a life as a 'bush district officer.'"<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>417</sup> Ibid, v.

<sup>418</sup> Anthony Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators: 1858-1966*. (England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 1.

<sup>419</sup> Arthur M. Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), 200

<sup>420</sup> Robert Pearce, *Then the Wind Changed: Nigerian Letters of Robert Hepburn Wright, 1939-1946* (London: The Radcliff Press, 1992), xii.

It is therefore no coincidence that the D.O.'s office adopted the old Yoruba house form, which was mainly characterised by a deep oversize roof structure. In this way, the building not only fit into the vernacular of modest and pragmatic administrative architecture, but like Lugard Hall, was symbolic and showed an acceptance of the region's architecture.



Figure 80: c.1930 District officer's office Abeokuta<sup>421</sup>



Figure 81: The District Officer and colonial governor at Yoruba village chief's palace<sup>422</sup>

<sup>421</sup> Picture taken by author in September 2013 during fieldwork trip to Nigeria.

<sup>422</sup> The National Archives, CO1069/84/04 "Nigeria", undated.

## 5.2 Buildings typifying climatic factor and tropical health considerations

In this section I will be exploring the buildings which typify climatic factor in their designs, and which were also built to achieve improved tropical health and living conditions. Before I begin the discussions surrounding individual buildings, I am presenting the table below as a snapshot of the upcoming investigation. The reason I have selected these buildings for the explorations is that they were about the only surviving PWD buildings that I could find to fit in the category.

One important thing to note however is that, the lines differentiating one PWD building category from another could in some cases appear quite blurred, as it is commonplace to see some buildings fitting into two categories. A monumental category building like the Lagos Government House for example was equally being designed with deep verandas, cross ventilation and mosquito netting, with regard to climatic and health considerations. Then the native hospital being discussed here, will also fit well in the modest building category. The buildings discussed in this section are however, wholly explored under the climatic and tropical health category.

Table 5: Buildings typifying climatic factor and tropical health features

<b>Selected Administrative Building</b>	<b>PWD Architect or engineer designer</b>	<b>How buildings typify climatic adaptations and tropical health considerations</b>	<b>Data sourced and presented</b>	<b>Current use of building</b>
Railway guest house Abeokuta (c.1930)	Not known	Raised floor level, cross ventilation and mosquito netting	Fieldwork picture	Already sold off for demolition when I took

				the picture
General Hospital Abeokuta (1926)	Not known	Hospital function, mosquito netting, roof vent	Fieldwork picture and archival letter initiating the General Hospital project	General Hospital Abeokuta
Engineers Quarters Abeokuta (c.1930)	Not known	Veranda for cooling, mosquito netting, roof vent	Field work picture	Private house
European reservation Staff quarters Kaduna	Not known	Conforming to European reservation town planning principles	Fieldwork picture	Kaduna state government offices
European Hospital Kaduna (1917)	Not known	Hospital function, Cross ventilation, Veranda for cooling	Fieldwork picture and archival floor plan	Kaduna State Government Specialist hospital
Native Hospital Kaduna (1917)	Not known	Hospital function, Cross ventilation, compound form planning.	Fieldwork picture and archival site plan, ward elevation and plan	National Ear Care Centre, Kaduna
Kaduna Convict Prison (1915)	Not known	Cross ventilated spaces, has own hospital and also shares Native hospital facilities	Fieldwork picture, archival site plan	Kaduna Convict Prison



- **Background to tropical health and climatic factor concerns**

Writing on the early days of European exploration Simnett observes that, “In the old days, the West African coast had an evil reputation as the 'white man's grave’”.<sup>423</sup> Mungo Park's last letter in November 1805 to the Secretary of state for example, also read that:

“I am sorry to say that of the 45 Europeans who left the Gambia in perfect health, five only are at present alive, viz three soldiers (one deranged in mind), Lieutenant Martyn and myself. from this account, I am afraid that your Lordship will be apt to consider matters as in a very hopeless state’”.<sup>424</sup>

Crediting the role of medicine and improved housing conditions, however, Simnett explains that “This reputation has long out grown. The advance of medical and sanitary science, of housing and social conditions, has rendered life as healthy as it can be under tropical conditions’”.<sup>425</sup> These improvements are perhaps more aptly conveyed by Bruce-Chwatt and Bruce-Chwatt, who write that:

“from 1903 onwards, the death rates of non-native officials in West Africa were published by the Crown agents to the Colonies, and the summary of returns decreased from the annual mortality of 27.3 to 28.1 per 1000 in 1904-5; to 4 per 1000 in some data which we collected in Nigeria during the period 1942-49’”.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>423</sup> W.E. Simnett, *The British colonial empire* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1942), 81.

<sup>424</sup> L.J. Bruce-Chwatt and J.M. Bruce Chwatt, “Malaria and Yellow Fever” in *Health in tropical Africa during the colonial period*, eds. E.E. Sabben-Clare, D.J. Bradley, and K. Kirkwood (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1980), 44.

<sup>425</sup> W.E. Simnett, *The British colonial empire* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1942), 81.

<sup>426</sup> L.J. Bruce-Chwatt and J.M. Bruce Chwatt, “Malaria and Yellow Fever” in *Health in tropical Africa during the colonial period*, eds. E.E. Sabben-Clare, D.J. Bradley, and K. Kirkwood (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1980), 44.

However, even though there were now improved medical conditions as suggested by Simnett and reflected in the data, the problem of tropical diseases remains a big concern. Tropical diseases in Nigeria, particularly malaria, are mainly fuelled by its dense mangrove swamps, its tropical rainforest vegetation and hot humid climate, which provide a rich breeding ground for mosquitoes and as Haviden and Meredith note, “some other bewildering variety of plant, animal and human disease”.<sup>427</sup> To provide a medical explanation for this, Harrison writes that:

“The distinctiveness of warm climates from a medical point of view is first, that putrefaction is accelerated in tropical latitudes by the abundance of heat and moisture. This and the lush vegetation of the tropics appeared to be the source of the ubiquitous miasmas which caused Europeans to often sicken and die. Second, the tropical climate saps the resistance of its inhabitants leaving them vulnerable to such vapours”.<sup>428</sup>

Paradoxically, however, in what Haviden and Meredith describe as ‘mixed blessings’, the same swamps, tropical rain forest and harsh northern savannah conditions had provided Nigeria’s impressive source of agricultural wealth, making Lord Leverhulme once to describe the country as a huge natural greenhouse with free heat and water”.<sup>429</sup> But to the authors, a “progress in the conquest of infectious diseases,”<sup>430</sup> was the only way to harness the agricultural and other positive factors for development.

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<sup>427</sup> Michael A. Haviden and David G. Meredith. *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its tropical colonies 1850-1960* (England: Psychology Press, 1996), 16.

<sup>428</sup> Mark Harrison, *Medicine in an age of commerce and Empire: Britain and its tropical colonies* (Oxford University press, 2010), 44.

<sup>429</sup> Michael A. Haviden and David G. Meredith. *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its tropical colonies 1850-1960* (England: Psychology Press, 1996), 16.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid*, 17.

- **Early climatic designs and anti-malaria measures in buildings**

Outlining early progresses made to curb malaria in particular, Haviden and Meredith still observed that:

“the widespread use of quinine as an anti- malarial medicine after the 1850s, and the discovery by Ross in 1898 that malaria was spread by the Anopheles mosquito, and that this could be reasonably easily controlled by spraying paraffin on its fresh water breeding places, reduced the disease problem to manageable proportions, and opened up bright new possibilities for development”.<sup>431</sup>

But these early treatments and measures were just the beginning of future research and developments, aimed at preventing and if possible eradicating malaria and other deadly tropical diseases. Notable among such developments was the establishment of the London School of Tropical Medicine after Patrick Manson’s proposals were approved in 1907,<sup>432</sup> and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, after the colonial office was lobbied by its benefactor Alfred Jones in the same year.<sup>433</sup> Aside from the quinine treatment for patients, paraffin spraying of freshwater and the establishment of specialized tropical health institutions for training and research, another way in which mosquito and malaria preventing measures were taken was in the design of buildings; and one main design adopted in this regard was the raising of buildings above ground level. (Fig. 54)

It had been practiced by the Royal Engineers in constructing early Caribbean tropical buildings “to allow circulation of air which both cooled the air and protected the building's

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<sup>431</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>432</sup> Douglas M. Haynes, *Imperial Medicine: Patrick Manson and the conquest of tropical diseases* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 2001), 126.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid, 49.

wood from insect attack”.<sup>434</sup> But this design was not a preserve of the RE, and was often also seen in the colonial Bungalow. According to King:

“The bungalow, whether wood, brick or stone, could be raised on wood or concrete piers off the ground, 4 or 8 feet (1.2 or 1.4 meters). The rationale for this had changed over the years, and dated back to a time when the cause of Malaria fever was generally attributed to exhalations from the ground”.<sup>435</sup>

But curbing the spread of mosquitoes and malaria in buildings was not only restricted to height modifications, it was also done through fitting the house with mosquito screening



Figure 82: c. 1930 Railway guest house Abeokuta (Picture taken by author in 2013)

accessories. Writing on his building construction experience as a Royal Engineer in the West Indies, Brandeth explains that "notwithstanding the precautions of raising the ground floor

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<sup>434</sup> John Michael Weiler, “Army architects: The royal engineers and the development of building technology in the nineteenth century” (PhD diss., University of York, 1987), 427.

<sup>435</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 210.

four or five feet, surrounding the building with galleries, and the ordinary modes of ventilation, the influence of the malaria has been very fatal".<sup>436</sup> His suggestion therefore was that "the use of wire gauze (a mesh or interstice of 1/24th of an inch would be best) to prevent or mitigate the effect of marsh malaria".<sup>437</sup>

Echoing similar mosquito control measures for tropical houses, King also writes that "With the discovery of the mosquito origins of malaria, attention moved from raising the bungalow off the ground to keeping mosquitoes out of the house. Apart from the changes in design, this meant importing huge quantities of closed mesh Zinc gauze. There were a number of ways of combating mosquitoes: to proof the whole house, to do one room only; to cover all – or part of – the veranda; to provide movable mosquito proof cages; or simple to put mosquito nets around the bed".<sup>438</sup>



Figure 83: 1926 General Hospital Abeokuta with mosquito proofing (Picture taken by author in 2013)

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<sup>436</sup> John Michael Weiler, "Army architects: The royal engineers and the development of building technology in the nineteenth century" (PhD diss., University of York, 1987), 429.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid, 430.

<sup>438</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 213.

Much desired as wire gauze was in keeping mosquitoes at bay, its use usually came at price. The problems faced in this regard are highlighted in the 1926 Housing committee reports for Northern as well as Southern Provinces. In both reports, the section on ‘Mosquito-proofing’ gave the committee’s recommendations as

"We find that opinion is unanimous in condemning the complete mosquito-proofing of houses. It is generally considered that mosquito-proofing makes a room hot and stuffy, tends to collect dust and dirt, and unless very carefully looked after soon works into holes, when it becomes a positive danger instead of a protection".<sup>439</sup>



Figure 84: c.1920 Engineer’s quarters Abeokuta with mosquito proofing and roof vent  
(Picture taken by author in 2013)

With the mosquito-proofing of entire buildings becoming unpopular because it “prevented the perflation of prevailing breeze and hence defeated the basic rational for the bungalow - to

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<sup>439</sup> The National Archives, CO 554/70/6 “Bungalows and Houses - Report of the Southern Provinces housing committee” (1926), 7.

keep cool”<sup>440</sup>, PWD buildings were in addition to windows, being fitted roof vents for improved air flow (Fig 55 and 56). But the built environment procedures for achieving improved health and Malaria mitigation was not limited to building designs and fittings.

- **Early climatic designs and anti-malaria measures in buildings (in relation to town planning)**

The procedures were also widely practiced through colonial town planning. The underlying factor and major planning consideration at the time, was the reasoning that native populations were the carriers and transmitters of tropical diseases, with malaria being very high on the list. An explanation which Home suggests for this is that:

“After the success in reducing European mortality, western medicine obtained its greatest importance in imperial ideology and practice between 1880 and 1930. This was the period when European Empires were at their most expansive and assertive and new trade, transport and imperial ties were assisting the spread of disease vectors, particularly mosquitoes, flies and lies”.<sup>441</sup>

In spite of these events, however, Home also notes that:

“the association of diseases like smallpox, plague, cholera and malaria with the indigenous population deepened European suspicions of that population; and the fear of catching native diseases thus provided a pretext for segregation, and became a general rubric of sanitary administration set by the imperial government for all tropical colonies”.<sup>442</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 213.

<sup>441</sup> Robert Home, *Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities*. (London: E & FN Spon, an imprint of Chapman & Hall, 1997), 126.

<sup>442</sup> *Ibid*, 126.

This therefore informed segregation of Europeans, so that they lived in a European Reservation Area (ERA) away from the natives, and away from 'contamination'. To further protect the ERA and maximize a healthy living environment for its occupants, a buffer zone was created between it and the native populations. As Bigon observes "'Be it a 'non-residential area', 'sanitary cordon', 'sanitary belt' or 'green belt' - these terms describe the space that was designated to separate the two main communities and imply (pseudo-) medical reasons".<sup>443</sup> In a similar explanation on the purpose for creating this zone, Lord Lugard, Nigeria's 1914 Governor General and author of its 1917 township ordinance argues that:

"The first object of the non-residential area is to segregate Europeans, so that they shall not be exposed to the attacks of mosquitoes which have become infected with the germs of malaria or yellow fever, by preying on Natives, and especially native children whose blood so often contains these germs".<sup>444</sup>

Writing on the measures later put in place by Lugard to buttress his claims, Home notes that "Lugard advocated a width of 440 yards, and although the flying range of a mosquito was probably not known, he wrote of the need for the zone to be wide enough to offer 'resting places for mosquitoes'"<sup>445</sup> Within the European reservation itself, Plots or 'compounds' were large. According to King:

"Each compound in the European reservation was to be 100 yards in depth, 70 to 100 yards wide (viz from one and a half to two acres), and be enclosed by a hedge, mud wall or substantial fence. Within this, ornamental and shade trees and dhub grass are to be planted.

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<sup>443</sup> Liora Bigon, *A history of urban planning in two West African colonial capitals: Residential segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar 1850-1930* (New York: Edwin Mellen press, 2009), 158.

<sup>444</sup> F.D. Lugard, *Revision of instructions to political officers on subjects chiefly political and administrative 1913-1918* (London: Waterloo Sons, 1919), 420.

<sup>445</sup> Robert Home, *Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities*. (London: E & FN Spon, an imprint of Chapman & Hall, 1997),.



Servant's quarters and stables would be kept 50 yards to the rear and near a backline, along which a sanitary lane is provided. Apart from the bona fide domestic servants, no natives shall reside in the European reservation and no European in the Native reservation”<sup>446</sup>.

The methods advocated by Lugard are seen to be displayed in this former European staff quarters compounds, of the area now known as GRA (Government residential Area in Kaduna).



Figure 85: European reservation quarters in Kaduna with deep setbacks and large plot areas  
(Picture taken by Author in 2013)

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<sup>446</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 215.

- **1917 European Hospital Kaduna**

In line with Lugard's creation of the ERAs, Hospitals were also designated into European and Native health facilities. But even before the town planning came into place Lugard had indicate the dire need for hospitals, particularly in relation to the administration's earlier experience in the town of Jebba. Describing this in his memoirs, Lugard had written that:

“In the early days when the force was raised in Jebba, before the very temporary houses for Europeans were erected, we had lived in grass houses, whose roofs were not impervious to the tropical sun and rain, while the floors were of saturated mud. No wonder that some 80 percent of the Europeans died or were invalided”.<sup>447</sup>

The tragedy of this incidence is probably why Lugard was not only eager to get staff housing built, but also to have hospitals constructed within the shortest possible time. This perhaps, is why in his October 1917 letter to the Secretary of State to the colonies (see full text of letter in the Appendix), Lugard is seen to almost make a better case for the completion of the European. According to him:

“Although both designs are prepared for eventual extension if required, I anticipate that the accommodation now proposed in the case of the European hospital will be fully sufficient for present requirements. Another block for the native hospital may be required in 1919”.<sup>448</sup>

The completed building appears to have its front elevation slightly modified from that on the plan's drawing. However, the European Hospital is still a simple rectangular plan building that has a continuous tropical veranda encircling it being enclosed on the first floor.

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<sup>447</sup> F.D. Lugard, “Northern Nigeria” *The Geographical Journal* 23, no 1(1904): 10.

<sup>448</sup> The National Archives CO583/60 “Nigeria 1917 Vol.6 Despatches (Oct. – 14 Nov)”, 1926.



Figure 86: 1917 European Hospital Kaduna (Picture taken by author in 2013)

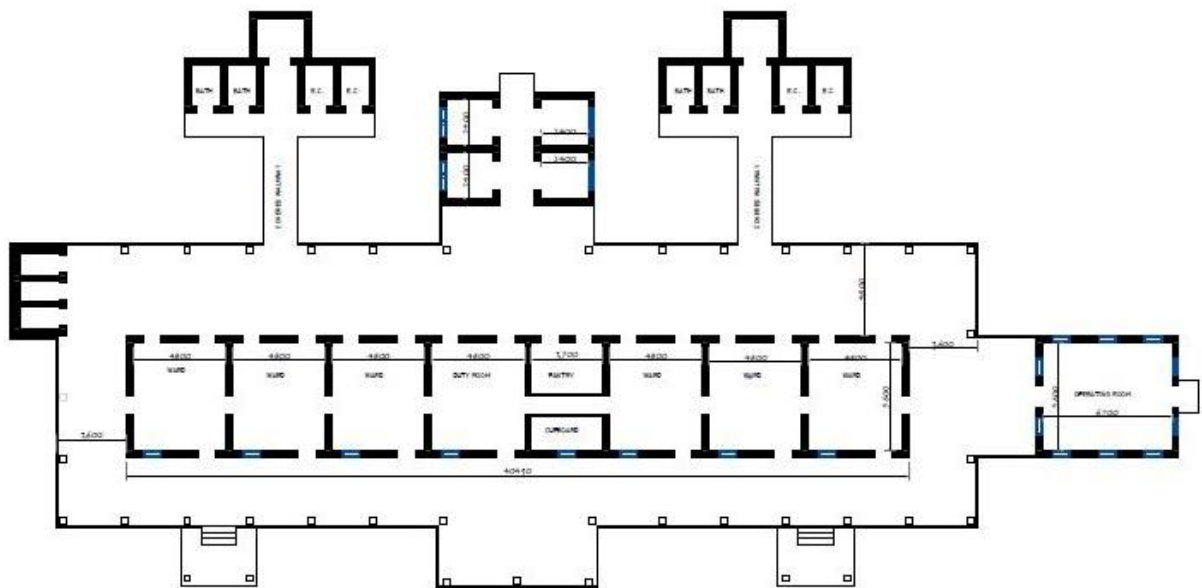


Figure 87: 1917 Plan of European Hospital Kaduna<sup>449</sup>

The veranda's perimeter is also broken at intervals by functional spaces and covered walkway entrances. The most prominent of these spaces is the operation room on the right side of the plan. A standard operating room was required for a hospital of this status because

<sup>449</sup> Drawing traced from - The National Archives "Offices and staff housing at Kaduna" CO 583/11.

as it is observed in Lugard's letter "Kaduna is so central that patients seek admission to the Hospital from all parts of the Northern provinces".<sup>450</sup>

Explaining further, he also notes that "the houses converted into a hospital has been found quite inadequate to accommodate the number of patients requiring treatment and much discomfort has been caused to the sick by beds having to be placed temporarily under very hot verandas".<sup>451</sup> Although patients were no longer placed along verandas with the European Hospital's construction, the building was designed with wide ample verandas (about two meters at the building's rear) for deep tropical shading and inflow of air.

The main block consists of a centralized duty room, a pantry and a cupboard. Also within this block are six wards of approximately twenty squares meter each. Across the rear veranda and opposite the duty room are four small offices that were probably doctors' consulting rooms. To cater for hygiene and sanitation were two covered walkways on each side of the consulting rooms, leading to two sets of outdoor toilets and bathrooms. The hospital's back veranda also terminated with a set of toilets on the right end of the building.

Although the experience of Jebba, where 80 percent of Europeans died or were invalided due to poor health conditions may have triggered the urgent provision of hospitals in the new capital, the hospitals being provided had to conform to the prevailing colonial planning method of European segregation. So just as a European - also called sisters' hospital - was built in the ERA, so was a Native Hospital built in the Non-European or Native Reservation.

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<sup>450</sup> The National Archives CO583/60 "Nigeria 1917 Vol.6 Despatches (Oct. - 14 Nov)", 1926.

<sup>451</sup> Ibid.

- **1917 Native Hospital Kaduna**



Figure 88: 1917 Native Hospital Kaduna in 2013(Picture taken by author)

Lugard’s letter of request to the secretary of state to the colonies had stressed this equally pressing need to provide a native Hospital. In it he states that:

“as regards the Native hospital the position is even worse as there is only one small brick building sufficient to take 13 beds at Kaduna Junction and a few grass huts have had to be built in which to house the sick clerks, troops and other native employees”.<sup>452</sup>

To further highlight the dire state of affairs, a first-hand situation experienced by the medical officer Dr W.H. Johnson is relayed in the letter. According to Johnson:

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<sup>452</sup> The National Archives CO583/60 “Nigeria 1917 Vol.6 Despatches (Oct. – 14 Nov)”, 1926.

"During the last month I have averaged 40 patients in hospital and the number has now risen to 50. This is not an accurate total of in-patients as I have been forced to "board out" several patients in houses belonging to clerks and labourers in the neighbourhood. During July, I performed several gynaecological operations and on four occasions had to have to carry the patients to houses near the hospital after operation. During May to July of this year I performed 10 operations upon clerks, my only accommodation for them being grass huts".<sup>453</sup>

Unlike the two storey European hospital design, the native hospital has its wards and other functions spread out in a 'compound' fashion. This could be to symbolically replicate the native compound architecture, and provide a familiar atmosphere for natives. But the more likely reason seems to be the need to save cost and provide something more basic for the natives. According to the financial estimates in Lugard's letter the "European Hospital costs £18,500 and the portion required immediately £8,400".<sup>454</sup> Estimates are also given for the native Hospital and read that the "Native Hospital cost £1,000 per block and the portion require immediately on plan £2,420".<sup>455</sup> The decision to build basic and cheaper hospitals for natives could therefore have been arrived at by weighing available funds considerations against the desperate need for both hospitals.

The native hospital itself consisted of eight wards. Although they are not designated on the plan as male, female or children wards, it may well be that the six block north of the site and their washing place and latrine (toilet) were for male patients, while the two southwards, and their washing place and latrine were for women and children. The reason for this assumption is that prior to the building of the hospitals, there had recently been two wars in which

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<sup>453</sup> Ibid.

<sup>454</sup> Ibid.

<sup>455</sup> Ibid.

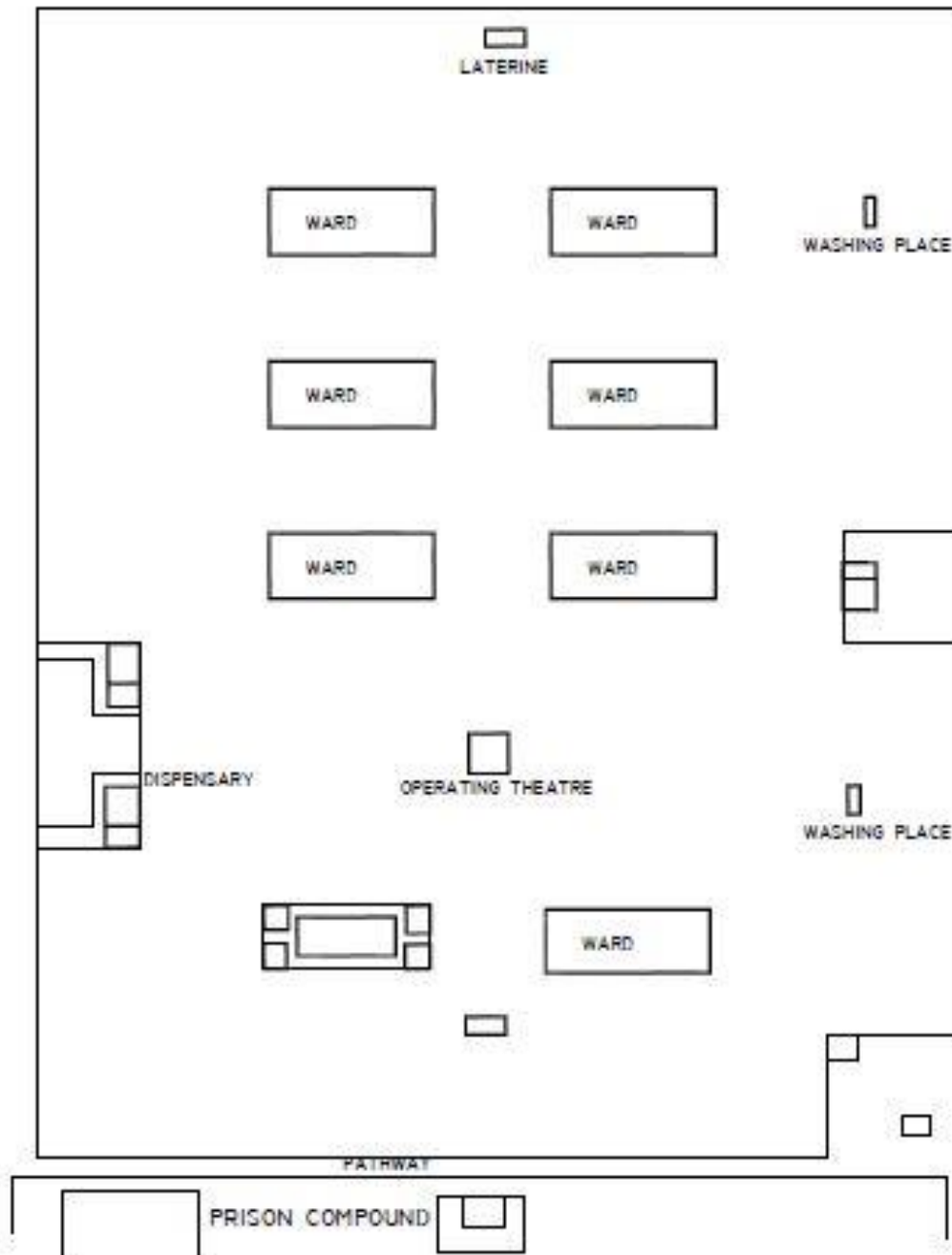


Figure 89: 1917 Kaduna native Hospital site plan<sup>456</sup>

<sup>456</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives CO583/60 "Nigeria 1917 Vol.6 Despatches (Oct. – 14 Nov)", 1926

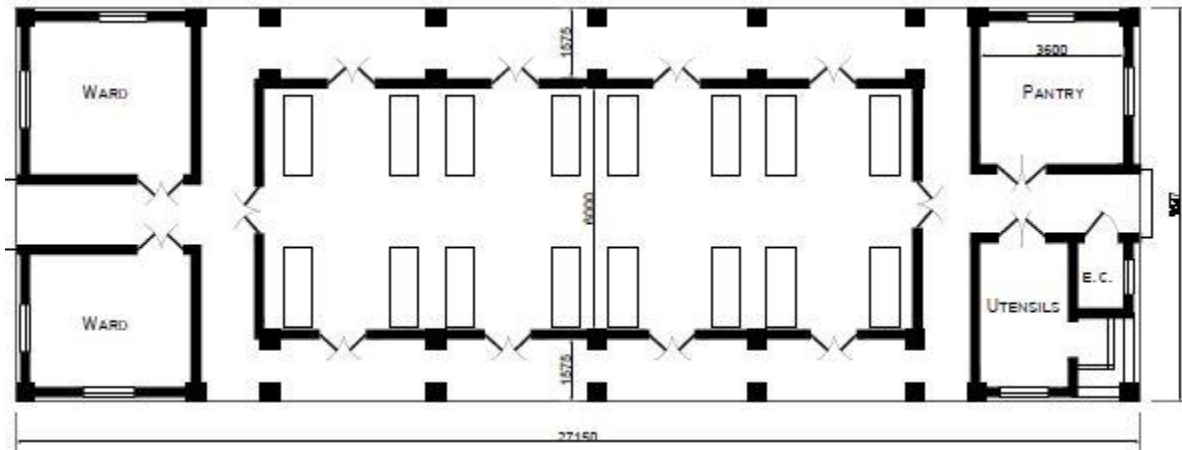


Figure 90: 1917 Native hospital ward plan<sup>457</sup>

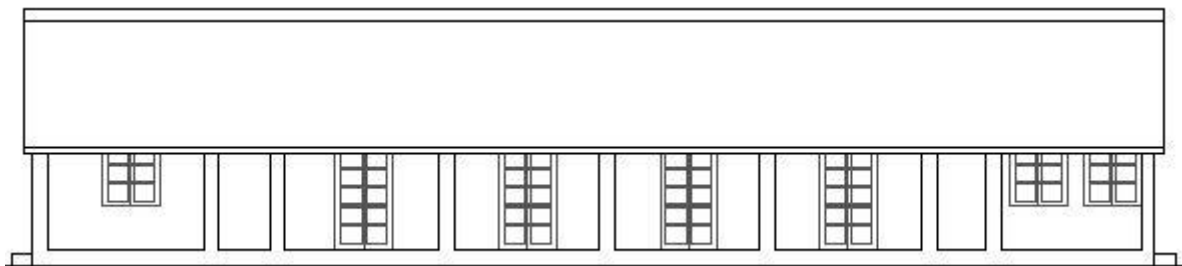


Figure 91: 1917 Native hospital ward elevation<sup>458</sup>

Nigerian troops had participated, and many coming back home were in need of medical attention and treatment. As Lugard noted in his memoirs:

“The young administration was not three months old when the Ashanti war broke out, and Northern Nigeria contributed half her troops and every available officer under Colonel Willcocks, who so ably conducted the operations. The South African war had reached its darkest crisis at this time, with the residue of the troops in the protectorate”.<sup>459</sup>

<sup>457</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives CO583/60 “Nigeria 1917 Vol.6 Despatches (Oct. – 14 Nov)”, 1926.

<sup>458</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives CO583/60 “Nigeria 1917 Vol.6 Despatches (Oct. – 14 Nov)”, 1926.

<sup>459</sup> F.D. Lugard, “Northern Nigeria” *The Geographical Journal* 23, no 1(1904): 10.



With such significant presence of Nigerian troops in these wars, a good number of the wards would perhaps have been dedicated to the surviving soldiers, particularly going by Lugard making a case for “troops and other native employees,”<sup>460</sup> in his request letter for the building of a native hospital. The native hospital compound also comprised a central operating theatre room and a dispensary area. It also featured a typical floor plan for all wards. This was a simple rectangular plan, flanked on both of its longer lengths by a centralised colonnaded veranda. It comprised of five inner rooms, with the largest being the main, central, sixteen bedded ward space. The ward opens on all sides unto the two outer verandas as well as the two inner corridors. Although the openings to the side corridors also lead unto the outer verandas, they mainly serve as exits leading to the other four functional spaces. These spaces include the two smaller wards on the left wing of the building, and the pantry and utensil areas on the right. Curiously, the big centralized ward is not fitted with window, but perhaps the doors had mosquito screening and were left open most of the time.

By and large, the European and native hospital designs seem to exemplify improvements to the hospitals built in the early days of empire, particularly in India. Florence Nightingale, who pioneered modern nursing and worked extensively in these hospitals, wrote in her memoirs that the “hospital is generally surrounded by high prison-like wall, and generally most unsuitable for hospital purposes. Proper ventilation is next to impossible, and rain beats in through the cowls [hood-shaped coverings for ventilation shafts],”<sup>461</sup> noting also that “no wonder that it is said at Bangalore that 'sick men are reluctant to come into hospital from barracks’”<sup>462</sup>.

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<sup>460</sup> The National Archives CO583/60 “Nigeria 1917 Vol.6 Despatches (Oct. – 14 Nov)”, 1926.

<sup>461</sup> Lynn McDonald, *Florence Nightingale on Health in India: Volume 9 of the collected works of Florence Nightingale*, (Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 160.

<sup>462</sup> *ibid*, 162.

Kaduna European and Native hospitals may not have been rated as perfect hospital designs compared to say, that of Bangalore, but they did appear to reflect more of the climatic mitigating methods employed in tropical building. The native hospital for example had only doors and no windows, a situation which Nightingale had pretty much observed, and raised issue on in India. Writing on hospitals in Karachi and Dinapore, she notes that:

“the wards can never be said to be light or airy; as a general rule, hospitals are badly lighted and gloomy. Doors are more common than windows, and these doors when closed leave the ward if not absolutely dark, yet absolutely dismal and close”.<sup>463</sup>

Aside from this native hospital floor plan, the hospitals are seen to favour improved designs for tropical living conditions by featuring deep verandas, cross ventilation and mosquito proofing elements. This is also echoed by Gatson, who writes that:

“For very practical form of hospitals for the climate, the idea of its design is the roof was of such material and construction to exclude the heat of the sun's rays. The hospital is to be provided with verandas and capable of free ventilation all round”.<sup>464</sup>

Such ideas for tropical building were however not limited to hospital design. They became instead the underlying principle of tropical building, and the later mid-twentieth century ‘tropical architecture’ trend.. ‘Tropical architecture’ became the umbrella term to describe the

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<sup>463</sup> Ibid, 165.

<sup>464</sup> Douglas Galton (R.E.), “Hospital Construction,” in *Professional Papers of the Corp of Royal Engineers: Royal Engineers institute occasional papers vol xxiv*, ed. by R. F. Edwards (R.E.) (Chatham: The Royal Engineers Institute, 1898), 59.

rise of tropical modernist architecture developed in the tropical colonies enabled by the need for colonial development beginning from the 1945 post war period.

- **1915 Kaduna Prisons**



Figure 92: 1915 Kaduna Convict Prison main entrance (Picture taken by author in 2013)

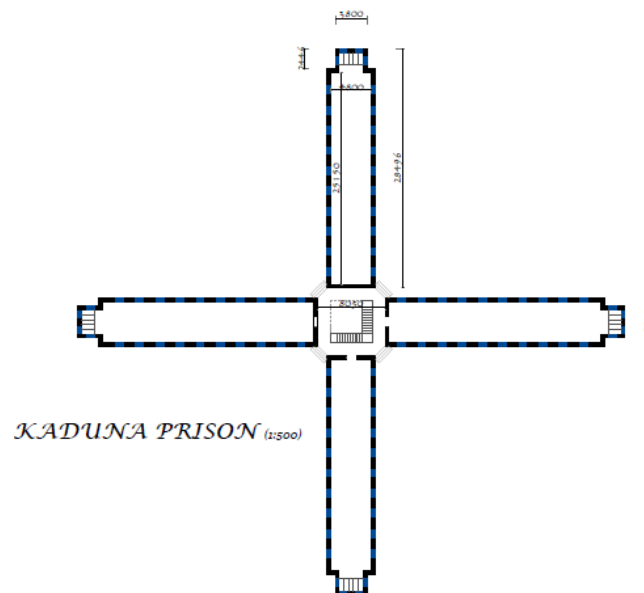


Figure 93: Plan of Prison building<sup>465</sup>

<sup>465</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives “Offices and staff housing at Kaduna” CO 583/11.

The native hospital's neighbouring compound was the prison, and was part of the European and native reservation segregation pronounced by Lugard. According to the clause on native hospitals Home writes that "The native hospital should be near the prison, so that the Medical Officer can visit both at the same time, and sick prisoners can be easily transferred, a single guard sufficing for both".<sup>466</sup> As with the native Hospital, the prison or 'goal', was designed in a 'compound' layout of almost sixteen thousand square meters.

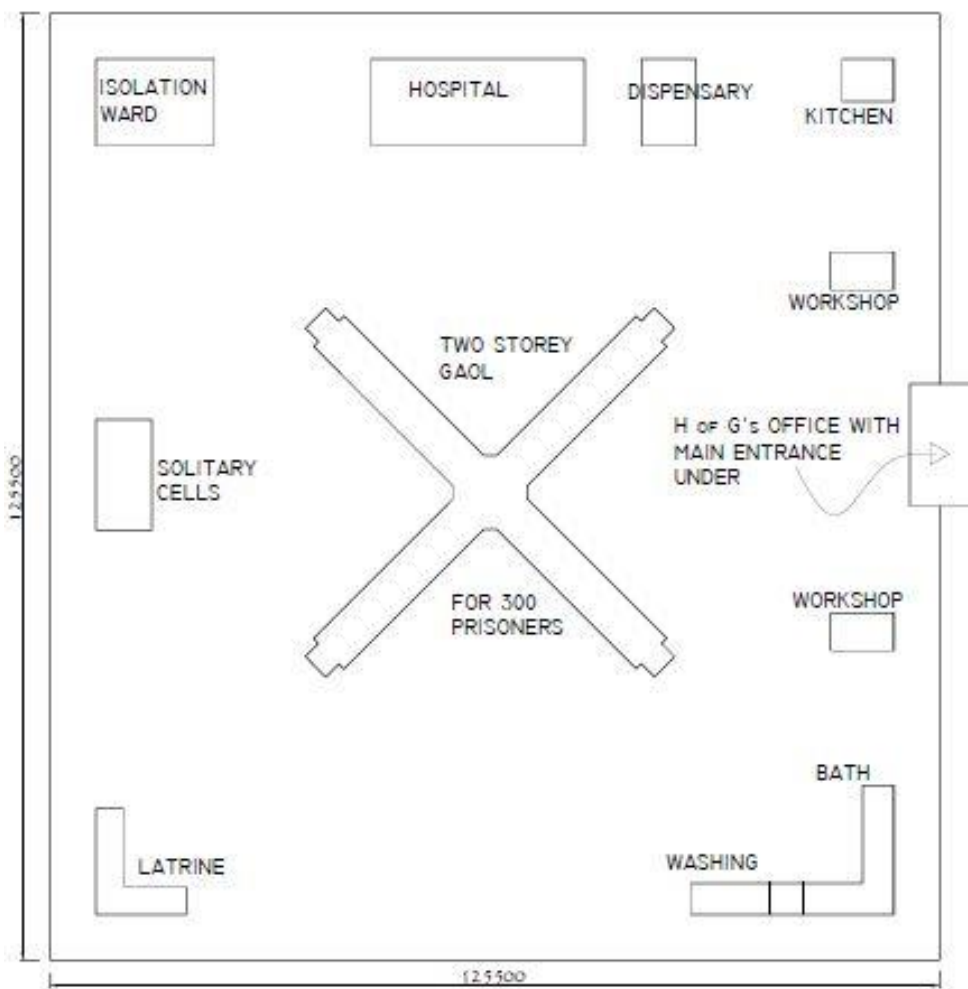


Figure 94: 1915 Kaduna Convict Prison site plan<sup>467</sup>

The centrally located x-shaped prison block, is the compound's major building, and directly accessible from the main entrance / administration. It comprises of four rectangular shaped

<sup>466</sup> Robert Home, *Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities*. (E & FN Spon, an imprint of Chapman & Hall, London, 1997), 129.

<sup>467</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives "Offices and staff housing at Kaduna" CO 583/11.

halls, each with a capacity to accommodate seventy-five prisoners. Each hall is distinctively cross ventilated, with closely arranged windows running across the length of opposite walls, to allow the free flow of air and reduce the chances of diseases being spread.

The compound's other buildings can be grouped into a 'service' area consisting of a kitchen, dispensary, hospital and isolation ward; a hygiene and sanitation area with a latrine, washing and bath place; the goal 'extension' comprising solitary cells, and a prisoner rehabilitation and training area comprising of workshops. It is interesting that although Lugard laid out the rules for Prisons and native hospitals to share a boundary and a medical officer, the Kaduna prison still featured a relatively impressive medical facility consisting of a hospital, dispensary and isolation ward. But it seems that Lugard's other main consideration for proximity, was regarding prisoners who might need to be operated upon in the native hospital's operating theatre.

### **5.3 Travel, Trade and Communications buildings**

In this section, I am presenting buildings which comprise the third strand of the colonial administrative existence, mainly being travel, trade and communications. The buildings being presented are therefore Railway stations, which facilitated travel and trade at the time; European trading sites for trading activities, as well as Post and telegraph buildings which facilitated communications within and outside Nigeria to the wider empire, at the time. The reason I have selected the buildings being presented, is that they are the only surviving PWD examples that I could locate within my study area, and use as evidences for the discussion. A quite impressive Railway station still stands at Ebute-meta, which is where railway construction began in Nigeria, but I found from my archival studies that, the particular

building was later designed by in-house professionals of the Nigerian Railways in 1956 and not the PWD. I have showcased instead the original modest station which existed in the very early days of railways in Nigeria. I also located and discreetly took photographs of the surviving European trading sites which will be discussed later in the section. As for the post offices, I couldn't find any surviving example of the small village, or native administration type post offices in my study area, as they seem to have all been demolished for newer development. So I have included an example which I found in the 1946 departmental handbook on post offices.

Table 6: Travel and trade, and Communications PWD buildings

<b>Selected Administrative Building</b>	<b>Architect or engineer designer</b>	<b>Climatic adaptations or administrative/ regional symbolic features</b>	<b>Data sourced and presented</b>	<b>Current use of building</b>
Ebute Meta Railway station (undated)	Not known	Modest administrative building, deep roof	Archival picture	Not known
Railway station Kaduna (1917)	Not known	Deep verandas for shading	Fieldwork picture	Kaduna North Railway station
European Trading site Kaduna	Not known	Industrial / warehouse	Fieldwork picture	Nigerian railway warehouses
European trading site Abeokuta	Not known	Industrial / warehouse	Fieldwork picture	Nigerian railway
Post office (1946)	F.C. Haslam	Modest administrative building	Archival PWD handbook	Not known

General Post office (c.1920) Marina Lagos	Not known	Grand scale, cross ventilated, tropical features	Fieldwork and archival pictures	First Bank of Nigeria PLC branch office
Post and Telegraph building Marina, Lagos (1959)	Charles C. Stevenson, Merillyn Chitty	Grand scale, Tropical modernist features	Fieldwork and archival pictures	General Post Office, Marina Laggos

- **Buildings for Travel - Railway Stations in Ebute Metta and Kaduna**

The need for travel within Nigeria, as well as to facilitate export trade, resulted in two distinctive Nigeria PWD building types – railway stations and their frequently adjoining European trading sites. The establishment of Nigeria’s railway system has often been credited to Sir Thomas Carter, who was the colonial Governor of Lagos from 1891 to 1897, but certain political events had been the main factors building up to its establishment . After the British annexation of Lagos in 1861, the colonial government initially adopted the policy of non-interference with the Yoruba hinterland.<sup>468</sup> Lagos had therefore been administered from Sierra Leone and later the Gold coast.<sup>469</sup>

With the threat of a French intervention in Yoruba land around 1886, however, Lagos was detached from the Gold Coast, became an independent colony and began taking a keen interest in the affairs of Yoruba land.<sup>470</sup> Yoruba inter-ethnic squabbles were not only at their peak within this period, the disputes had also resulted in trade routes closures to the interiors<sup>471</sup>. This generated a lot of frustration for Britain’s quest into the interiors, as well as for British and native merchants who desired to trade in the hinterlands. By the third year of

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<sup>468</sup> William Nevill Montgomerie Geary. *Nigeria Under British Rule*. (Psychology Press, 1965) 44.

<sup>469</sup> Arthur Norton Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (University of Pennsylvania press, Philadelphia,1943), 77.

<sup>470</sup> John E Flint, "Nigeria: the colonial experience from 1880 to 1914" in *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*", ed L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, (London: Cambridge University Press,1969), 238.

<sup>471</sup> E.A. Ayandele, *Nigeria Historical Studies* (Frank Cass and Company Limited, London, 1982) 28.

his appointment in 1893, however, Governor Carter set out on a grand tour of Yoruba land, concluding treaties and agreements with the native Egba and Ibadan chiefs. On the successful completion of the tour, he was able to obtain control over routes, the right to build railways and even power to settle interstate disputes.<sup>472</sup> A country-wide railway building programme therefore commenced and saw the PWD being authorised to conduct a railway survey by the colonial office in 1894 under the then colonial secretary, Joseph Chamberlain.<sup>473</sup> By 1895, construction began from Ebute-Meta on Lagos mainland towards the interior.



Figure 95: Early Ebute Meta terminus, Lagos (undated)<sup>474</sup>

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<sup>472</sup> Arthur Norton Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (University of Pennsylvania press, Philadelphia, 1943), 52.

<sup>473</sup> John E Flint, "Nigeria: the colonial experience from 1880 to 1914" in *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*", ed L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 241.

<sup>474</sup> The National Archives "Nigeria" CO/852/792.





Figure 96: 1957 Ebute Meta terminus, Lagos(Picture taken by author in 2013)

In April 1899, the line was extended to Abeokuta, and by 1900 the following year, the line was open for traffic to Ibadan, a 120 mile distance from Lagos.<sup>475</sup> The next major construction was the 1909 extension from Ibadan to Jebba, after which several other extensions and new lines were added. By the end of 1926, the total mileage of the system had attained 1,597, with a plan in place for another new 150 miles of construction every year.<sup>476</sup> The created railway system came with station buildings that were constructed both at important nodal towns and other little village stops. These buildings were mainly small practical buildings which served as passenger waiting areas and train traffic coordination points. Of equal note were their tropical deep veranda and prominent roof overhang features which provided sun shading from the intense tropical solar glare, such as the Kaduna railway station shown below. The building also features an ordered regularity of columns and prominent parapets in its design.

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<sup>475</sup> A .C. Burns, *History of Nigeria* (London: George Allen and Unwin ltd, 1955), 289.

<sup>476</sup> *ibid*, 290.



Figure 97: 1920 Railway Station Kaduna (Picture taken by author in 2013)

- **Buildings for Trade - European Trading Sites in Kaduna and Abeokuta**

However, the colonial government's motive for providing a railway systems seem to transcend travel purposes within the colony. As Cook observes:

"soon after the government took over Northern Nigeria from the Royal Niger company, suggestions were made to the colonial Office that the railroad from Lagos be built inland and extended to Kano. This plan was favoured by Lugard who argued that this step be taken at once since it would undoubtedly result in the stimulation of trade".<sup>477</sup>

Stimulating trade was important because according to Haviden and Meredith:

"Nigeria had one of the most dramatic development records of the period 1900-1914, and the value of export rose from £1,887,000 in 1900 to £6, 799,000 in 1913, and in the same period, the value of its £1,735,000 to £6,332,000. In other words, both imports and exports rather

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<sup>477</sup> Arthur Norton Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (University of Pennsylvania press, Philadelphia, 1943), 220.

more than tripled in value in the short space of thirteen years".<sup>478</sup> They have therefore argued that:

"the extension of the railway from the port of Lagos into Northern Nigeria between 1896 and 1911 was critically important. Produce could now be cheaply shipped away for export, and the multitudinous products of industrial Europe could be cheaply and easily distributed by trading companies with the assistance of itinerant traders and village shop keepers".<sup>479</sup>

But one aspect of the trading supply chain which Haviden and Meredith did not shed light on was the location in which the trading companies conducted business. Although these companies usually had trading shops, particularly on the Lagos marina, and such other commercial hubs of large colonial townships, they had also carried out a bulk of their activities in what used to be known as the "European trading site".<sup>480</sup>



Figure 98: European trading site Kaduna<sup>481</sup>

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<sup>478</sup> Michael Haviden and David Meredith, *Colonialism and development: Britain and its tropical colonies 1850 - 1960* (London: Routledge, 1993), 99.

<sup>479</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>480</sup> Site named as such on The National Archives MPGG 1/129/17 "Kaduna capital 2<sup>nd</sup> Class township: Plan showing rivers, streams, relief and the division of the settlement into native and European sections" 1918.

<sup>481</sup> Picture taken by author in September 2013 during fieldwork trip to Nigeria.



Figure 99: European trading site Abeokuta<sup>482</sup>

The trading sites were located within the railway station grounds, but were often about 500-700 meters away from the railway station building. They were usually built in the form of and about the size of industrial ware-houses. The proximity of these buildings to the railway station meant they served as stop-gap storage for either outbound export material or in-bound imports, The proximity also meant that business could be conducted faster, with goods either being quickly off-loaded and moved into storage a short distance away, or moved out of storage, and only ferried a short distance into the waiting goods train carriage.

### **Buildings for Communications**

In the personal memos he wrote on his thirteen year stay in Nigeria from 1936 to 1949, Wright concluded that “It is probably no exaggeration to say that the colonial administration - and thus the British Empire - could not have functioned at all without its postal service.”<sup>483</sup>

Giving more insight on the all-important mailing service and its role in administrative correspondence, Gann and Duignan write that:

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<sup>482</sup> Ibid.

<sup>483</sup> Robert Pearce, *Then the wind changed: Nigerian Letters of Robert Hepburn Wright, 1936-49* (London: Radcliff Press, 1992), xii.

“Mail services throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century was infrequent, and a dispatch that missed the mail packet might be delayed for months. Gradually however, shipping lines improved their performance, and as mail schedules improved, messages began to stream into the colonial office in ever greater quantities. Senior officials in London no longer had to wait many months for a reply and could therefore take greater interest in the minutiae of government overseas”.<sup>484</sup>

What Nicolson attributes this to is that “the world shrank with the advent of railways, steamships, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, the internal combustion engine, cheap paper and international postal facilities”.<sup>485</sup> The improved postal service in Nigeria was expressed in mainly simple pragmatic ‘type’ design structures which were replicated in native administration centres in Nigeria.

Post offices were of utmost importance because aside their role in relaying official correspondences, they equally helped colonial civil servants, service personnel of the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) and other settlers of the time keep constant touch with families back home. Their function was however not limited to providing postal services; they were also often equipped with telephone exchange facilities.

- **1946 Type Post Office, Lagos**

A significant example is the Type post office designed by F.C. Haslam, and which formed part of the 1946 handbook on post offices produce by the PWD. I resorted to showcasing this handbook example because I not locate any surviving example of the small type post offices.

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<sup>484</sup> L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, *The Rulers of British Africa* (Hoover Institution Publications, London, 1978), 56.

<sup>485</sup> I.F.Nicolson, *The administration of Nigeria, 1900 -1960: Men, methods and myths* (Oxford: Clarendon press , 1969), 11.

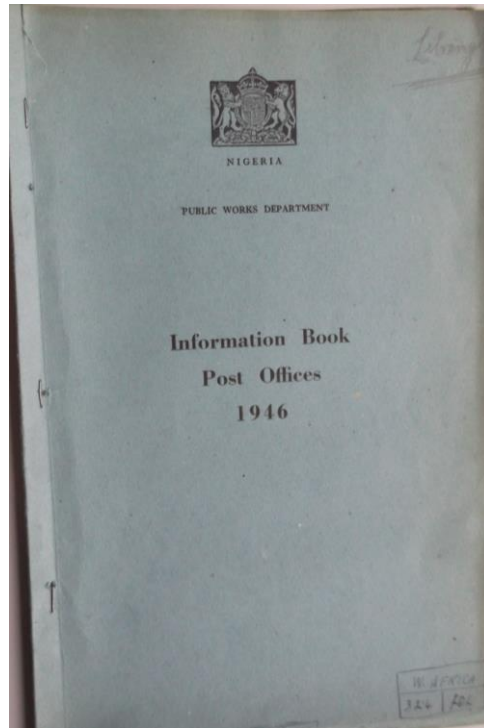


Figure 100: 1946 PWD Information book Post Offices<sup>486</sup>

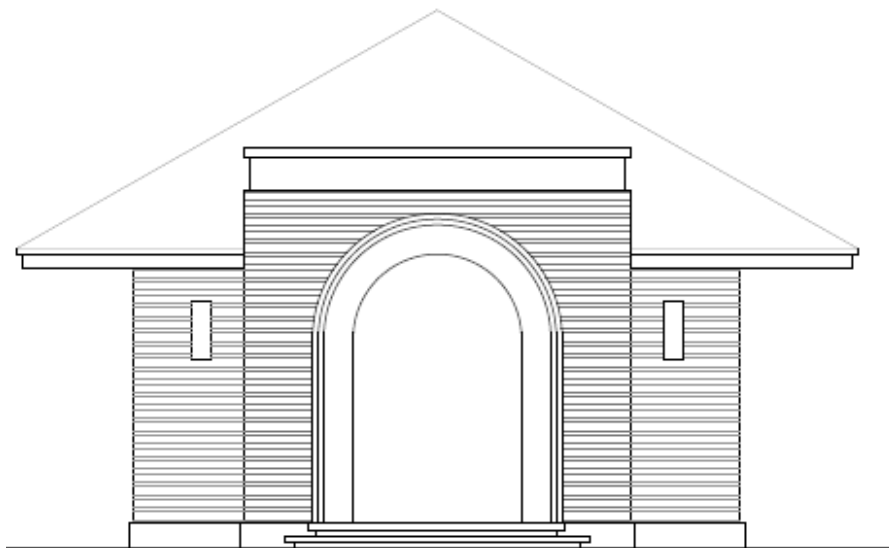


Figure 101: 1946 Type Post office elevation

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<sup>486</sup> John Ryland Archive, West Africa 32.4 Folio E3EA3 "Information Book Post Offices" Nigeria Public Works Department, 1946.

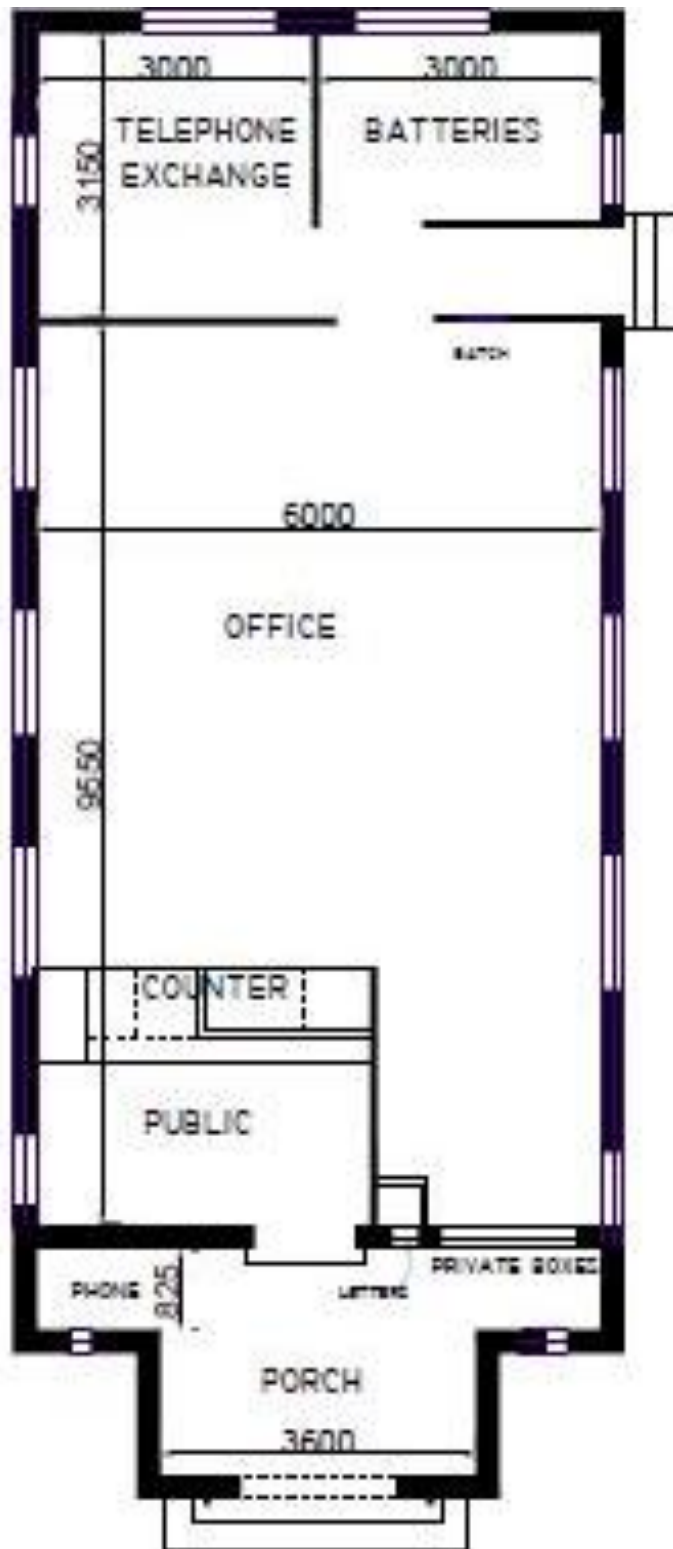


Figure 102:1946 Type Post Office plan

These buildings apply simple and basic elevation and plan forms, although this particular design still projects a classical arched entrance way. They also provide just the basic functional needs. The archway leads unto an entrance porch which also fronts the public area from which the counter can be assessed.

This approximately nine square meter public area is the extent to which customers are permitted use of the building. Aside from an entrance to the public counter space, the porch also holds the space for private boxes, as well as a phone niche. The better part of the building, a space of about thirty six square meters, is occupied by the office. This was part open office for the staff, and mostly storage and sorting space for parcels. The building's technical units were the Telephone Exchange and battery rooms, which shared a rear entrance with the rest of the post office staff. The building's general outlook and character were also the modest official architecture which defined most PWD buildings of the time. But it will be erroneous to assume that all early post offices were of the basic type designed buildings.

- **c. 1920 General Post Office Lagos**

A significant example of an early post office that was purpose designed, and to a grand scale at the time, is the c.1920 building on Lagos Marina. Built to three stories with a centrally projected front elevation, the building survives till date as a branch office of the 1894 Standard Bank (now First Bank). It is also now neighbours the 1959 General Post Office G.P.O. Lagos.





Figure 103: c.1920 Post office, Marina Lagos<sup>487</sup>



Figure 104: c 1920 Post Office, Marina Lagos, in 2013<sup>488</sup>

- **1959 General Post Office , Marina Lagos**

The Post and Telegraph building Lagos has remained the most significant Post office building in the country since it was built in 1959. It was designed by Charles Stevenson as the

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<sup>487</sup> The National archives, CO 1069/71/86 “Nigeria” Undated.

<sup>488</sup> Picture taken by author in September 2013 during fieldwork trip to Nigeria.

senior architect in charge, and project architects Mervyn C. Edwards and Dennis W. Chitty all of the PWD.<sup>489</sup> Its façade mainly highlights tropical modernist architectural features which had been

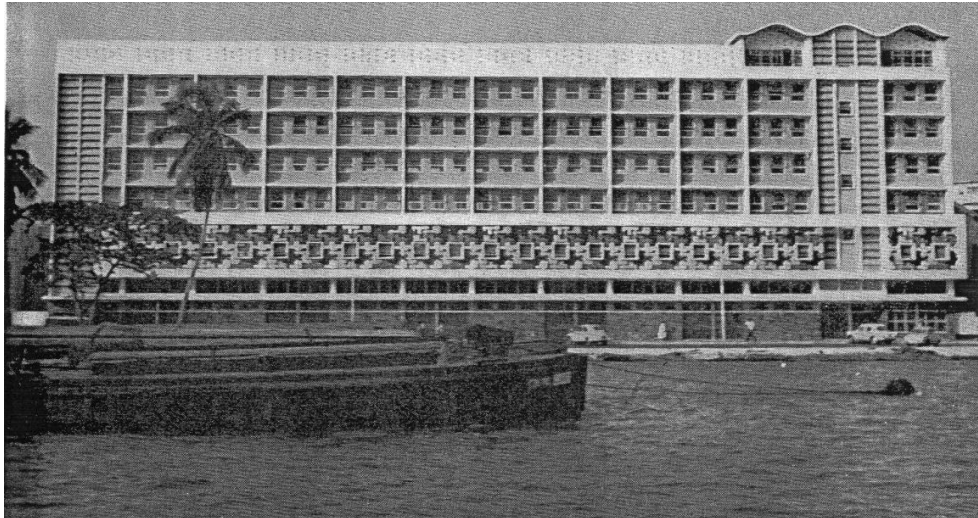


Figure 105: General Post office (G.P.O) Marina Lagos in 1961<sup>490</sup>



Figure 106: The General Post office (G.P.O) Marina Lagos in 2013<sup>491</sup>

<sup>489</sup> The West African Builder and Architect "General Post Office, Lagos, Nigeria" (March/April 1962) 35.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>491</sup> Picture taken by author in September 2013 during fieldwork trip to Nigeria.

popularised at the time by private sector architects experimenting with climate influenced designs. The principles of what had become known as ‘tropical architecture’ are seen reflected in the six storey building. Vertical and horizontal concrete fins were erected in a criss-cross pattern on the façade of the third, to sixth floors, so as to maximize sun shading.

Another clear feature of tropical architecture, the concrete perforated wall, was employed in as a distinctive horizontal pattern along the entire span of the second floor. The concrete perforations are also applied as vertical strips at opposite ends of the building. This subsection on communication buildings have therefore taken a snapshot of various PWD post offices and explored their place in the use of architecture to reflect the colonial enterprise and its administrative building needs.

### **REAL HISTORIC IMPACT OF ALL BUILDINGS FEATURED**

In order to have a real historic impact, the extant survey of buildings surveyed in this research has been formalised in a more useful way. This is done by first generating maps on the three main cities studied in the research, Abeokuta, Kaduna and Lagos, and showing the location of all PWD buildings investigated in the Research. A table of pictures, names, and addresses of the PWD buildings is then produced. Most importantly however, the table is also used to explain the current general condition of the buildings and importance in terms of being conserved.

## Map of Abeokuta indicating the research's selected PWD buildings

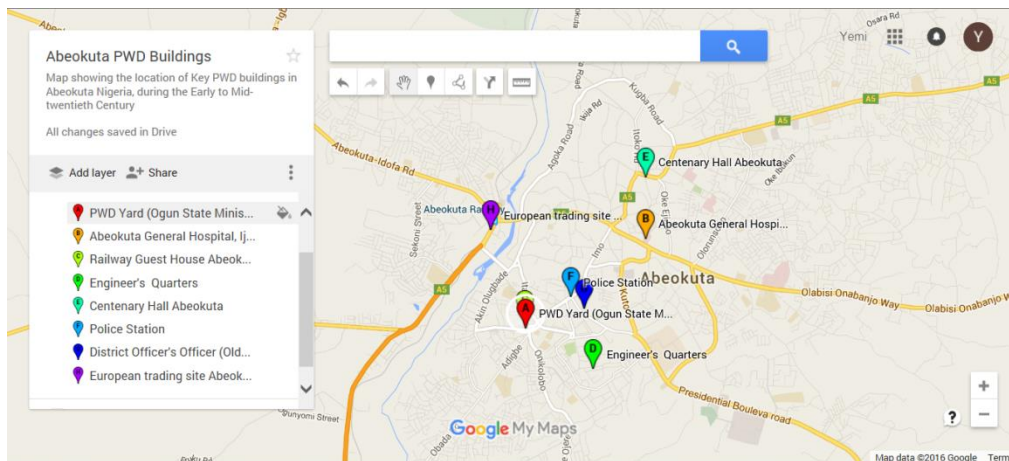










Figure 107: Map of Abeokuta indicating the location of selected PWD buildings

Table 7: *Abeokuta PWD buildings, their addresses, general condition and importance of conservation*

<b>Building Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>General condition and Importance of being conserved</b>
<p>A - PWD Yard (Ogun State Ministry of Works Workshop)</p> 	<p>4, Quarry road, Abeokuta, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Buildings largely remain in good, habitable conditions, and are still in use as offices and workshops.</p> <p>The buildings however require slight renovation works particularly to roofs, ceilings and the External walls.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance, because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Works department workshops in early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>B - Abeokuta General Hospital, Ijaiye</p> 	<p>88/90 Sokenu Road, Abeokuta, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Buildings are in good conditions, and continue to serve their original function of Abeokuta general Hospital.</p> <p>Buildings appear to have been recently repainted, but will still require renovation works on fittings, roofs and external works to landscape grounds.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance</p>

		because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Hospitals in Early modern Nigeria.
<p>C - Railway Guest House Abeokuta</p> 	<p>13, Oluwole road, off Quarry Road Abeokuta, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is in a state of dilapidation.</p> <p>The building will therefore require extensive renovation works, particularly to its external walls and window jalousies. Its grounds could also be paved and land landscaped.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance, because this will maintain the architectural legacy of colonial buildings raised off the ground in response to health and climate in Nigeria.</p>
<p>D - Engineer's Quarters</p> 	<p>10 Remi Okeowo Close, Ibara Housing Estate Abeokuta, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is in a slight stage of dilapidation.</p> <p>The building will require General renovation works, with the intensity of work varying from roof, to external walls, and refitting of windows and doors, and mosquito netting. Relevant areas will also be refilled and re-plastered, and the entire building repainted.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Government staff quarters in early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>E - Centenary Hall Abeokuta</p> 	<p>1 Ijemo Agbadu street, Off Ake road, Abeokuta, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is largely in good condition and continues to be used in its original function of city hall.</p> <p>However, the building requires extensive roof work renovation, because it's many years of roof leakage have left deep water drip signs, particularly on the external wall of the verandah.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of City halls in early modern Nigeria.</p>

<p>F - Police Station</p> 	<p>1, Isale Igbein Road, Ibara, Abeokuta, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building remains in fairly good condition and continues to serve its original function of Ibara Police Station Abeokuta.</p> <p>However, the building requires significant roof renovation works, and the repair or replacement of windows, doors and general fittings. It could also require external landscaping works.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance, because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Police stations in early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>G - District Officer's (D.O) Office [Old Forestry department building]</p> 	<p>2 Nigerian Legion Road, Off Presidential Boulevard, Beside Central Bank, Abeokuta, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is in fairly good condition, and is currently in use as an office in the ministry of forestry.</p> <p>The building however requires intensive roof renovation works because, the damage incurred over the years has caused the roof to become partially slanted and at risk of caving in, particularly on the East elevation.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance, because this will maintain the architectural legacy of District officer's (D.O.)'s office in early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>H - European trading site Abeokuta</p> 	<p>Abeokuta Train Terminus, Lafenwa, Abeokuta, Nigeria</p>	<p>General Condition: Buildings are in a general state of disrepair.</p> <p>Buildings require very significant renovation works on external walls, roofs and door and window fittings.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance, because it will maintain the architectural legacy of European trading sites in early modern Nigeria.</p>

**Map of Lagos indicating the research’s selected PWD buildings.**

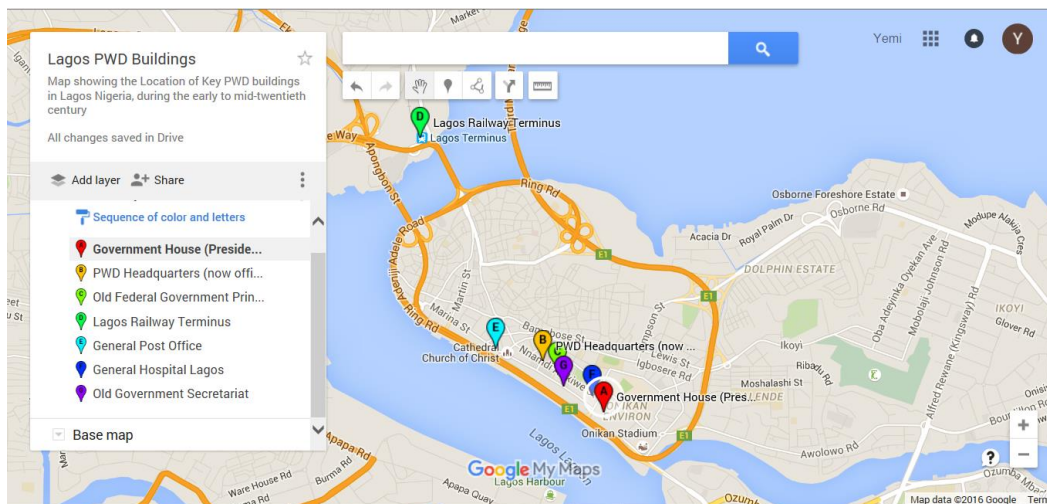









Figure 108: *Map of Lagos showing the location of selected PWD buildings*

Table 8: *Lagos PWD buildings, their addresses, general condition and importance of conservation*

Building Name	Address	General condition and Importance of being conserved
<p>A. 1894 Government House (Now Government house and Presidential lodge), Lagos</p> 	<p>1 Force Road, Marina, Lagos, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is in a well maintained state and continues to serve its original function of Government House Lagos.</p> <p>Importance of conservation: Conservation is of high importance, because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Central Government buildings (the Government House) in early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>B. 1933 PWD Headquarters (now office of the Head of the Civil Service of the Federation)</p> 	<p>30 Broad Street, Lagos, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is generally in a good and well preserved condition. It requires very minimal renovation works.</p> <p>Importance of conservation: Conservation is of high importance, because this will maintain the architectural legacy of the Public Works Department (PWD) administrative headquarters in early</p>

		modern Nigeria.
<p>C. 1895 Old Federal Government Printing press</p> 	<p>9 Broad Street, Lagos, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is largely in a good and well preserved condition and requires very minimal renovation works.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance, because this will maintain the architectural legacy of the Colonial Government press in early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>D. 1956 Lagos Railway Terminus</p> 	<p>Ebute Meta, Lagos, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is in a fairly good condition and continues to serve its function of Lagos railway terminus, Ebutemeta.</p> <p>Some areas of its interior are however in states of disuse and neglect. They will there require being decluttered and cleaned.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance, because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Railway stations in early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>E. 1959 General Post Office</p> 	<p>40 Marina, Lagos, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is largely in a well preserved state, and continues to serve its original function of General Post Office Marina Lagos.</p> <p>Building however needs decluttering, cleaning and repainting particularly in some areas of the ground floor.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance, because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Post offices in early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>F. 1906 General Hospital Lagos</p>	<p>1 - 3 Broad Street, Lagos, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is in a largely well preserved state and continues to serve in its original function of General Hospital Lagos,</p> <p>Renovation works were carried out on a part of the roof, but it is important that the entire roof structure is worked</p>



		<p>on.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Hospitals in Early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>G. 1906 Old Government Secretariat</p> 	<p>14 Marina Street, Lagos, Nigeria</p>	<p>General conditions: Building remains in good, habitable conditions, and have continued in use as annex offices to the new Lagos Secretariat. Requires very minimal renovation works.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Central Government Secretariats in Early modern Nigeria.</p>

### Map of Kaduna indicating selected PWD buildings showcased in the research

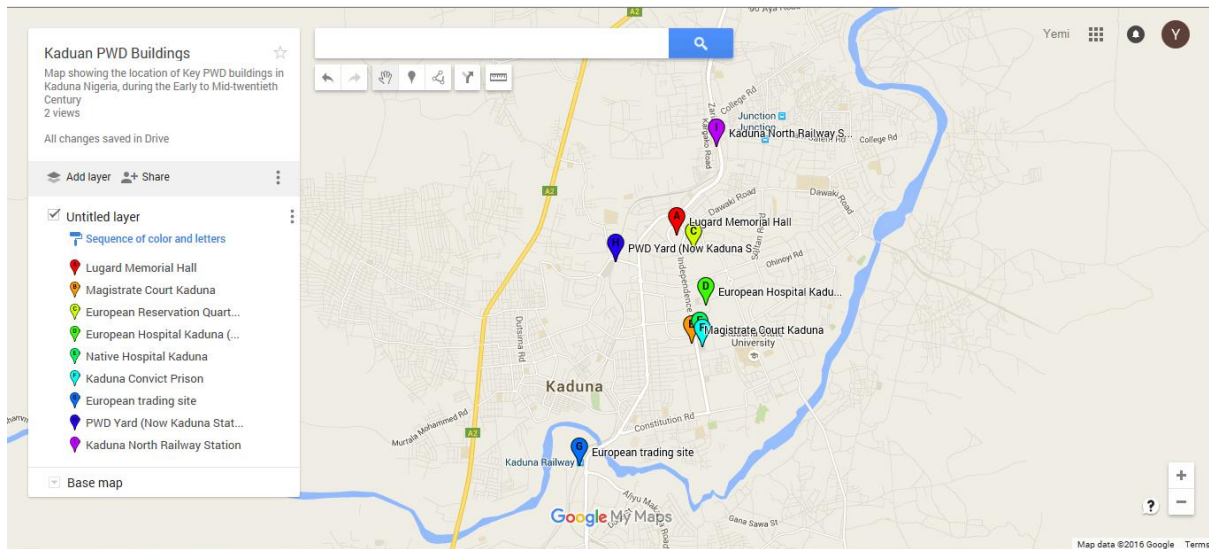











Figure 109: *map of Kaduna showing the location of selected PWD buildings*

Table 9: Kaduna PWD buildings, their addresses, general condition and importance of conservation

Building Name	Address	General condition and Importance of being conserved
<p>A - Lugard Memorial Hall</p> 	<p>1 Coronation Crescent , Kaduna, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is in a good and well maintained habitable state. It also continues to serve in its original function of Lugard memorial hall and parliamentary chambers.</p> <p>The building will however need roof renovation works and repainting in certain areas.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Parliamentary buildings in Early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>B - Magistrate Court Kaduna</p> 	<p>1 Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Kaduna, Nigeria</p>	<p>General condition: Building is in largely good conditions and continues to serve in its original function of court house Kaduna. Building</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Law courts in Early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>C - European Reservation Quarters (now Kaduna State Commercial Agriculture Development office)</p> 	<p>11 Race Course Road, Opposite Murtala Mohammed Square, Kaduna, Nigeria</p>	<p>General conditions: Building remains in good habitable conditions. Roof renovation works are however required to stop leakages.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of European Quarters in Early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>D -European Hospital Kaduna (Now Barau Dikko Specialist Hospital)</p> 	<p>14 Lafia Road, Kaduna</p>	<p>General conditions: Building is in a good and well preserved condition. Slight renovation works are however required for some room ceilings</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Hospital in</p>

		Early modern Nigeria.
<p>E - Native Hospital Kaduna (Now National Ear care centre, Kaduna)</p> 	<p>3 Golf Course Road by Independence Way, Kaduna</p>	<p>General conditions: Building is in good and well preserved condition. Very minimal renovation works are required.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Hospitals in Early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>F -Kaduna Convict</p> 	<p>Independence Way Kaduna</p>	<p>General condition: Building is in fairly good condition, and continues to serve its original function of Kaduna convict prison. Minimal renovation works are required.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Prisons in Early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>G - European trading site</p> 	<p>Kaduna Railway station, Kaduna South, Kaduna</p>	<p>General conditions: Building have been recently renovated and repainted. However, a further maintenance schedule can be drawn, so that it they don't fall in a state of disrepair again.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of Trading sites in Early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>H - PWD Yard (Now Kaduna State Ministry of Works and Transport)</p> 	<p>Bank Road, Kaduna</p>	<p>General conditions: Buildings remain in fairly good conditions, and have continued to serve their original function of PWD yard Kaduna. Roof renovation works will be required.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the Architectural legacy of Works yard or workshops in Early modern Nigeria.</p>
<p>I - Kaduna North Railway Station</p>	<p>Kaduna North, behind Former NDA military</p>	<p>General conditions: Building remains in fairly good condition and continues to serve its original function of</p>

	Barracks, Kaduna	<p>Kaduna North Railway station. Its interior spaces are however in a state of misuse and neglect. Renovation works as well as decluttering and cleaning will therefore be required in these areas.</p> <p>Conservation is of high importance because this will maintain the architectural legacy of railway stations in Early modern Nigeria</p>
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- How traditional Nigerian building may have influenced PWD building design development in terms of symbolic, cultural and technical development.**

Earlier on in chapter two of this thesis, a sub-section titled ‘Ethnography’ had discussed the ethnic distribution of Nigeria. One main reason the tribes and divisions of Nigeria have been examined, however, is that some of their cultural beliefs were reflected in architecture, and the PWD had sometimes adapted these designs in the production of colonial administrative buildings. The northern Hausa for example favoured enclosed courtyard buildings as part of an Islamic injunction for women living in *Purdah*. As Schwerdtfeger explains “Islam had no doubt some influence on the layout of compounds. Polygamy and the different modes of religious marriages, including *auren kulle* and *auren tsare*, lay great emphasis on complete or partial seclusion of women, and a high degree of privacy. This as well as building materials, techniques and skill available to the community, has produced the present day compound with several courtyards surrounded by high mud walls.”<sup>492</sup>

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<sup>492</sup> Friedrich W. Schwerdtfeger, *Traditional housing in African cities: A comparative study of houses in Zaria, Ibadan and Marrakech* (Chichester: John Wiley and sons ltd, 1982), 28

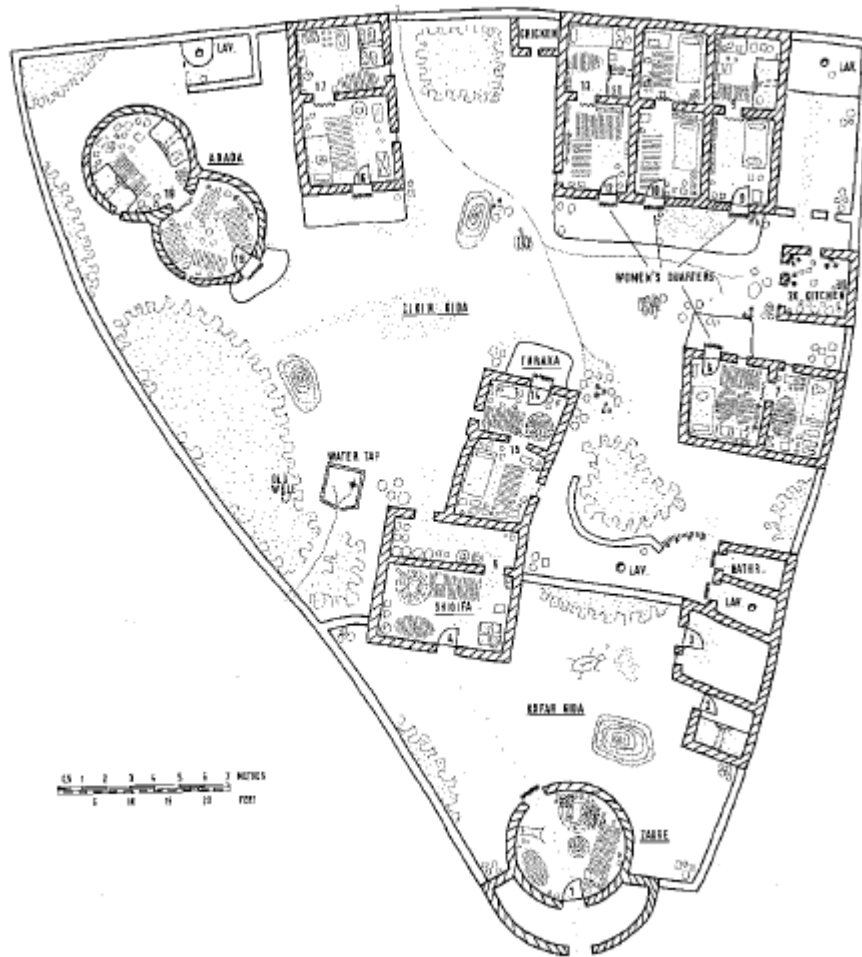


Figure 110: Plan of walled Hausa traditional compound with circular 'Zaure' (Entrance hut)<sup>493</sup>



Figure 111: A circular Zaure under construction with roof being hoisted

<sup>493</sup> Ibid, 30



Figure 112: Aerial view of Hausa Compound

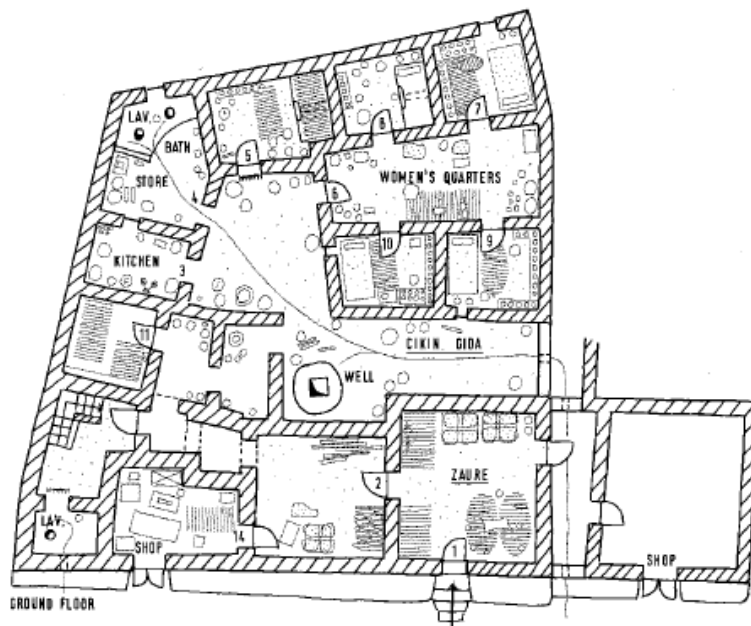


Figure 113: Plan of walled Hausa traditional compound with square 'Zaure' (Entrance hut)<sup>494</sup>

<sup>494</sup> Ibid, 31.



Figure 114: Hausa traditional compound with Square Zaure (Entrance hut)

But the square Zaure was not always in plain adobe mud finish. It was sometimes also heavily ornamented as seen below



Figure 115: Hausa square shaped huts with phallic roof features and ornamented walls

Writing on the ornamented Hausa compound walls, Moughtin has suggested that “the decorative forms used by the Hausa builders have their origin in the Sudan and Middle East, the designs being brought to Hausa land by pilgrims returning from Mecca bringing with

them intricately designed leather work”<sup>495</sup>.

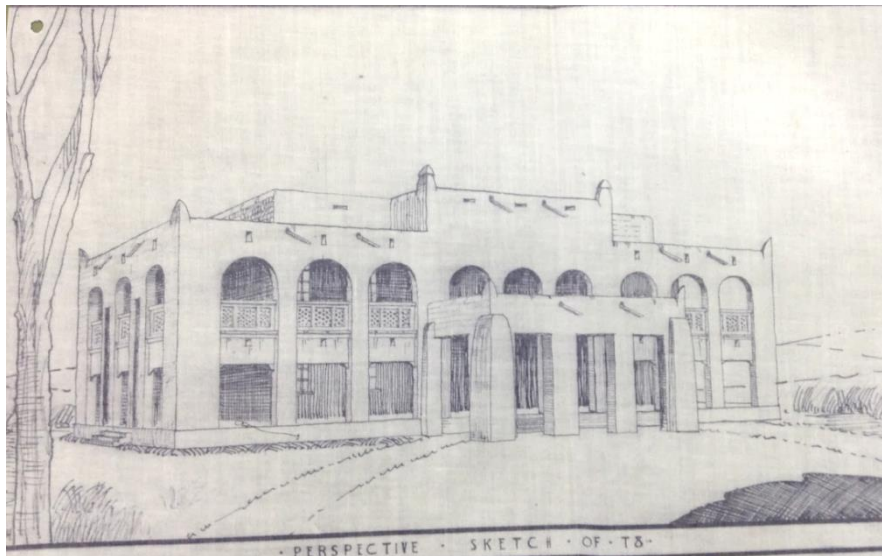


Figure 116: 1926 Drawing of Staff housing for Northern Provinces by PWD Senior architect Henry porter

The Hausa square hut form was also sometimes topped by a dome, as seen replicated by PWD in the 1962 Kaduna State House complex:

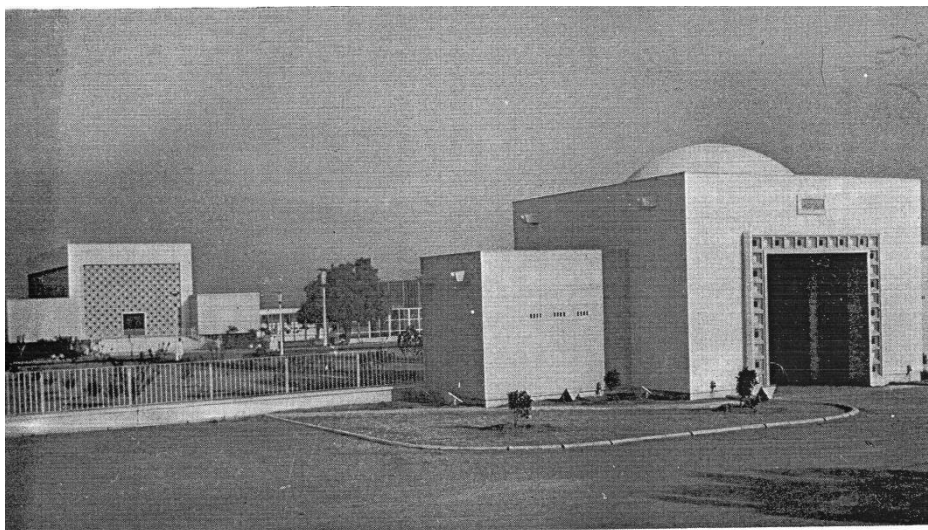


Figure 117: 1962 Kaduna State House of Assembly complex with gatehouse ‘Zaure’ at the fore

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<sup>495</sup> J.C Moughtin, “The traditional settlements of the Hausa people” *Town Planning Review* 35, (1964): 30



And also as earlier seen in the Lugard hall library



Figure 118: Lugard Memorial Hall Library

Exploring the ethnography of Nigeria as was done in chapter two therefore provides insights on some architectural practices of the different cultures, which in some cases became part of PWD design features. As observed by Foyle for example, the high mud walls (also described by Schwerdtfeger) were adapted for the design of junior staff quarters design in Northern Nigeria. According to him “In the north, an attempt has been made to simplify the traditional Moslem plan and adapt it to junior staff requirements, However, the cost of the high walls surrounding the women's courtyard is a heavy item, so that the houses are usually grouped together to make as many as possible of these walls common.”<sup>496</sup> Gaining these insights therefore helps explain PWD’s adaptation of the practices, as seen in some native staff housing in the North of Nigeria, for example the 1938 Police barracks Kaduna.

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<sup>496</sup> Arthur M. Foyle, “The Architecture of Nigeria” *The Builder* (August 31 1951): 285.



Figure 119: 1938 Police Barracks Kaduna

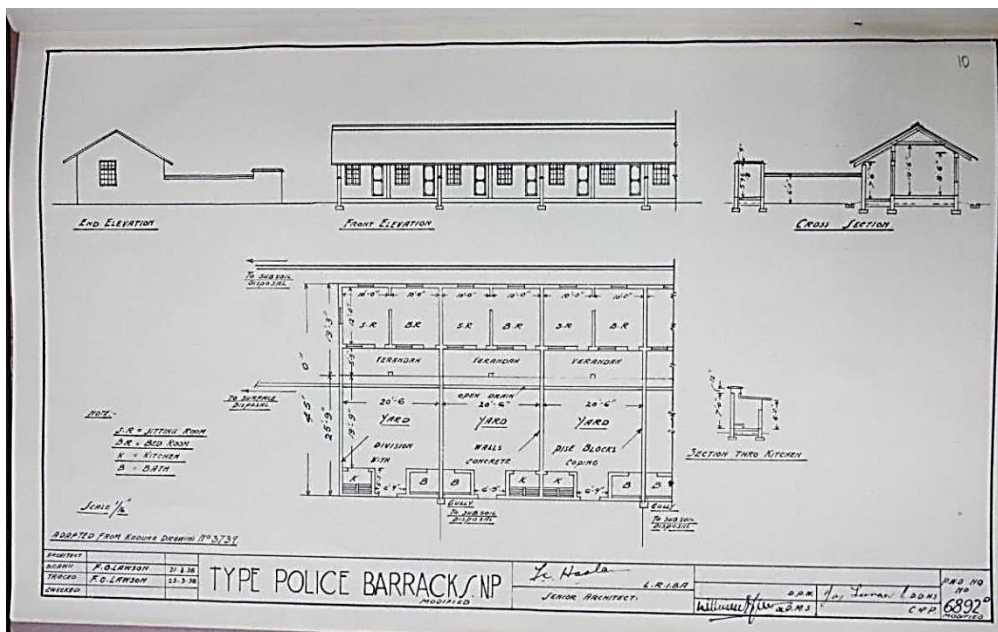


Figure 120: 1938 Kaduna Police barrack in walled traditional Hausa compound design

The police barrack design can therefore be seen to reflect and replicate the walled compound of Hausa indigenous Architecture. The preceding discussion has looked at indigenous architecture among the largely Hausa tribe of Northern Nigeria. It is therefore important to explore what situation obtained down south. Although the south consists of a wide range of tribes, the Yoruba and Ibo are the most populous and prominent. It also consist of two major

types of vegetation zones, the tropical rain forest and Mangrove swamp forest. This perhaps is why Architecture in the entire southern area shared one similar trait in the design of indigenous buildings. This trait is the shared similarity of deep roof overhangs, being occasioned by the very high rainfall levels which pervade the region's two vegetation zones. This section will also show how the PWD adapted this traditional design trait in its buildings.

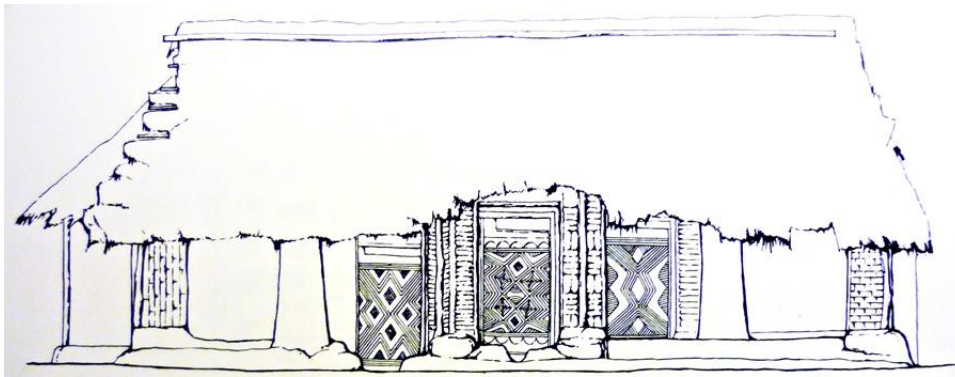


Figure 121: Igbo chief's house, Onitsha

Writing on the features of Igbo architecture, Uduku notes that “The Igbo household had clearly defined private and public living spaces of varying importance. Also there would often be designated space for the household shrine, food storage and washing facilities”.<sup>497</sup> Shrines were also an integral part of Igbo society's architecture, and this was particularly manifested in the Mbari Shrine, but which was a more public place of worship. As noted by Cole, “Mbari houses were transient structures of sun-dried clay and local organic and mineral pigments”.<sup>498</sup> However, the Shrines also adopted the deep sloping roofs found in everyday architecture.

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<sup>497</sup> Ola Uduku, “The urban fabric of Igbo Architecture in South-Eastern Nigeria in the 1990s” *Habitat International* (1996): 193

<sup>498</sup> Hubert M. Cole, “The survival and impact of Igbo Mbari” *African Arts* 21, (1988): 54

But the most prominent southern tribe are the Yoruba, and their buildings had also featured



Figure 122: Early 'Bush house' in Oyo



Figure 123: Chief's house at Ibadan

The deep sloping or 'over-sized' roof structure which pervaded southern tribes. Writing on Yoruba architecture, Crooke observes that "Traditional settlement patterns in Western

Nigeria were based upon the residential compound that incorporated the living accommodation of an extended family”.<sup>499</sup> In the same vein, Vlach also suggest that “The Yoruba are architecturally complex. This is due to a long tradition of simultaneously maintaining both urban and rural residences. The Yoruba lived in rather large cities, but because they were also a nation of farmers, they had second dwellings at the sites of their farmers and gardens located as many as 15 miles outside the city's walls”.<sup>500</sup> However, whether it was the city or farm dwelling, one design feature which remained similar to both house forms was still the deep sloping roof structure. In adapting to this form of regional architecture therefore, the PWD had designed offices such as the District Officer’s office in Abeokuta to reflect this salient feature.



Figure 124: District officer's office Abeokuta

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<sup>499</sup> Patrick Crooke, “Sample survey of Yoruba rural building” *Odu: a journal of West African Studies*, 2 (1966): 48

<sup>500</sup> Vlach, John Micheal. “The Brazillian house in Nigeria: The emergence of a 20<sup>th</sup> century vernacular house type” *The Journal of American Folklore* 97, (1984): 4

- **Development of architectural form as implemented by the PWD as it incorporated Environmental and technical responses to climate and health issues found in Nigeria**

Harrison Church has observed that, “Nigeria has a greater variety of climate than any other West African country; the Cameroon, Equatorial, Semi-seasonal Equatorial, Seasonal Equatorial, southern Savannah, Jos Plateau, Savannah and Sahel types of climate being found.”<sup>501</sup> Cook has also noted that “the type of climate which predominates in Nigeria is sub-equatorial, but with considerable variation of two well defined seasons, the dry season beginning in October and ending in May, and the rainy seasons which prevail in other months.”<sup>502</sup> Nigeria is also Home to six different vegetation zones that are bordered by sparse Sahel savannah vegetation found in the northern border of the country, and a dense and marshy mangrove swamp in the Niger Delta region. Between these two extreme vegetation zones however, “the coastal belt of mangrove swamps and narrow creeks soon gives way inland to tropical rain forest. This is succeeded further north by a vast area of low scattered forest which rises to a plateau in the so called 'middle-belt region of Nigeria. The landscape then slopes gently away from the plateau further northward and the vegetation grows lower and sparser until the northern boundary, where a low thorn bush scrub begins to merge in the sands of the southern fringe of the Sahara”<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>501</sup> R.J. Harrison Church, *West Africa: A study of the environment and of man's use of it* (London: Longman's Green and co ltd, 1957), 448

<sup>502</sup> Arthur Norton Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria* (Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania press, 1943), 11

<sup>503</sup> The Royal Institute of international Affairs, *Nigeria: The political and economic background* (London: Oxford University press, 1960), 2

## Vegetation

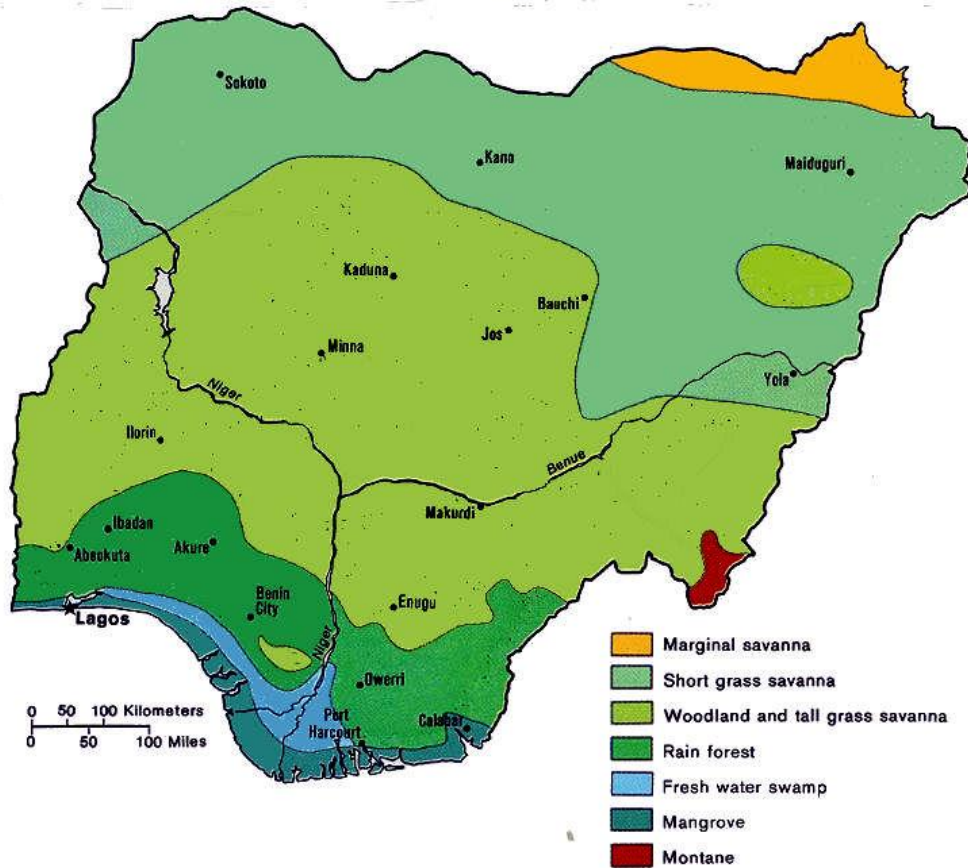


Figure 125: Vegetation map of Nigeria

Nigeria's dense mangrove swamp, its tropical rainforest vegetation and hot humid climate, therefore resulted in what Simnett described as "an evil reputation of the 'white man's grave'"<sup>504</sup> during the early days of European exploration. The dense swamps and rain forest provide rich breeding grounds for mosquitoes and by extension, malaria, while the climatic conditions produce average temperatures of between 36 and 40 degrees Celsius, intense sunshine and solar glare. PWD buildings are therefore seen to adapt designs aimed at mitigating the negative effects of the country's climate and vegetation, and to create healthy living environments. The question then is what particular design features were adapted, where were they adapted from and how were they employed in

<sup>504</sup> W.E. Simnett *The British colonial empire* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1942), 81

achieving healthier environments? The mitigation strategies adopted were largely in three-folds. The first strategies adapted were those related to existing traditional building practices that involved the use of local building materials. Adobe mud brick had been used for centuries in traditional building practices because of its heat retentive capacity which kept interior spaces cool and protected from the extreme tropical temperatures. Date palm branches, known locally as ‘Azara’ were also employed as building rafters in Northern Nigeria because of the ability to resist destruction by termites.

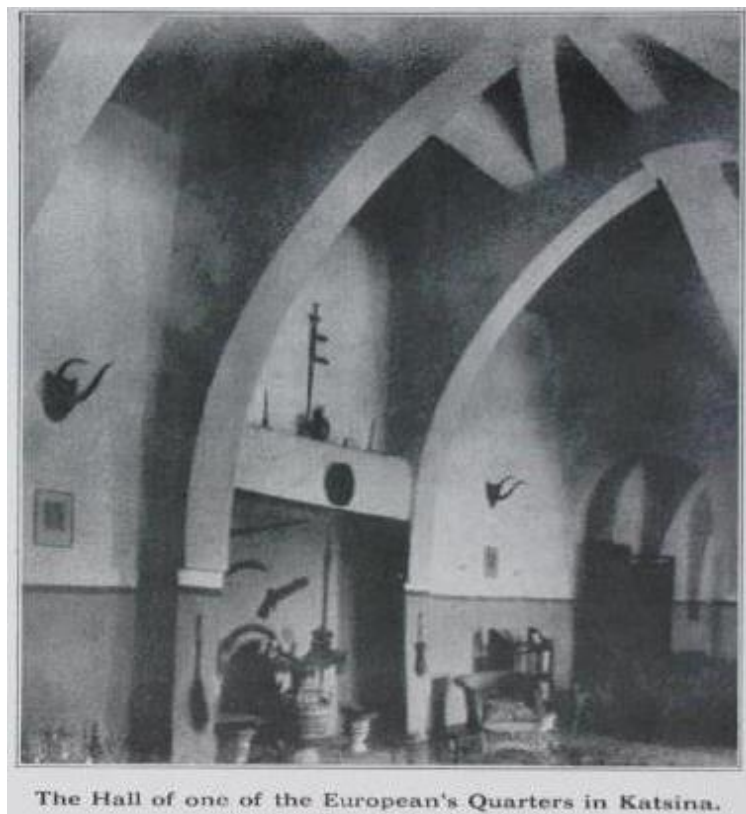


Figure 126: Hall of European Mud brick Quaters in Katsina featuring high 'azara' rafters<sup>505</sup>

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<sup>505</sup> The National Archives, CO 583/197/12 “Native Administration” - Nigeria Public Works Department (Technical paper No. 3) Native administration works in Katsina, (1934), 13.



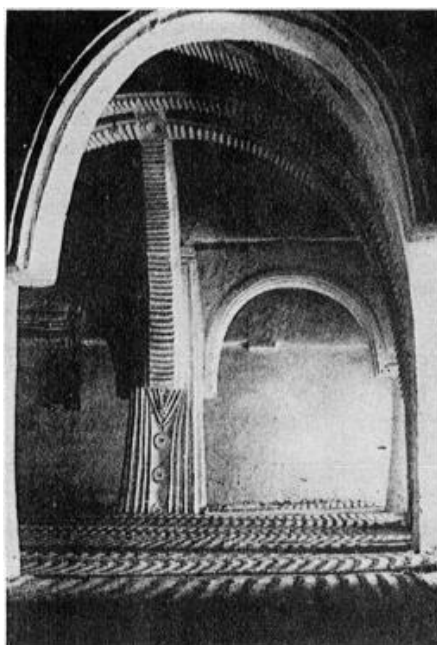


Figure 127: Interior of Zaria Friday Mosque built in mud bricks and featuring high ceilings of Azara rafters

Second were strategies adopted from early Royal engineer practices in the older colonies. According to Weiler, “In the West Indies, Bahamas and Bermuda Royal Engineers employed a number of architectural devices in pursuit of cool, dry, well ventilated and miasma free barracks and hospitals. None of these were their invention, but the story of adoption and adaptation is important. These architectural devices included the veranda. (gallery or piazza), the raised ground floor and large windows protected by jalousies (louvered shutters), all of which had been introduced in the late seventeenth century by European planters in the Anglo-Caribbean cottage. 185”<sup>506</sup> As seen in the quote, it does seem that these devices were initially more relevant to public buildings like barracks and hospitals, and were only later used in ordinary living spaces. PWD buildings were therefore often designed with large windows on the opposite sides of a room for cross ventilation and incorporated wide verandahs for sun-shading.

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<sup>506</sup> John Michael Weiler, “Army architects: The royal engineers and the development of building technology in the nineteenth century” (PhD diss., University of York, 1987), 426-427



Figure 128: 1917 European Hospital Kaduna

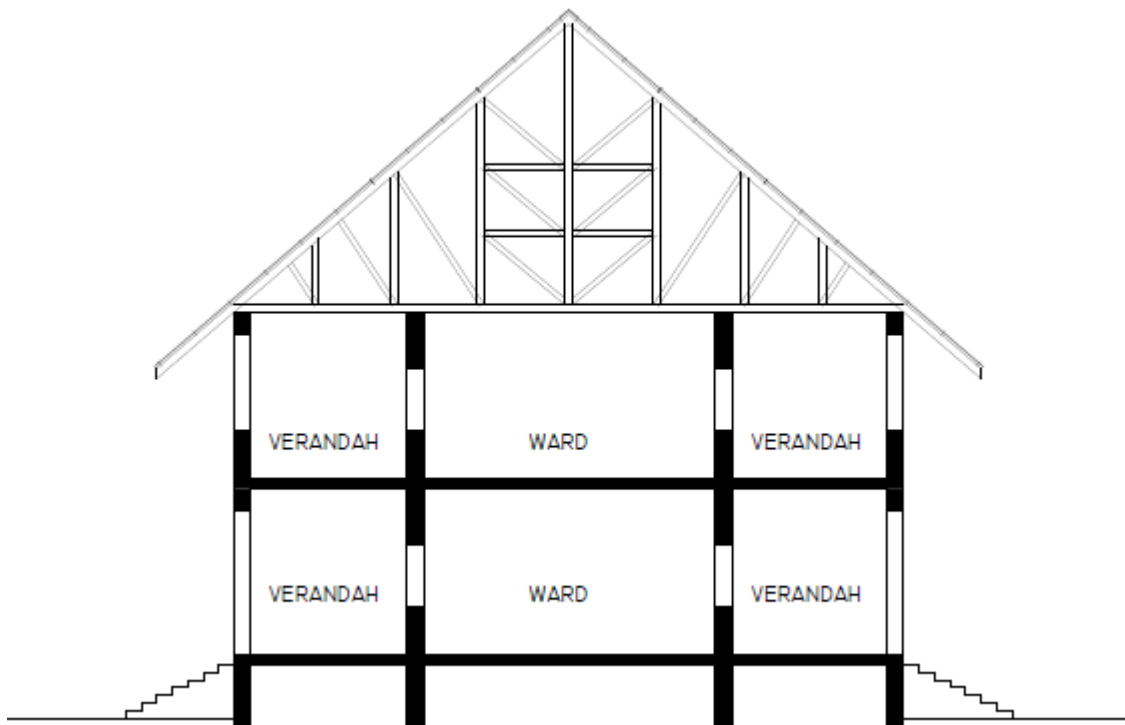


Figure 129: Section through 1917 European Hospital Kaduna, verandah and large window usage for achieving cool, dry, and well ventilated spaces.



Figure 130: 1926 General Hospital Abeokuta

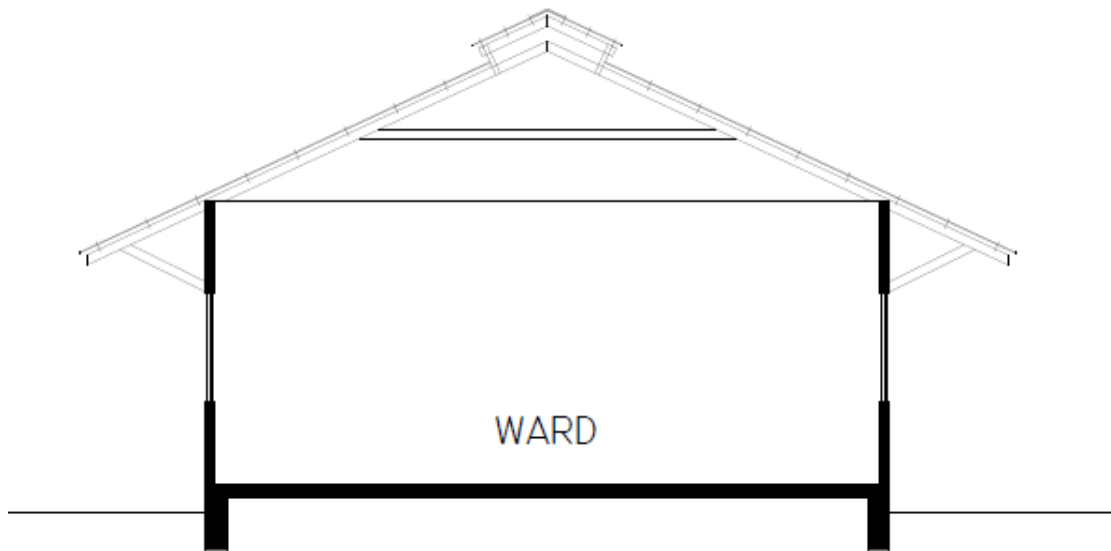


Figure 131: Section through 1926 General Hospital Abeokuta showing the use of Large windows, deep roof overhang for achieving cool, dry and well ventilated spaces



Figure 132: c1930 Kaduna North Railway station

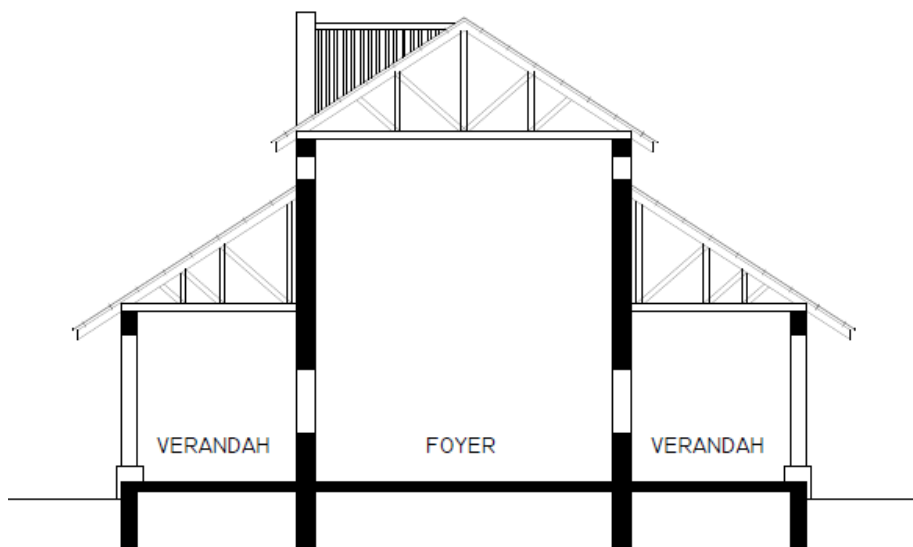


Figure 133: Section drawn through c1930 Kaduna North showing use of verandah and large opening as response to climate and health

The third mitigation strategy is adapted from another older colony - India and its main *bungalow* dwelling house form. According to Home, “The bungalow was usually framed by a veranda, which functioned as a climatic regulator, keeping keep in the main house walls cool and dry, and providing a relatively dry transition space.”<sup>507</sup> Adapting the bungalow’s features were however not limited to Nigeria and as Home also noted, “the bungalow was a

<sup>507</sup> Robert Home, *Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities*. (E & FN Spon, an imprint of Chapman & Hall, London, 1997), 87

feature of colonial and settler housing found all over the Empire and America.”<sup>508</sup> Also adopting some of these techniques in the Gold coast, Fry and Drew had experimented with designing small terrace village houses. Their findings were that “the terrace house should have its own pleasure and work verandah”<sup>509</sup> More importantly they argued, “the rooms should, of course, follow the contours of the ground, face the breeze as far as things are possible, with plenty ventilation.”<sup>510</sup>



Figure 134: C. 1934 Engineers Quarters bungalow at Abeokuta

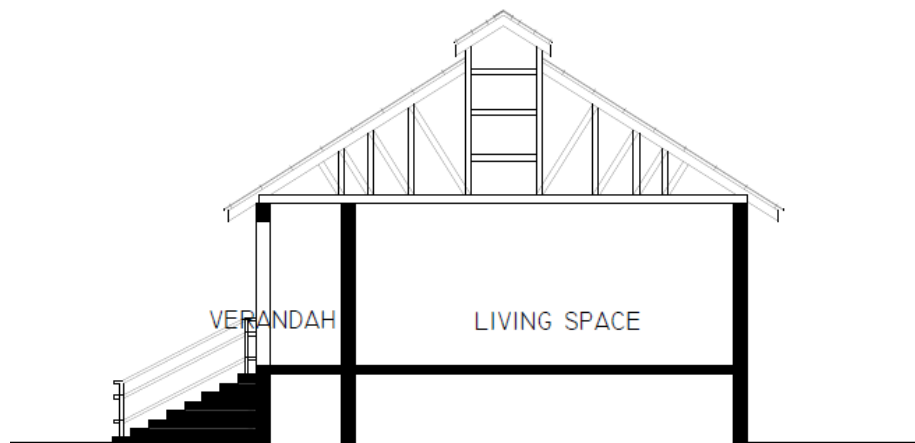


Figure 135: Section drawn through C.1934 Engineer's Quarters bungalow Abeokuta showing use of veranda as responses to climate and health

<sup>508</sup> Ibid, 87

<sup>509</sup> Jane B. Drew and E. Maxwell fry, *Village housing in the tropics: with special reference to West Africa* (London: Lund Humphries, 1947), 53

<sup>510</sup> Ibid, 51-52



Figure 136: C. 1939 European staff quarters Kaduna

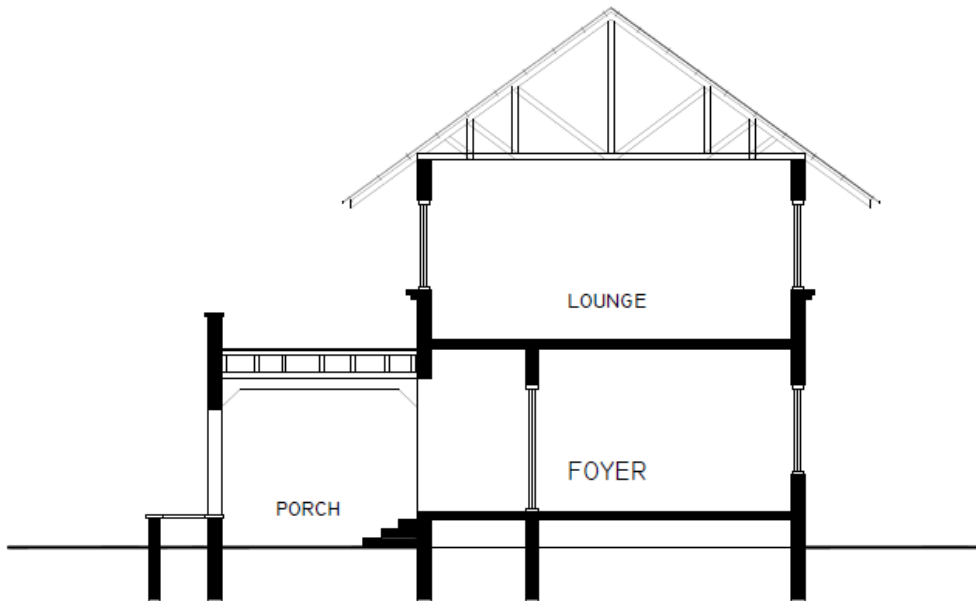


Figure 137: Section drawn through C. 1939 European staff quarters Kaduna showing the use of large windows and verandah as responses to climate and health

However there were other PWD buildings which did not feature verandah spaces, but rather incorporated the Royal engineers feature of raising buildings above ground level for greater air inflow. Giving further insight on the early history of this practice, Weiler observes that “the most typical of the small vernacular Caribbean houses whose roots lie in the late seventeenth century, had the whole structure raised from the ground to allow

circulation of air which both cooled the air and protected the building's wood from insect attack.”<sup>511</sup> While agreeing with Weiler on the motives for raising colonial bungalows off ground level, King echoes the advantages of this practice as “ensuring greater dryness, ventilation, freedom from dust (a potent carrier of disease) and invasion from insects – undoubtedly, mosquitoes will be fewer in a high than a low bungalow.”<sup>512</sup>



Figure 138: c 1934 Railway Guest House Abeokuta

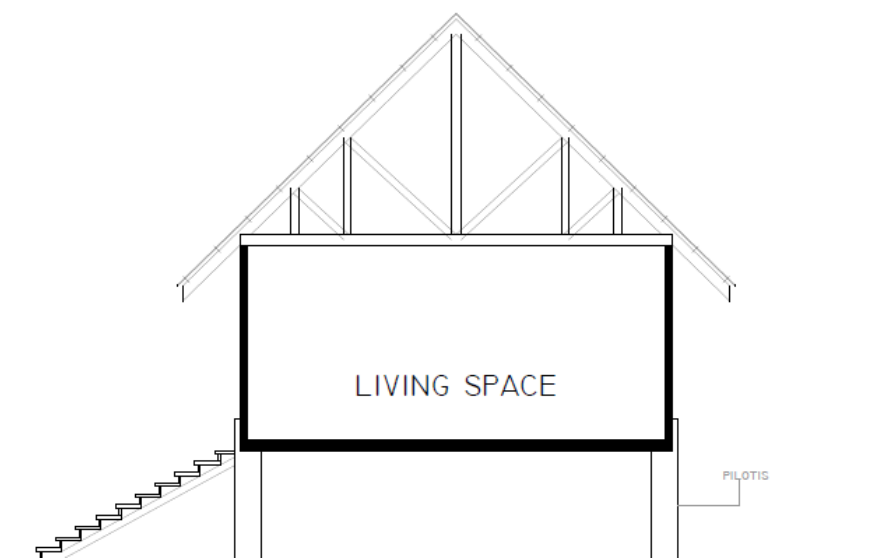


Figure 139: Section drawn through c 1934 railway Guest House Abeokuta showing building raised up on pillars as response to climate and health

<sup>511</sup> John Michael Weiler, “Army architects: The royal engineers and the development of building technology in the nineteenth century” (PhD diss., University of York, 1987), 427

<sup>512</sup> Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 210

## **Conclusion**

The chapter has examined PWD buildings that were produced to meet colonial administrative needs, beginning from the turn of / the early twentieth century, and ending in its mid period in 1960. The buildings are examined in a context that seeks to explain them as representations of the colonial enterprise - what it stood for in terms of political control and what climatic adjustments it made in a new environment. It has also looked at the vernacular of building types through which it conducted international trade, and maintained communication links with wider empire.

It has therefore observed that although PWD buildings generally signified administrative architecture which prevailed in Nigeria during the time, they also existed in two categories of the more elegant, high style designs on the one hand, and the modest, every day, basic designs on the other. The high style classical designs were not only the power houses from which the administration was run, but exuded power symbolisms in their designs, character and outlook. At the time when the native vernacular of buildings largely comprised traditional compound houses, these buildings towered in impressive scales and grandeur to symbolize Political power and administrative control.

Unlike their more elegant counterparts, the modest administrative buildings adopted more modest scales. These usually fitted into the vernacular of building types which were already in existence in the native built environment, and which the people were previously accustomed to. They were also easily constructed by harnessing the basic level of technology available in Nigeria at the time, and were widely spread to meet administrative needs all over the colony, including the most remote villages.



However, if indeed the colonial administration and empire's grandeur were best showcased through the high-style buildings, why then were the modest buildings the more widely proliferated and representative of empire's presence? The answer to this will be in three folds. First is that, aside from the important administrative buildings in the colonial capital and few grand-scale buildings of significance in the hinterlands, the priority was not really on grand architectural displays, but on getting the administrative machinery working. Therefore, the most basic of building types could suffice to perform the same function in the hinterlands.

Second, the vast populations of people in the hinterlands still mainly lived agrarian lives at the time, and to a large extent for this people, the import of the white man's sojourn and the whole idea of a 'government' its 'administration' and 'infrastructure', took some time to become the norm. Most villages and communities were still used to making a living by subsistence farming, and the only form of authority they still really knew, where the village chiefs. It was with the coming of the District officer (D.O.) that some started seeing the white man as an authority, since he took over duties such as tax collection, settling of land and other disputes, etc. So for the majority of this people, they never got to use a post office or railway station all their lives because their whole families were nearby and they never needed to travel or post any letters. Some even never went to the hospital because they only knew and trusted their own traditional medicines. So for them the white man's world of infrastructure development was close by, but yet so far. It will therefore have been fool hardy for the PWD to infiltrate these sleepy little communities with massive structures whose function the majority did not even understand, talk more of taking the advantage to use.

The third reason why it was the modest buildings that were more widely proliferated and representative of Empire would have been to keep the cost of administration at the barest

minimum. This of course still resonates with the point I made shortly before this. There was no financial sense in building and maintaining massive structures that may not be used to their full potential.

But one observation which may come to the fore in the grand-scale and impressive architecture, as against modest, basic PWD buildings, is the stark difference between the Kaduna European and native Hospitals. The European hospital architecture comes across as a bold and impressively designed piece of work, but the native hospital wards were basic everyday buildings. These differences show that it will be naive to assume that issues of grandeur / modesty in design were not sometimes related to racial favouritism and better opportunities for the colonizing government. But again, these practices were those which normal prevailed at the time.

For both the modest and grand scale categories, some administrative buildings had also been designed to adopt traditional building forms, particularly in Northern Nigeria. But why these forms adopted and what was was their wider significance at the time? First I will say the building forms were adopted for use in the early days largely because of the widely available Native expertise in constructing the buildings. There were certain families called *goni*, (builders) who had being in the building business for centuries, and had specialized in constructing the mudbrick buildings particularly for Royalty. In the early days of the administration, they must have been summoned by the Emir to put up buildings for newly arriving officers.

Climatic control abilities are likely to have been the other reason the Hausa form was adopted in the early days. The adobe mud material used in constructing the building walls

and roofs, have heat retention capacities, such that they keep the indoors very cool during the heat of the day. In the absence of air-conditioners in those early days of the administration, this characteristic of the building must have made it an extremely desirable option for European staff housing.

However, I will argue that the purpose for adapting Hausa traditional forms did go beyond its climatic mitigation advantages and ease of sourcing local expertise. I will say it was also adopted for social and symbolic reasons. It tried to define the administration as not being an altogether new form of government, but one which still valued the old existing systems. Building a sense of continuity, and we are not here to change your ways, but to help develop it seem to be the unspoken message in adapting this forms for use.

I will say the colonial administration successfully struck a chord of such understanding in this light, in Northern Nigeria. The indirect rule principle of ‘your Emirs remain your rulers, while we remain the government administrators’, played out quite well in those parts. And that perhaps is why the adoption of local architecture by the administrators was never read in any suspicious light. It wasn’t just in architecture and the political understanding that this chord struck. The traditional *Durbar*, a ceremonial display put up by traditional chiefs and horsemen was a event much looked forward to by the locals as well as Northern colonial administrators. Polo was also a much loved sport that was usually jointly played by administrators and Hausa Royalty. The same cannot be said of the situation in the south though, where such camaraderie was more rare.

The chapter also linked PWD buildings to the very significant issue of tropical climatic conditions, its impact on health, and the need for improved housing conditions, as well as

hospitals. It makes reference to the very high, particularly European, mortality rates in the early days of the administration, which was mainly fuelled by the extreme temperatures and solar glare, and particularly by mosquitoes. It discusses the early empire-wide tropical design methods which were adopted and the types of building forms which emerged. To see how tropical health measures were implemented in more crowded spaces, it looks at the types of forms adapted for PWD hospital and prison designs.

Finally, it examined Nigeria PWD buildings which facilitated Empire's interest in the period's vibrant farming produce and raw materials export trade, being mainly railway stations and what were then known as European trading sites. It also looks at the PWD's post office buildings and their role sustaining the linkage with the wider empire.

By and large, the chapter has attempted to explain the PWD built output within a context of Empire's identifiable operations in its tropical colonies at the time; Political power and control, climatic adaptation and prioritization of health, as well as international trade and sustaining linkages with the metropole. Does this therefore justify the debate that PWD buildings were only 'consumables of empire'?

PWD buildings in my opinion served far greater purposes than being just consumables of empire. They may have been vastly basic building types, but it wasn't the buildings that really mattered for the future of government buildings in Nigeria, it was the introduction of a new vernacular of buildings and a new system of administering such productions

## CHAPTER 6: NIGERIA PWD ARCHITECTS AT THE CLOSE OF EMPIRE

*"The thing that interest me most of all in the history of the British Empire is the lives of the men who made it"<sup>513</sup>*

### **Preamble:**

This chapter explores the Nigeria Public Works Department at the close of empire, with particular focus on the impact of increased post war building in the colonies and the corresponding increased job opportunities for architects in these tropical areas. Coming with these developments was a growing and better structured architectural unit, which gradually replaced the erstwhile drawing office. To gain further insights on these post war developments in the Nigeria PWD, the chapter will examine the newly expanding unit and the architects who worked in it.

The Nigeria PWD architects are yet to be the focus of any known previous research. Who then were the architects and how does their coming to work in Nigeria tell the PWD story? As Lee has observed “the story of the public works department architect runs contrary to the image of the architect as “hero”. Most of the office’s architects toiled virtually anonymously without credit or national recognition”.<sup>514</sup> Although this research does not aim to confer on them Lee’s purported ‘national recognition’, it rather aims to unravel their anonymous identities and tell their intriguing career stories, as part of the wider PWD legacy on architecture and the architectural profession in Nigeria.

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<sup>513</sup> Quoted from Jack Simmons inaugural lecture at the University of Leicester in.: Anthony Kirk-Green, *Britain’s Imperial Administrators, 1858 – 1966* (Palgrave Macmillan, England, 2000), ix.

<sup>514</sup> Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architect's Office* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2000), xiii.

## **Chapter contents**

6.1 Nigeria PWD architectural operations at the close of empire

6.2 Snapshot of Nigeria PWD Architects and architectural profession

6.3 Sources employed to generate snapshot

6.4 Emerging questions from snap-shot of data on PWD Architects

### **6.1 Nigeria PWD architectural operations at the close of Empire**

Prior to World War II, PWD had largely comprised the initial few architects cum engineer-designers who produced buildings through standardized design handbooks. According to Godwin “The PWD architects produced meticulous standard drawings incorporating standard pre-cast concrete elements and architectural details which could be cast on site by the in-house labour force supervised by provincial engineers and foremen who were responsible for construction.”<sup>515</sup> The post-war enactment of a colonial development and welfare act (CDWA), however, appears to have resulted in a landmark turn of events for the department, as well as architectural practice in the tropics in general. According to Uduku,

“the end of the Second World War in Europe had also resulted in an upsurge of architecture on the continent and therefore a surplus of new architects commissioned to engage in the development of new architecture for what was soon to become the British Commonwealth”.<sup>516</sup>

Although Uduku’s findings are limited to the influx of several private architects such as Leo De Syllas, James Cubitt and Maxwell Fry coming to work in West Africa and Nigeria at the

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<sup>515</sup> John Godwin. “Architecture and Construction Technology in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s” *Docomomo Journal* 28, (2003): 52

<sup>516</sup> Ola Uduku. “Educational design and modernism in West Africa.” *Docomomo Journal* 28 (2003): 78

time (and which will be discussed in greater details in the next section), the PWD had equally witnessed a significant increase in the number of architects who worked in the department at that time.

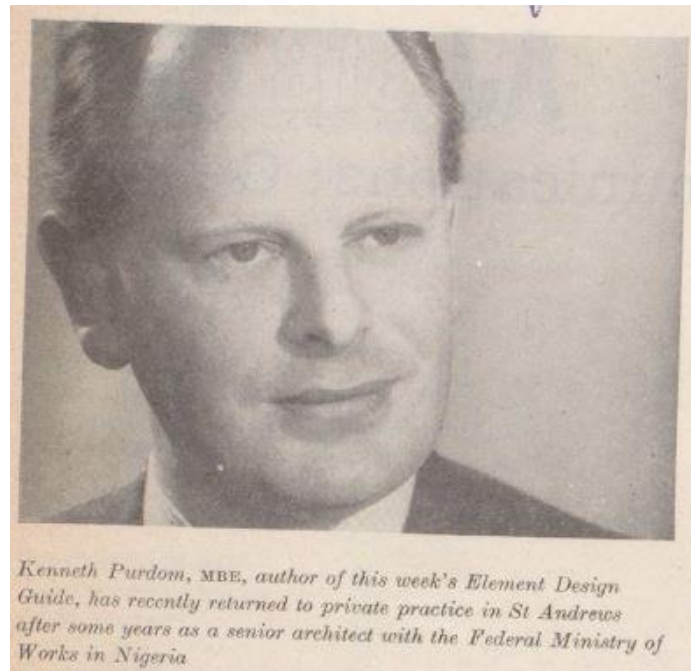


Figure 140: PWD Architect Kenneth Purdom MBE, who worked in Nigeria between 1957 and 1961<sup>517</sup>

With this development, the initial crop of Engineer-designers and their method of employing standardized handbook to design public buildings, gradually gave way to the employment of professional architects who mostly came in to work from the United Kingdom. *The Architect and Building News* article sheds more light on the way architects were recruited for PWD positions in Nigeria as well as in other colonies. According to the article:

“All public appointments in the Dominions and most in the colonies that are open to architects in the United Kingdom are advertised in the weekly architectural press. As regards West Africa and other colonies and overseas territories, official architectural appointments are

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<sup>517</sup> *The Architect's Journal* “Information Library” (July 18 1962): 160

dealt with by the Director of recruitment of the oversea service division of the colonial office”.<sup>518</sup>

The article also further explains the time-lapse in which applications were accepted:

“There is no regular periodical selection of candidates; vacancies being filled as they occur; and architects interested in any of these parts of the world may, therefore, send completed forms of application (obtainable upon request to the director of recruitment at any time of the year”.<sup>519</sup>

One study which provides interesting insights on the works and operations of the Nigeria PWD in this period is Davidson’s 1957 *The Builder* article. He appears to reinforce the notion of an influx of young architects joining the department. According to him “The work of an architectural department in Nigeria has a special interest for the young architect who has a sense of design and is not afraid to take a high degree of responsibility”.<sup>520</sup> In addition, he notes that:

“The scope of work is varied and interesting, and to deal with this volume of work the architectural branch has an all too small establishment of a chief architect, a senior architect and five qualified architects, plus a fluctuating number of drawing office staff normally numbering 12. All members have to accept much more responsibility and consequently gain much more experience in a short time than their counterparts are likely to acquire in a similar period in a United Kingdom office”.<sup>521</sup>

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<sup>518</sup> William Weymouth “Opportunities abroad for Architects .” *Architect and Building News*, 12 July (1956): 39.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid*, 39.

<sup>520</sup> C.S.M. Davidson (FRIBA), “Architectural work of the ministry of works, Western region, Nigeria” *The builder* February 1 (1957): 220.

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid*, 220.



Davidson's writing focuses on only the Ibadan PWD and the composition of its architects in 1957. This study therefore seeks to investigate and provide insights on the Nigeria PWD and architects in their entirety and the significance of working in Nigeria.

## **6.2 Snapshot of data on Nigeria PWD Architects**

Although he was the Chief Architect of PWD Ibadan when he wrote the article discussed above, Davidson had made no further details regarding individual architects in the department, understandable because this was hardly the focus. This did not mean however, that there were no other subordinate architects who worked with him at Ibadan, or the many other architects who worked in Enugu, Kaduna, and Lagos PWDs. So although PWD buildings leave a visible legacy of the department on Nigeria's landscape in contemporary times, their architects remain in the shadows of history, largely unknown, unidentified and unaccounted for. See Table in the Appendix.

This section of my chapter therefore sets out to unravel who these "forgotten architects" were and have produce a snapshot of my results to that. But unravelling who the architects were and identifying them individually is just one step towards having a clearer insight on the place of these professionals in the PWD. The more all-encompassing aim involves, outlining aspects of their personal information where possible, tracing their career progression and building together pieces of their live stories within the wider context of imperial expansion, personal adventures and career fulfilment.

## **6.3 Sources employed to generate snapshot**

To compile and generate a snapshot of data on architects who worked in Nigeria PWD at the time, I have employed the use of historical archival sources, with the most significant being a

RIBA yearly publication known as the *Kalendar*. The *Kalendar* is a directory that lists all the names of members, their RIBA membership class, registration number, Year of election into the RIBA and the institutions where they trained (if they had attended a University or polytechnic).

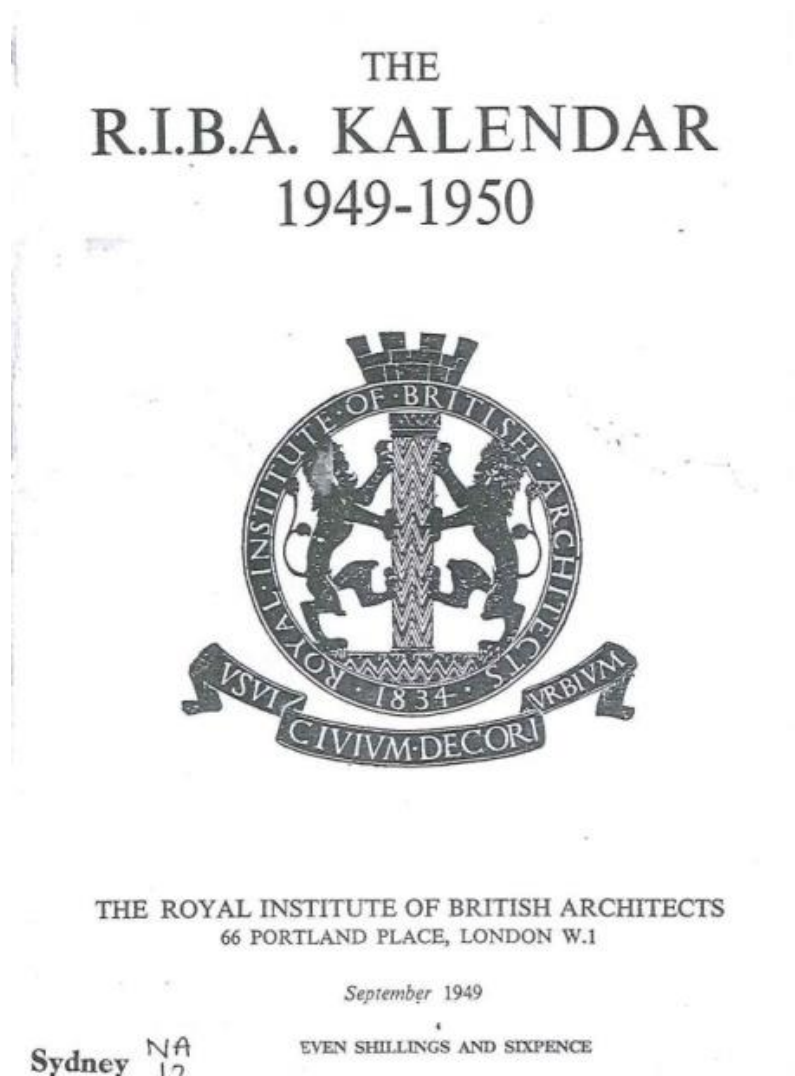


Figure 141: 1949 -1950 RIBA Kalendar cover page

Shillington: P. H. T. Siew: M. Sinclair: C. MacD. Sinclair: (Mrs.) N. H. Slade: C. J. Smuts: D. A. F. Smuts-Muller: (Mrs.) J. D. A. Snell: A. Spence: (Miss) E. M. Stegmann: G. F. C. Stobart: F. Summerley: H. G. Todd: Lt.-Col. C. E. Tomaselli: U. Tomkyns: H. G. Trope: E. J. Twemlow: W. J. van der Riet: H. B. Vickery: M. E. Vigour: J. Watson: B. W. Weston: (Miss) R. N. W. Whyte: W. G.	<b>Nigeria</b>	Kaines: L. K. Kirkland: (Mrs.) C. M. Kirkland: D. P. Lucas: W. Malkin: H. F. Mutton: L. Overall: J. W. Ralph: S. Schiller: P. Sharp: C. B. Sidbottom: J. G. Smith: H. P. Smith: M. A. Walkley: G. Welbourn: A. E.
RETIRED ASSOCIATES	FELLOWS Causton: T. W. Davidson: C. S. M. Haslam: F. C. Scott: T.	
	ASSOCIATES Evans: J. E. Hames: J. C. M. Hope: J. L. Jackson: J. P. J. McLachlan: A. R. Smyth: R. J. Stammwitz: G. C. Stout: G. R.	
	LICENTIATES Banting: E. Matthew: B. R. Prew: W. S. A.	LICENTIATES Cronin: J. R. P. Grayson: W. H. Place: F. G. J.
		<b>Australia, Western</b> FELLOWS

Figure 142: 1949 -1950 RIBA Kalendar Nigeria Local index

The 1948-1949 Kalendar was the first edition to have an index of local distribution titled, British Dominions, Crown Colonies, Dependencies and mandated territories overseas. It was however in the 1949-1950 edition that Nigeria began to be listed, with the architects being featured in the three prevalent membership classes of Fellow (FRIBA), Associates (ARIBA), and Licentiate (LRIBA). It can therefore be seen from the Kalendar's local index that fifteen architects already practiced in Nigeria during 1949 to 1950. But did they all arrive within those two years or had they been around for much longer and worked in the drawing office with the more prevalent engineer-designers of the time? My explorations from other sources, show for example that Thomas Scott had been appointed as architectural draftsman of the Nigeria PWD in 1925,<sup>522</sup> while F.C. Haslam had also been practicing in Nigeria by at least

<sup>522</sup> The National archives, CO583/216/11 "Public works department staff – Architects" 1937.

1938, when he did the Barrack accommodation design for RWAFF, as his signature shows in the Chief Architect's column of the drawing (fig 80).<sup>523</sup>

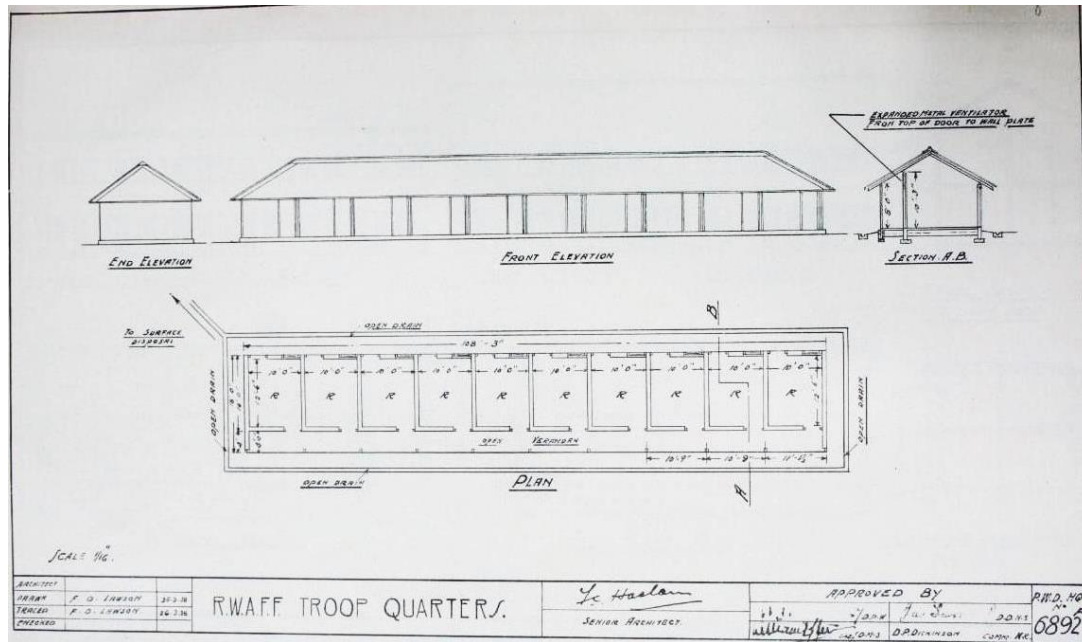


Figure 143: 1938 RWAFF Troop Quarters drawing

One architect not listed in the 1949 Nigeria index but who did very significant work in 1926 is Henry A. Porter. This because he had retired and gone back to the UK, before the 1949 publication. It was he who designed the 1926 Northern Province staff housing in Kaduna discussed in the last chapter. He also designed the 1926 African Hospital for Lagos (although it was never built) and the Public works department office (built in 1933), both of which won the department a place in the 1926 Exhibition of Dominion and colonial architecture in London.<sup>524</sup>

<sup>523</sup> The National Archives, CO 583/234/9 "Report of a committee appointed to consider the question of Barrack accommodation in Nigeria", in *Barrack Accommodation*, 1938.

<sup>524</sup> The Builder, "Exhibition of Dominion and colonial Architecture" (Oct 26 1926): 540.

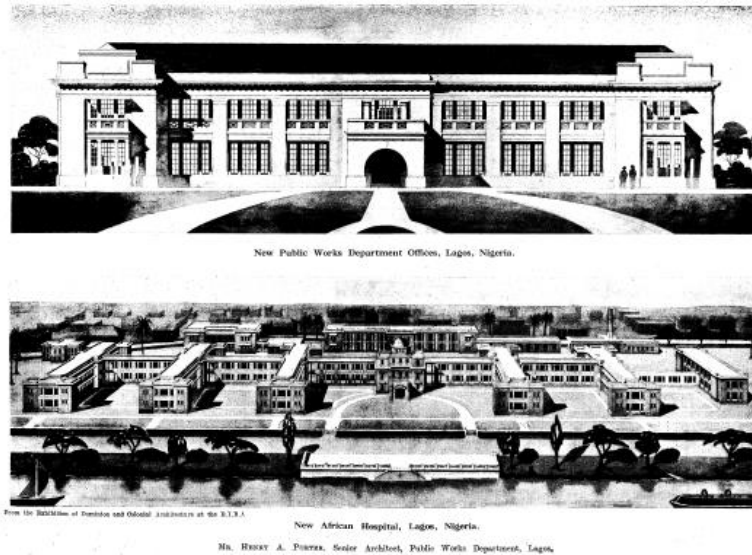


Figure 144: 1926 Office and Hospital designs by Henry A. Porter<sup>525</sup>

The other archival sources I employed in generating a snapshot of data on Nigeria PWD architects, are the architects surviving RIBA membership cards and a publication known as the ‘RIBA grey books’, both of which were sourced at the RIBA Archives in London. The membership card usually indicated the architects name and practice address, his RIBA membership and ARCUK numbers, and other information, such as the card’s expiry date or the architect’s date of resignation or death.

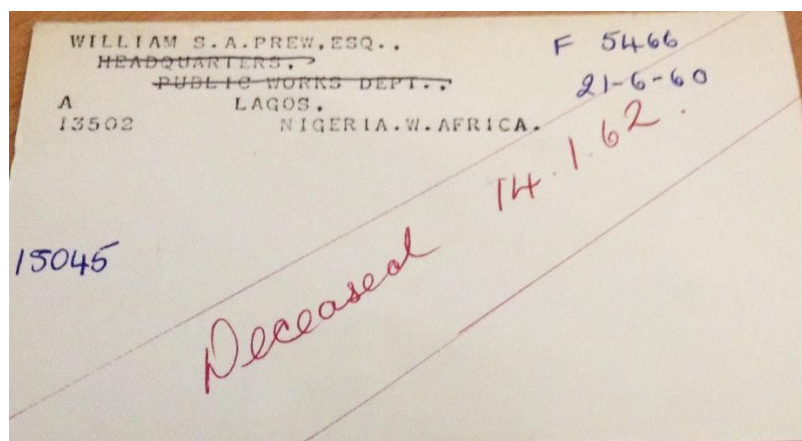


Figure 145: Surviving RIBA membership card for William S. Prew Esq, Nigeria PWD architect

<sup>525</sup> Ibid, 541.

The Grey books on the other, (so named because of their hard back grey colour covers) were the institute's catalogues for recording practice details of registered architects before the advent of computers and digitalization. The books were published between 1920 and 1970, and provide an index of individual architects or architects' departments, the buildings they produced, and a reference to the journal in which such work was published.

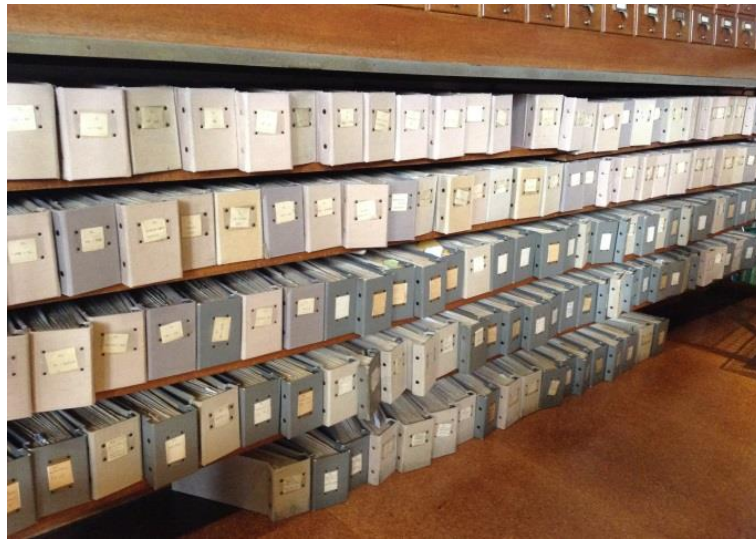


Figure 146: Grey books at the RIBA Library<sup>526</sup>

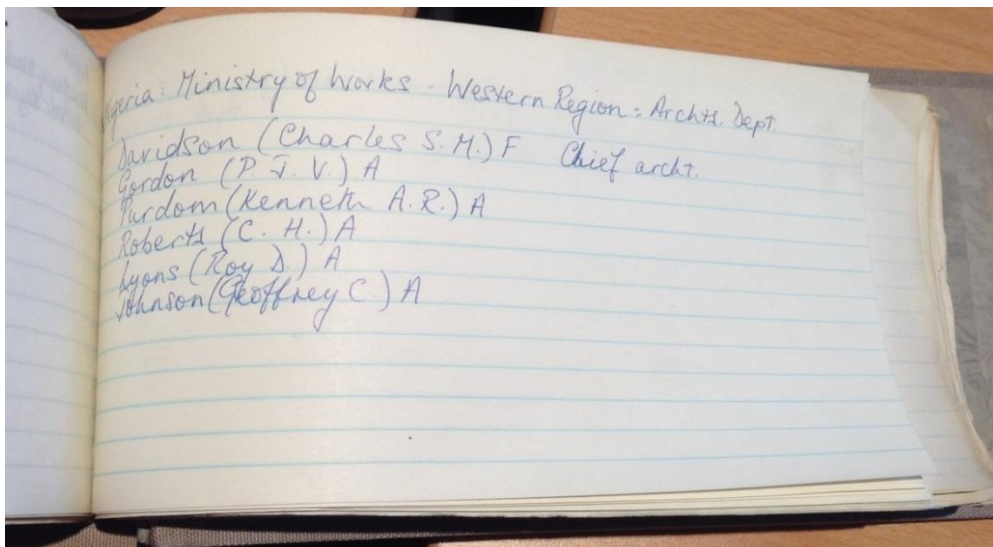


Figure 147: A Grey book page on the Architects department of Western region, Nigeria

<sup>526</sup> Picture taken by the author during visit to Library in May 2014.

I also employed online sources in generating the data snap-shot on Nigeria PWD architects. The two significant sources in this regard are the ‘find my past’ family history records, as well as an online biographical information data base known as the ‘Dictionary of Scottish Architects’. Although the dictionary specifically provides information on all architects who are known to have worked in Scotland between 1840 and 1980, these records also include their professional practice information outside of Scotland within the given period. When I search a Nigeria PWD architect on the dictionary for example, the returned result is the architect’s career timeline of dates and places where he worked in Scotland, Nigeria and other countries where he may have practiced. The Dictionary is found at <http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/index.php> The other online historical source consulted and known as ‘find my past’ was of immense benefit in assessing surviving bio-data and other personal information on the Nigeria PWD architects – when and where they were born, who they married, when they died and so forth.

The screenshot shows the 'find my past' search interface. The search criteria are: Who: G.R. Stout; When: Born 1912 +/- 2yrs; Where: Britain. The search returned 135 results. The results table is as follows:

Your search returned 135 results					
Order by: Relevance					
Who		When		Where	
Last name	First name	Born	Died	Event	Category
STOUT	G R	1912	1946	Passenger lists	Lagos, Nigeria
STOUT	G R	1912	1948	Passenger lists	Lagos, Nigeria

Figure 148: Find my past historical record for G.R Stout, Nigeria PWD architect

Some tremendous insights it contains are seen in its mid-twentieth passenger travel manifest of the big shipping companies of the time. These give the exact travel dates and trajectories

of a good number of PWD architects. Find my past is accessed at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/> I employed the use of the RIBA online biographical entries which is also found at <http://riba.sirsidynix.net.uk/uhtbin/webcat>

#### 6.4 Emerging questions from snap-shot of data on PWD Architects

- *Who were the Nigeria PWD Architects?*



Figure 149:1961 picture of Charles C. Stevenson on the roof of Independence House under construction<sup>527</sup>

A total of 91 architects had practiced in the Nigeria PWD between 1925 and 1960 /1961, when records on Nigeria was last listed in the RIBA Kalenda following the country's independence in 1960. They were mainly British architects who come to work in the colonies post-war, as colonial building increased, and more work opportunities arose for architects.

One of such architects is Charles Stevenson (figure 86), who had worked in the PWD and is now 92 years old. He was born on April 9, 1923 in Clyde, Scotland. He began work as an architect with the Nigeria PWD in 1953 and left Nigeria nine years later in 1962. He initially moved back to England, but later got another appointment to head the Public Works Department of Solomon Islands. He held this position until he retired in 1979, and has lived

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<sup>527</sup> Picture emailed to me by Stevenson's daughter, Louise Stevenson on 2 December, 2013



on the island ever since. It may be safe to assume that Stevenson represents one of the last in a generation of seemingly ‘forgotten’ architects of the Nigeria Public Works Department.

Stevenson was extremely kind to grant me a skype interview on 1 October 2014. In the interview (see full text in the appendix), I asked among other questions, what his experience of working in the PWD was like, and what his role and duties entailed. He told me that he had been the Chief architect in charge of post and telegraph buildings, a role which he explained got him very busy not only in Lagos, but had him travelling to other parts of Nigeria to supervise construction works. He told me of his most notable projects - some of which I had also come across in archival studies – and they include, the General Post office Marina, the Post and telegraph training school Oshodi, and the Post and Telegraph buildings In Zaria, Dutsin-wai, Aba and so forth. He said for him and for most of his colleagues at the time, handling projects of such magnitude came as a rare opportunity which they did not think they would have gotten as young architects back home in England.

Speaking of his colleagues was an opportunity for me to probe further on who the other architects were. I asked if he could tell me more about the other PWD architects of the time with whom he had been familiar. Because he had been more of a ‘Lagos man’ I had expected that he was going to remember and talk more about the PWD Lagos architects – which he did. He spoke very fondly of Thomas Scott, and appeared to have a lot of respect for him. Scott had been in Nigeria ever since he was appointed as an architectural draughtsman in 1925 and was about retiring and returning to England at the time Stevenson joined PWD.

Stevenson remembers attending his send-off party. He also spoke very fondly of George Stout who took over as PWD chief architect in Lagos after Scott’s retirement. Stevenson

appeared to strike a chord of friendship with Stout over the years. This friendship also helped him start off again when he got back to England; because it was through Stout – who had started work with Watkins Gray in London - that he also got an appointment in the same firm.<sup>528</sup>

His stay in England was however short-lived, as he had become too much of a *tropical man*, after his nine-year sojourn in Nigeria. He said he missed the warm, tropical appeal and the social life of Lagos, so soon began job hunting for another tropical job. He also blamed prejudice directed against him in London for designing ‘grass hut’ while according to him ‘we in actual fact we were building stuff in Nigeria that wasn’t anything like they were building in Britain’ – for his seeking a job elsewhere. He was successful to get one in the Solomon Islands, and has lived there till date. A third architect he spoke fondly about was the Nigerian-born Augustine Egbor, who he fondly called ‘Gust’. He appears to have gotten close to Egbor through Stout, who was from Newcastle, where Egbor went to University. Generally, he talked with much nostalgia about the Lagos, the social life and dinners enjoyed with his colleagues and attending the Yacht club.

- **What year(s) did they arrive, when were the most entries and why?**

Stevenson and the colleagues he mentioned were only a few of the ninety-one architects who worked at one time or the other in the Nigeria PWD before 1960. So what was the time range in which they came to Nigeria to start work?

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<sup>528</sup> Watkins Gray did a lot of overseas work mainly in the West Indies as part of the tropical modernist movement of the mid-twentieth century. He had also worked in Nigeria, and deigned major buildings such as the UAC headquarters in Lagos and the Central Bank in Kano. But the firm’s perhaps most iconic building in Nigeria remains the 1956 Supreme Court Lagos. Haven had such experiences working in the tropics and particularly in Nigeria, the firm may have built on such connections to easily employ former PWD architects such as Stevenson and Stout. The architects themselves may have been drawn to the firm partly because of its former tropical linkages.

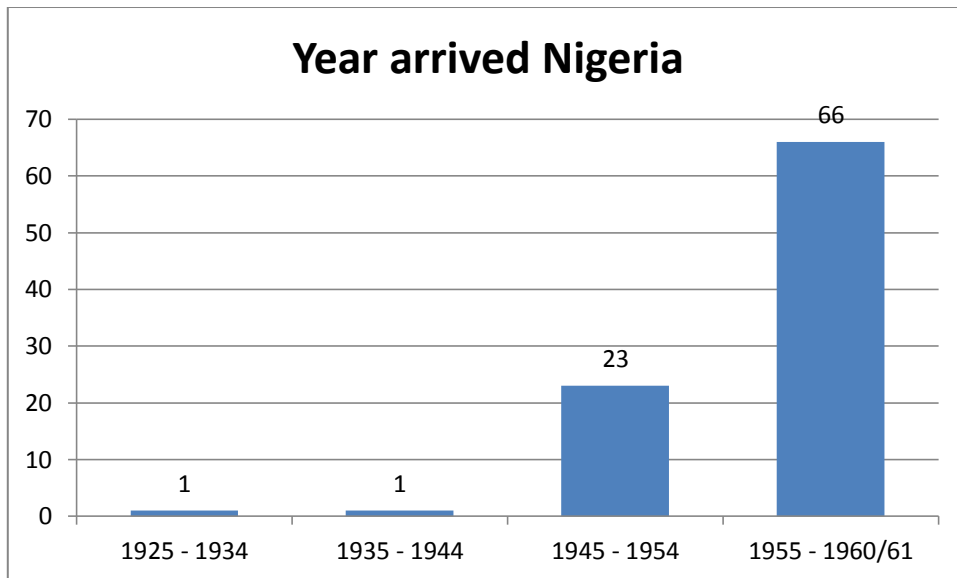


Figure 150: Bar chart showing year PWD architects arrived to work in Nigeria

Because the listing of Nigerian PWD architects in the Kalendar only began in 1949 and fifteen architects were featured in that same year, the actual entry figures for previous years may differ in reality from those presented here. By and large however, I found that the one architect who arrived between 1925 -1935 is Thomas Scott, and F.C. Haslam arrived between 1935 and 1944. Twenty-three others arrived between 1945 and 1954. The most significant aspect of the table however, is the 1955 to 1960 column which show 63 architects had taken up new appointments with the PWD within those five years. A time-line of PWD personnel showing this information, as well as other relevant information available on the architects' date of birth/death, training, when and where they worked in Nigeria, there destination post-1960 and so forth, are being presented below.

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
1 SCOTT, Thomas D.B.E.	1898 - 1982	Born in Dunfermline, Scotland Emigrated to Lagos 1925	Articled 1931 Licentiate 1940 Fellow	Not found	Not found	27	PWD Lagos	1925	Returned to Scotland and settled in Dollar until his death in 1982

Figure 151: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1925]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
1 HASLAM, F.C.	1894 - ?	Wife - Mrs FC Haslam	Articled 1925 Associate 1947 Fellow	Sailed to Mombasa Kenya in November 1936	Liverpool 29/6/1937 with Mrs FC Haslam	43	PWD Lagos	1937	Not found

Figure 152: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1937]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
1 BANTING, Edgar	1913 - ?	Born on the Isle of Wight	Articled 1946 Licentiate	Yes, but indicated as other part of British Empire	Liverpool 11/05/1953	40	PWD Ibadan	1949-1950	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "expired 5/12/1979"
2 CAUSTON, Thomas William	1904 - ?	Born in Croydon	Articled 1949 Fellow	Not found	Not found	45	PWD Enugu	1949-1950	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Resigned 1971"
3 DAVIDSON, C.S.M. Mayor	1908 - ?	Wife - Mrs CSM Davidson	Articled 1946 Licentiate 1947 Fellow	Not found	Southampton 9/1/1948 with Mrs CSM Davidson	40	PWD Lagos	1949-1950	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "resigned 28/1/1981"
4 EVANS, John Earnest	Not found	Not found	Articled 1936 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Kaduna	1949-1950	Not found
5 HAMES, James Cecil Marshall	1915 - 1969	Wife - Mrs JCM Hames	Articled 1948 Associate	No data found	Liverpool 03/04/1948 with Mrs JCM Hames	33	PWD Kaduna	1949-1950	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Deceased April 1969"
6 HOPE, John Leonard	1908 - 1960	Wife - Rose Ellen	Articled 1935 Associate 1954 Fellow	Not found	Liverpool 18/12/1952 with Rose Ellen	41	PWD Enugu	1949-1950	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Deceased 17/6/1960"
7 PREW, William.S.A.	1911 - 1962	Born in Bridgewater, Somerset	Articled 1942 Licentiate 1952 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 12/06/1947	39	PWD Lagos	1949-1950	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Deceased 14/1/1962"
8 STAMWITZ, G.C	Not found	Not found	Articled 1941 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1949-1950	Not found
9 STOUT, George Russell	1912 - ?	Born in Durham	Articled 1937 Associate 1951 Fellow	Not found	Liverpool 22/04/1948	36	PWD LAGOS	1949-1950	Not found

Figure 153: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1949]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
1 HALE, G.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Sheffield) 1949 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Kaduna	1950-1951	Not found
2 MURRAY, James	? - 1956	Not found	Articled 1947 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1950-1951	Died in an air crash at Kano, Nigeria
3 HILL, J.G.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1950 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Enugu	1951-1952	Not found
4 JACK, W.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1946 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1951-1952	Not found
5 GORDON P.J.V.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1948 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1952-1953	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Expire 8/4/1970"
6 McKENZIE, A.	Not found	Not found	Dip Arch (Dundee) 1953 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Enugu	1952-1953	Not found
7 ROBERTS, C. H.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Durham) 1948 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Ibadan	1952-1953	Not found
8 SMITH, K.P.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1949 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Ibadan	1952-1953	Not found
9 TIMMINGS, Reginald	1917 - ?	Not found	Dip Arch (Birmingham) 1950 Associate	Not found	London 27/07/1953	35	PWD Lagos	1952-1953	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Resigned 5/2/75"

Figure 154: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1950 -1953]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
1 LYONS, R. D.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1951 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Ibadan	1954-1955	Not found
2 MILES, P.L.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1954 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1955-1956	Not found
3 SLINGSBY, Alfred Esq.	1918 -1965	Not found	Dip. Town Plannin (London) 1940 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 18/11/1954	38	PWD Ibadan	1955-1956	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Deceased 14/8/1965"
4 WEDDERBURN-OGILVY, Eustrace Caryl	1925 - 2003	Born in Devon	Dip. Arch (Dundee) 1950 Associate	Not found	Not found	30	PWD Ibadan	1955-1956	1960 - 62 Returned to Scotland to work with James Taylor Architects 1962 -79 Worked with the Scottish health services building division Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Resigned 26/01/80"

Figure 155: Timeline of PWD personnel information [1954 – 1956]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
1 ARCHER, G.L.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Sheffield) 1956 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1957-1958	Not found
2 BEATON Donald George	1926 - ?	Not found	Dip. Arch (Edinburgh) 1956 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 02/05/1957	41	PWD Ibadan	1957-1958	Moved back to Edinburgh as private architect in 1966
3 GREGSON, John Kenneth	1931 - ?	Wife - Mrs Henrietta Gregson	Dip. Arch (Manchester) 1955 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 18/4/57 with Mrs Henrietta Gregson	26	PWD Lagos	1957-1958	Not found
4 HENDERSON, A.A.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Durham) 1953 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1957-1958	Not found
5 McGREGOR, Thomas Aloysius	1931 - ?	Wife - Thelma McGregor	Articled 1957 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 19/3/55 with Mrs Thelma McGregor	36	PWD Lagos	1957-1958	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Worked in PWD Sydney" and "expired 5/4/73"
6 WINTER, (Miss) O.M.D.	Not found	Not found	BA (ARCH) (London) 1949 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1957-1958	Not found
7 WOODHEAD, D.K.	Not found	Not found	Dip Arch (Manchester) 1953 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1957-1958	Not found
8 PICKUP, Geoffery ESQ	1916 - ?	Not found	Articled 1939 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 9/6/60	42	PWD Enugu	1957-1958	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Resinged 31/12/1975"
9 PURDOM, K.A.R.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Dundee) 1950 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1957-1958	Not found

Figure 156: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1957-1958]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
1 BERRY, Thomas Macpherson	1888 - ?	Born in Perthshire Scotland Counted in 1901 Censors aged 13	Dip. Arch (Glasgow) 1954 Associate	Ghana PWD	Not found	61	PWD Lagos	1959-1960	Not found
2 BEGG, Kenneth Andrew	1903 - ?	Born in Bombay Counted in 1911 Censors in London aged 8	Articled 1929 Associate 1929 Fellow	In Bombay and as Chief Architect to the Govt of Uganda	Not found	54	PWD Ibadan	1959-1960	Moved to Guyana as PWD Chief Architect
3 BATES M.P.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1955 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1959-1960	Not found
4 BLACKBURN, J.W.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Leeds) 1953 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1959-1960	Not found
5 BRADBURY, F. W.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1958 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1959-1960	Not found
6 BROWN, Gordon Derek	1925 -2000	Durham, England	Articled 1957 Associate	Not found	Not found	34	PWD Lagos	1959-1960	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Removed 19/3/1965"
7 CARTWRIGHT, Andrew St George	1925 - ?	Born in Pancras London Married Jean Mary Puggson	Articled 1955 Associate	Not found	Not found	34	PWD Kaduna	1959-1960	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Resigned 14/5/1982"
8 CHITTY, Dennis Walter	1927 - ?	Born in Surrey England Married Janet M. Low in 1949	Articled 1952 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 19/02/1959	25	PWD Lagos	1959-1960	No data found
9 CHERLIN, Lennox	1926 - ?	Wife Mrs Valma Lennox and son Malcom L. Cherlin	Articled 1958 Associate	PWD Singapore Malaya (Last permanent address)	Liverpool 4/2/1960 with wife Valma and son Malcom	42	PWD Lagos	1959-1960	Moved to Australia and worked at Department of National Development
10 EDWARDS, M.C	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Sheffield) 1953 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1959 -1960	Not found

Figure 157: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1959a]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
11 FARMER, Maurice	1930 - ?	Wife - Mrs Ruby Joyce Farmer	Dip. Arch (Dundee) 1954 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 11/6/59 with Mrs Ruby Farmer	29	PWD Kaduna	1953-1960	Returned to the UK in 1966 and accepted a lecturing position at University of Bristol
12 GEDDES A.E.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Dundee) 1953 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1953-1960	Not found
13 GORDON, James	? -1976	No data found	Dip. Arch (Glasgow) 1954 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1953-1960	Returned to the UK in 1966 and continued practicing as a private architect in New Castle upon tyne Deceased 11/9/76 on membership card
14 GREER-PERRY J.R.	1929 - ?	Not found	Articled 1957 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 18/04/1957	28	PWD Kaduna	1953-1960	Not found
15 GREENWOOD, F.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Manchester) 1955 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1953-1960	Not found
16 HOWELL, Owen John	1916 - ?	Wife - Mrs Joan Howell	Articled 1950 Associate	Worked in Uganda Before coming to Nigeria	Not found	44	PWD Lagos	1953-1960	No data found
17 JEFFERY, L.	1915 - ?	Not found	Articled 1952 Associate	Worked in Uganda Before coming to Nigeria	No data found	44	PWD Ibadan	1953-1960	1965 - Joined private architects Design Group in Nigeria; 1970 moved to Zomba Malawi
18 JONES, R.J.O.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Cardiff) 1958 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Enugu	1953-1960	Not found
19 McLEOD, G.G.	1924 - ?	Born in Perth	Dip Arch (Edinburg) 1955 Associate	Not found	Not found	34	PWD Kaduna	1953-1960	Left Nigeria around 1965 1970 - Went to work at University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland
20 MARTIN, R.J.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1953 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1953-1960	Not found

Figure 158: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1959b]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
21 LANE, K.W.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1955 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1953-1960	Not found
22 OLIVER, E.F.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (The Polytechnic) 1952 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1953-1960	Not found
23 MILLS, W.J.M.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Cardiff) 1949 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Kaduna	1953-1960	Not found
24 NWAFOR, Christian Ogbonaya	Not found	Not found	Dip Arch Northern Polytechnic) 1959 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1953 -1960	Not found
25 PHILLIPS, Peter Paul	Not found	Not found	Articled 1957 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1953-1960	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "expired 1979"
26 PRIOR, W.J.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1951 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Enugu	1953-1960	Not found
27 REDWOOD, J.N.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1958 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1953-1960	Not found
28 SHEARMAN, Wilfid	1915 - 1900	Not found	Dip. Arch (Norther Polytechnic) 1953 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 16/5/1957	44	PWD Kaduna	1953-1960	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "expired 8/4/70"
29 UKU, V.T	Not found	Not found	Dip Arch (Sheffield) 1959 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Ibadan	1953 -1960	Not found
30 WENMAN, G.A.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1956 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Enugu	1953-1960	Not found
31 WHITE, D.N.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1958 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Kaduna	1953-1960	Not found

Figure 159: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1959-1960c]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
32 WICKENS, G.M	Not found	Not found	Articled 1953 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1959-1960	Not found
33 WOODCOCK, G.F.H.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1949 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1959-1960	Not found

Figure 160: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1959-1960d]

NAME OF ARCHITECT	BORN - DIED	BIODATA AND OTHER PERSONAL INFORMATION	EDUCATION AND YEAR OF RIBA REGISTRATION	PREVIOUSLY WORKED IN ANOTHER COLONY	PLACE AND DATE OF TRAVEL TO NIGERIA	AGE ARRIVED NIGERIA	PWD WORKED AT	FIRST LISTED ON KALENDA WITH NIGERIA ADDRESS	PACTICE RECORD AFTER NIGERIA
1 AGG, ALFRED D.	1912 - ?	Not found	Articled 1945 Associate	Nyasaland & Mozambique	Mozambique (With Mrs H. Agg)	48	PWD Enugu	1960-1961	Not found
2 ALLEN, Douglas Noel	1918 - ?	Not found	Articled 1950 Associate	Not found	Southampton 24/04/1959	41	PWD Kaduna	1960-1961	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "expired 31/12/1976"
3 BARNES, Harry Stewart	1921 - ?	Last permanent residence Solomon Isles	Articled 1953 Associate	Not found	Liverpool 13/03/1960	39	PWD Kaduna	1960-1961	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Resigned 1974"
4 CORNILLIAC, Louise Eugene	1922 -1979	Not found	B.Arch (McGill) 1952 Associate	Trinidad and Tobago Department of Works and Hydraulics Last permanent Address	Liverpool 19/02/1959	37	PWD Lagos	1960-1961	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Deceased 1979"
5 JAYESIMI, Samuel Oluyemi	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Northern Polytheenic) 1959 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1960 -1961	Not found
6 ODEINDE, O.A.	Not found	Not found	Dip Arch (Hull) 1959 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Ibadan	1960-1961	Not found
7 ORD, W.G.	Not found	Not found	Dip Arch (Durham) 1953 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Enugu	1960-1961	Not found
8 PERRY, A.A. J.	Not found	Not found	Articled 1951 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Kaduna	1960-1961	Not found
9 SOBOWALE, F.B.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch Northern Polytheenic 1960 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Ibadan	1960-1961	Not found
10 WARD, John A.	Not found	Not found	Dip. Arch (Leics) 1960 Associate	Not found	Not found	Not found	PWD Lagos	1960-1961	Surviving RIBA membership card reads "Resigned 5/2/75"

Figure 161: Time-line of PWD personnel information [1960]

The paradox is that majority of the new architects had come at the end of empire period when independence agitations were at their peak, and the colonial government had even put in place a gradual devolution processes which saw regional governments and houses of assemblies established in the three major Northern, Eastern and Western zones of the



country. Another time line is being presented below to still further explain what the colonial Government structure in Nigeria entailed from the beginning, and how this manifested in the Developments in the PWD

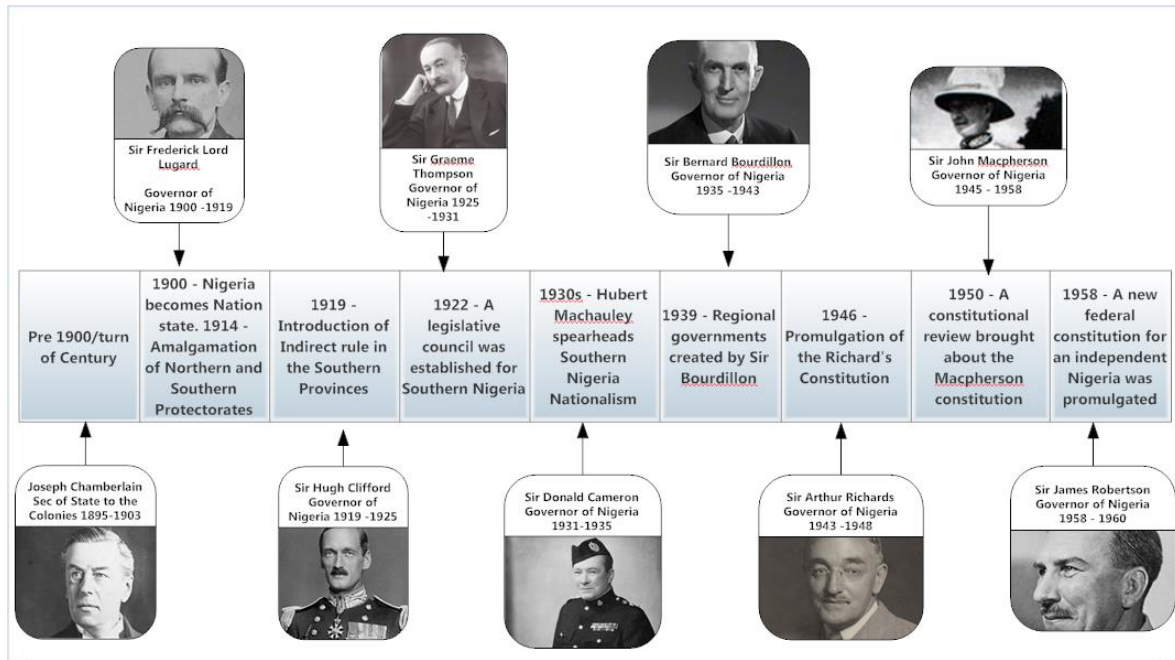


Figure 162: Time line of Nigeria's political History between Circa 1900 and 1960

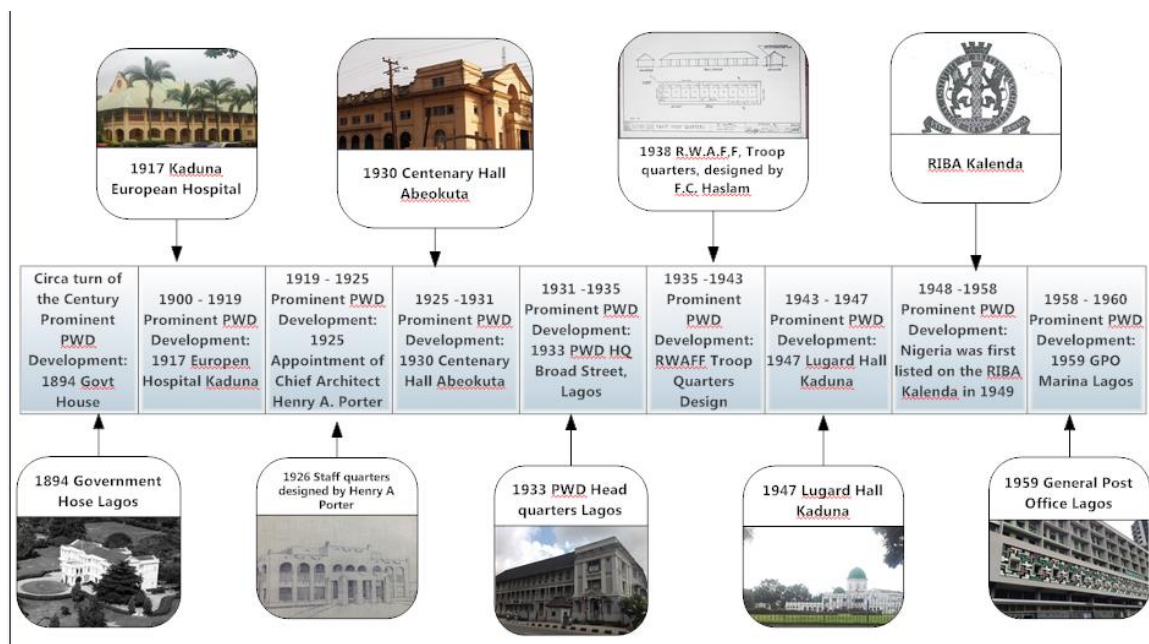


Figure 163: Time line of prominent PWD developments 1900 to 1960

The question which this immediately raises is, were the incoming architects not discouraged by these looming agitations for self-rule, and the possibility that the incoming government may not really require their services?

Stevenson's answer was that "yes there was a lot of animosity, and the West African press had shown their dislike for the PWD by nicknaming them 'Plunder Without Detection'". According to him however, the agitation for the British colonial government, their PWD, and everything British needing to be 'Nigerianised', suffered a huge set-back. This set-back in a twist of fate was that, there were not yet enough Nigerian professionals on ground to take over from the British who were being 'chased out'.

With the ever increasing building needs being generated by the newly inclusive government structure of native houses of assembly and the other development projects which were rapidly springing up, the PWD had little choice other than to continue placing advertisements for 'colonial architects' with the crown agents in London, and having interested architects (Stevenson himself said this was the same advert he responded to) apply and take up the positions.

- **Did they all come to work directly from the UK?**

Not all architects who came to work in the Nigeria PWD were going out to the colonies for the first time. Some had previously worked in another colony before relocating to Nigeria to join its PWD. Although no exact dates were found of when they went out to the other colonies, a possible assumption which can be made is that some went out to work in those places after the enactment of CDWA, which an imperial reach. But this is just an assumption, they might have taken appointments in those places for several other reasons.

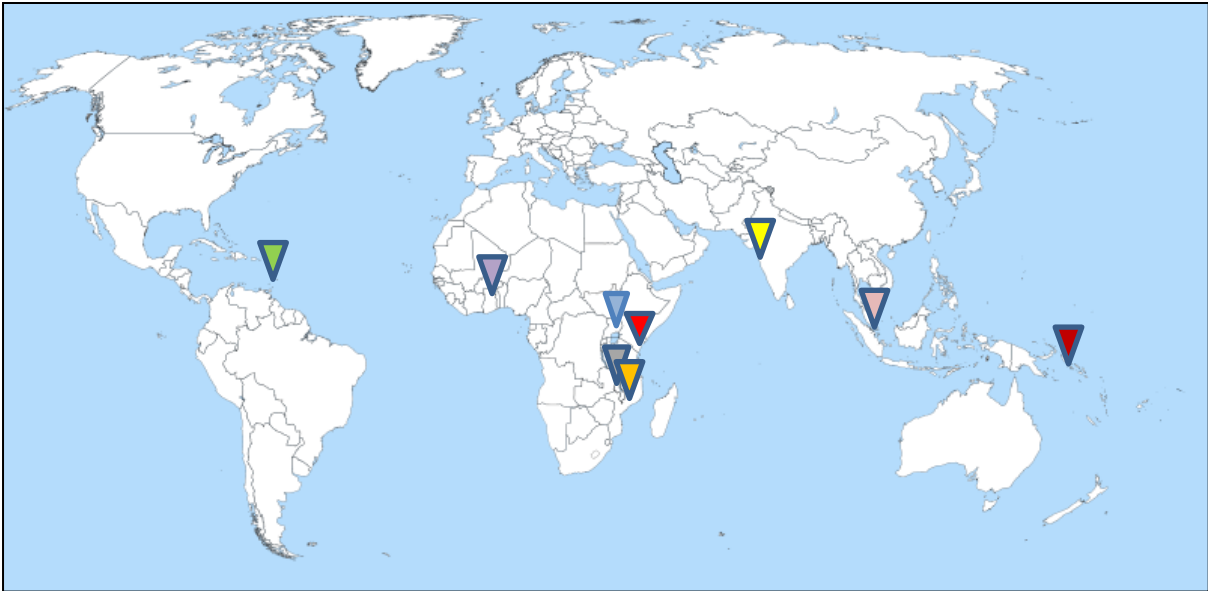


Figure 164: World Map showing the previous colonies PWD architects worked in

Table 10: Table of colonies where some PWD architects previously worked

Nyasaland (grey)	1	Mozambique (Orange)	1	Solomon Islands (Burgundy)	1
Bombay (Yellow)	1	Uganda (Blue)	3	Ghana (Purple)	1
Singapore Malaya (Lilac)	1	Trinidad and Tobago (Green)	1	Mombasa Kenya (Red)	2

One of the architects, Kenneth Begg for example was born to missionary parents in Madras, India, Although he spent his early life in the UK, he still at some point returned to open a private office in Bombay, probably due to family connections which he still had there. Another assumption not to jump into is that they had all practiced architecture during their stay in these colonies. Unless where categorically stated, like the architect who worked in PWD Ghana, or the other in the Department of Works and Hydraulics in Trinidad and Tobago, it may be that working in a previous colony was in another field.

This was the case with Stevenson when he worked in Mombasa Kenya, while he was in the navy. The significance of looking at architects who worked in previous colonies is to again, see PWD not only through the lens of implementing colonial architectural development in Nigeria, but as part of an empire-wide building organization. While their reasons for relocating from one colony to the other may remain unclear, the exchange of ideas and sharing of design and construction knowledge which follows the movement from one PWD to another may have been quite advantageous. Stevenson remarks on a particular case where, an Ikoyi, Lagos staff quarters design was introduced to the Kenya PWD by an architect who had worked in Nigeria. According to him, the acceptance which the design received so successful, that it became widely popularized and was known as the ‘Nigerian type design’.

- **At what ages did they arrive in Nigeria and why?**

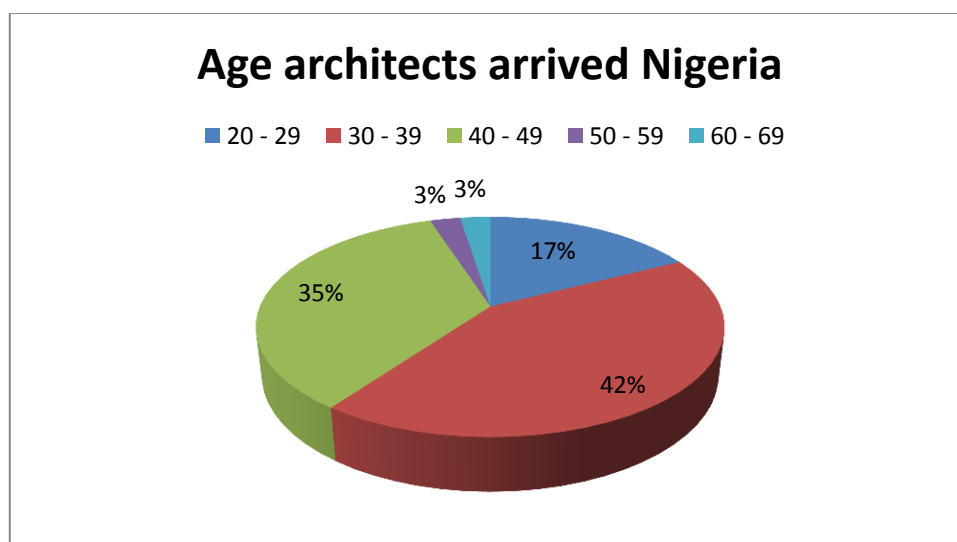


Figure 165: Pie chart showing architects ages when they came to work in Nigeria

Although a little over half of the architects’ ages and year of birth were not found, those available yielded useful results. The most prevalent age at which they arrived Nigeria was between 30 and 39 years, which is closely followed by the next age range of between 40 and 49 years. The two aspects of the results that raise questions are first, the relatively few

numbers of architects who arrived in their 20s, and second the quite noteworthy numbers who arrived in their 40s.

The reason I will propound is that the 20-somethings by the early 1950s had perhaps served in the war, or done National Service after it, as well as undertaking a long training. With little if any experience of actual building, they would have been of limited usefulness to the PWD. The older 30-somethings may have qualified before the war, or perhaps just after it (with various concessions offered to those who had served in the armed forces). They had missed out on many opportunities for building during the 1940s, when construction was very constrained by the war and its aftermath, but would have been eager to get back into professional activity by the 1950s. The 40-somethings would have qualified pre-war (more likely than not by the LRIBA route) and would have experience to offer the PWD. They, like the 30-somethings, would effectively have missed out on the 1940s. Britain too saw a rapid expansion of the public sector profession in the 1950s and 1960s, as local authority offices and some central government ministries provided many of the professional skills needed in the rebuilding of a war-damaged country and catching up on a lengthy gap in all forms of construction activity. Many private architects endured considerable hardship during the wartime years and the long period after 1945 when building had yet fully to recover. So for much of the 1950s work abroad might well have exercised a strong appeal.

- **What major distinctions existed within the group of architects?**

There are a total of ninety-one architects being looked at in the studies, but within this wider group existed some notable distinctions. The first very notable distinction was the wide gender disparity between the number of male and female architects who practiced in the

PWD. While eighty-nine men are recorded as Nigeria's PWD architects, only two women make up the numbers to the ninety-one total

One of the women, Mrs Jill Elizabeth Webber, was one-half of the only couple that existed in the group, and her Husband is listed as Alexander Mackenzie Webber. They arrived Nigeria in 1954, and worked in PWD Kaduna till 1957. The only other woman in the group is listed as Miss O.M.D. Winter, and she worked in PWD Lagos from 1957 to 1959.

### **Nigerian-born and European Architects**

The second notable distinction within the group of architects was the disparity in numbers between Nigerian born and European architects.

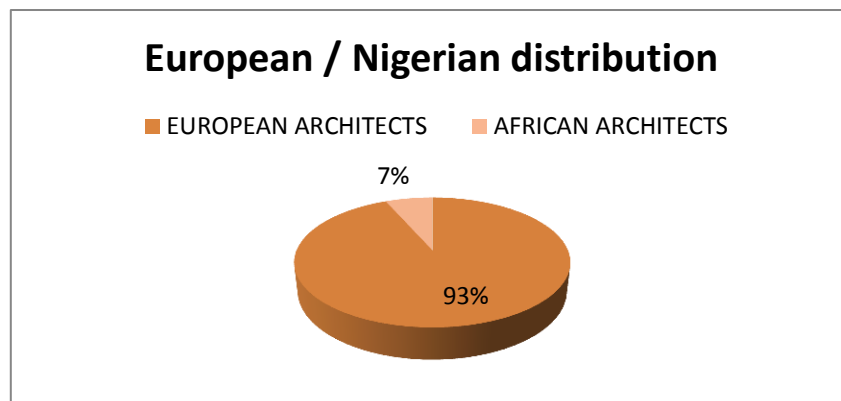


Figure 166: Pie chart showing ratio of European to Nigerian born architects

This data is again reflective of early and mid-twentieth century realities of the time. Higher education in Nigerian was not yet prevalent, but a few students had become recipients of scholarships which enabled them to study overseas in the UK. A commission for the first University in Africa had been undertaken by Fry and Drew, and built in Ibadan by 1948, but since architecture was not one of the courses offered there, a few Nigerian students had come

came to the UK to train as architects. The first of these graduates was (Onofowokan M.O) who returned to Nigeria in 1955 after studying a first degree at Glasgow University. He then took up an appointment at ministry of lands and survey Ibadan.

A number of other Nigerians had followed suite, and brought the number of Nigerian architects at independence in 1960 to ten. Although six of these ten, Egbor A.A, Jaiyesimi S.O, Nwafor C.O, Odeinde O.A, Uku V.T and Sobowale F.B had joined the PWD, I have fallen on a cold trail in trying to trace them. I was however able to get a snapshot of the institutions where the ten of them had their architectural training.

Although it is unclear why they chose to school in these particular institutions, there is as well the possibility that some of the first to come in, had recommended their schools to other friends or relatives who later joined them there - as seen with the Northern Polytechnic.

**University or Polytechnic trained versus Articled architects**

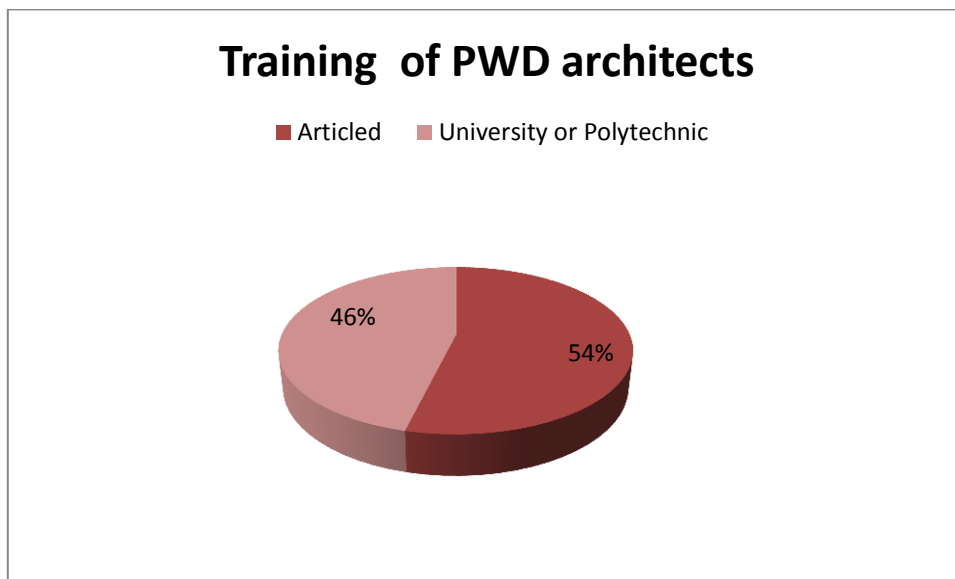


Figure 167: Pie Chart showing distinctions in architectural training

Another major distinction observed in the group of ninety one Nigeria PWD architects, was the type of architectural training which they had received. There were the architects who had attended and graduated from the architectural department of Universities and Polytechnics around the UK and who made up 46% of the total number of architect. There were however, a larger group of the architects who had undergone apprenticeships with more established architects or firms to earn the first phase of qualification known as licentiates. The acronym for this qualification was often bracketed after their names as LRIBA.

Upon graduation and passing the RIBA exams, university graduates earned the associate level qualifications and also had the suffix ARIBA written after their names. An architect could qualify ARIBA either by taking the RIBA examinations as an articled assistant or by obtaining exemption from the RIBA exam by gaining a recognised degree or diploma. LRIBA was for assistants of many years standing whose experience qualified them to be admitted to the royal institute without an examination.

REGISTER OF MEMBERS		411
Class of Membership		Elected
F	Scott: Robert Duncan, A.A.DIPL. (Hiscock & Duncan Scott); Piccards House, Bridge Street, Guildford, Surrey (Guildford 5902)	{ A 1931 F 1943
A	Scott: Russell Minturn, 6 Brick Street, Park Lane, W.1 (Grosvenor 1321)	{ 7373 } 1939
A	Scott: (Miss) Stella Marcia, B.SC.(ARCH.)(Glas.); 39 Oakway, Grand Drive, Raynes Park, S.W.20	{ 6566 } 1937
F	*Scott: Theodore Gilbert, M.C. (A. F. Scott & Sons); 23 Tombland, Norwich, (Norwich 21237)	{ A 1914 F 1926
F	§Scott: Thomas, O.B.E.; Chief Architect, Public Works Department, Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa	{ L 1931 F 1940
F	*SCOTT: Thomas Edward, C.B.E., Hon. Treasurer [Athens Bursar 2 Verulam Buildings, Gray's Inn, W.C.1 (Chancery 5439)	{ 1936 } { A 1920 F 1929
L	Scott: Thomas George Birchall, 110 Horseferry Road, Westminster, S.W.1	{ 4208 } 1932
A	Scott: Thomas Kay, DIP.ARCH.(Manchester); 19 Granville Road, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14	{ 7218 } 1939
A	Scott: Thomas Russell, D.A.(Glas.); 51 Polwarth Gardens, Hyndland, Glasgow, W.2 (Western 7937)	{ 12270 } 1950
A	Scott: Walter, D.A.(Edin.); 3 Bedford Place, Edinburgh, 4	{ 13642 } 1952
A	Scott: Walter Schomberg, Northfield, Prestonpans, East Lothian	{ 6470 } 1937

Figure 168: Snippet of register of members from 1953-54 RIBA Kalendar

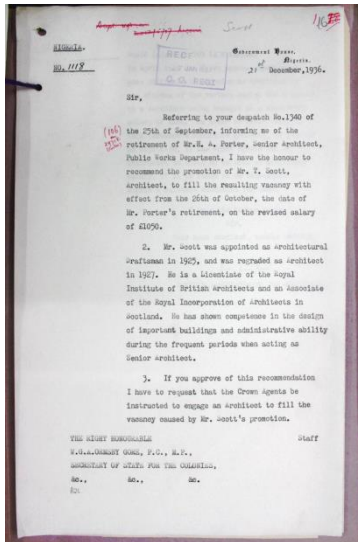


Both LRIBA qualified and examination qualified ARIBA members could become fellows after further years of experience. An example who fits into this description is Thomas Scott O.B.E., who was Chief architect of PWD Lagos. He was first employed as an architectural draftsman into PWD Lagos in 1925, and was elected into as a RIBA Licentiate in 1931. Scott was elected FRIBA in 1940. The University trained architect also had criteria by which they eventually could become a fellow of the institute.

### **Thomas Scott**

Being perhaps the most prominent example of articulated architects, a group which makes up the larger percentage of PWD architects, it will be interesting to take a deeper look to Scott's career story and progression. Although Scott had worked in the Nigeria PWD as an Architectural Draughtsman since 1925, he came into a position of greater responsibility beginning from 1936. The events that led up to this was that his former boss and erstwhile Senior Architect of the Nigeria PWD, Henry Porter was going into Retirement. The major designs done by Porter and which have been earlier discussed in this research include the 1926 Northern Provinces Staff Housing, 1926 African Hospital for Lagos and 1933 PWD Headquarters, Lagos.

Although there have been no further sources that provide details of Porter's career in the PWD, the 1936 letter presented below writes of his retirement, and the need for a new PWD Senior Architect, in the person of Thomas Scott. Written from the Government of Nigeria to the Secretary of State to the colonies, the letter reads that:



1936 Letter recommending Thomas Scott as Senior Architect of PWD<sup>529</sup>

NIGERIA

No. 1118

Government House,

Nigeria.

21<sup>st</sup> December 1936.

Sir,

*Referring to your dispatch No. 1340 of the 25<sup>th</sup> of September, informing me of the retirement of Mr. H.A. Porter, Senior Architect, Public Works Department, I have the honour to recommend the promotion of Mr T. Scott, Architect, to fill the resulting vacancy with effect from the 26<sup>th</sup> of October, the date of Mr. Porter's retirement, on the revised salary of £1050.*

*2. Mr. Scott was appointed an architectural Draftsman in 1925, and was regarded as Architect in 1927. He is a Licentiate of the Royal Institute of British Architects and an Associate of the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland. He has shown*

<sup>529</sup>The National Archives, CO 583/216/11 "Public Works Department Staff: Architects" 1937

*competence in the design of important buildings and administrative ability during the frequent periods when acting as Senior Architect.*

*3. If you approve of this recommendation I have to request that the Crown Agents be instructed to engage an Architect to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Scott's promotion.*

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
W.G.A.ORMSBY GORE, P.C., M.P.,  
Secretary of State for the Colonies,  
&c., &c., &c.

Staff

Aside from informing on Porter's imminent retirement and recommending Scott's promotion, the letter also outlines Scott's professional qualifications. His Licentiate qualification at the time, corroborates the RIBA Kalenda information of attaining the Licentiate in 1931. After undertaking further explorations however, I was able to source documents which show Scott's bid to obtain the RIBA Fellow status, and which he eventually obtained in 1940. As was the procedure for articulated architects, Scott obtained this Status by first applying to the RIBA Council. This was done on the 4<sup>th</sup> May 1939, and the application comprised a form where he filled his name, address – Public Works Department Lagos Nigeria, date and signature.

A second form, called 'Candidate's separate statement', was however more detailed. Here he filled in details of his early education from 1913 to 1915 as an architectural pupil in Scotland. He also indicated being engaged in War service between 1915 and 1919. From 1919 to 1925 he practiced as draughtsman and chief draughtsman with James Scobie architect and surveyor in Dunfermline, while also attending Herriot Watt College, Edinburgh. In this second form, he also indicated joining the Nigeria PWD in September 1925 and provides a list of the buildings works to his credit. They include the Colonial residency in Kano, Water Tank,

Kaduna, various European Quarters, Hill Station Jos, Mosque Kaduna, Public offices Katsina, Residence for Emir of Zaria, College Kaduna, King George V Swimming bath of Lagos, Women's Training Centre and African Hospital Sokoto, and Printing Offices Kano.

3761

**ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS**  
Incorporated by Royal Charter of William IV. Y. 1834. Statute VII. 1840. & 1862. & 1891.  
66 Portland Place, London W.1

**FORM OF APPLICATION  
FOR ADMISSION AS A FELLOW**

BY AN ASSOCIATE OR A LICENTIATE OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE  
OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS

To the Council of the Royal Institute of British Architects—

I, THOMAS SCOTT

of PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

Lagos, NIGERIA, WEST AFRICA

~~Advertisement~~  
A LICENTIATE of the Royal Institute of British Architects,  
hereby apply to be admitted as a FELLOW.

I declare that I have read the Charters of Incorporation  
and Bye-laws and am duly qualified thereunder to be so  
admitted.

Signature Thomas Scott

Date 17 MAY 1934

\* Strike out words which do not apply.

~~— 111 — 20 — 1934~~

Figure 169: Thomas Scott RIBA Fellow Application

3761  
FELLOW

A.L.

**CANDIDATE'S SEPARATE STATEMENT.**

Every Candidate desirous of being admitted a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects must furnish the Council with information suggested in the items hereinafter printed.

ITEMS	DATE	DESCRIPTION
I.—The years in which he acquired his professional education, and the name of the university or other institution.	JAN. 1913 to Oct. 1915.	Architectural pupil, Messrs J. & S. Curzon Architects, 116 Dept Street Southampton, N.B. (now out of practice)
	Oct. 1915 to Jan. 1919.	War service, U.K. Transport, Liverpool, then London
II.—Particulars as to his employment, and the nature of the work done, before he commenced practice.	April 1918 to Sept. 1925.	Craftsman, and Chief Craftsman with James H. Lambie, Architect and Surveyor, 1 Douglas Street, Southampton. (Present) First Work College, Edinburgh, Government of Nigeria, F.W.O.
III.—The year in which he commenced practice and the locality.	1925	Government service, Nigeria.
IV.—A list of the principal buildings in the country, urban, rural, or otherwise, designed by him, or which he has been engaged in architecting, with a description of the nature of the work done.		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Roundway Road.</li> <li>2) Water Tower, Lagos.</li> <li>3) Type 701, 722, 723 and various European houses.</li> <li>4) Mill Station for Imo State, Nigeria.</li> <li>5) Imo State, Nigeria.</li> <li>6) Public Offices, Lagos.</li> <li>7) Residence for Emir of Lariba.</li> <li>8) College, Lagos.</li> <li>9) King George V Swimming Bath, Lagos.</li> <li>10) Club, Lagos, Lagos.</li> <li>11) Women Teachers Training Centre, and African Hospital, Lagos.</li> <li>12) Printing Office, Lagos.</li> </ol>
V.—A list of the principal buildings in the country, urban, rural, or otherwise, designed by him, or which he has been engaged in architecting, with a description of the nature of the work done.		

I hereby declare that the above statement made by me this 14th day of May, 1939, is a true account of my professional education and works; that I am a British subject, and was born on the 23rd day of October, 1898; and that the buildings, enumerated above, have been designed by myself.

Signature of Candidate Thomas Scott  
 Address F.W.O. P.O. Office, Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa

\*A Candidate for Fellowship must have attained the age of thirty years, and he must have held the rank and grade of the rank.

Figure 170: Thomas Scott RIBA Fellow Application (Separate statement)

Scott was also to later design the 1947 Lugard Memorial Hall which was examined earlier in Chapter Five of this research.



Figure 171: Water Tower Kaduna, designed by Thomas Scott (Picture taken by author in 2013)

Scott's application was however to remain incomplete without a reference or 'Proposer's Separate Statement'. He was able to get this from his former boss Henry Porter who provided him a very strong reference. Here, Porter acknowledged being acquainted with Scott beginning from 1925, and states that 'I know him to have had a thorough character in architecture and he has applied an excellent knowledge of the profession as a very capable Architect'. But another question on the form also enquired if he was acquainted with works executed by the Candidate. His answer was 'I am acquainted with all type mentioned by the

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(FELLOW)

**ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS**  
Incorporated by Royal Charter of William IV, Victoria, Edward VII and George V  
 66 Portland Place, London W.1

**PROPOSER'S SEPARATE STATEMENT.**

This Statement must be filled up, in accordance with the marginal instructions, and subscribed by one of the Fellows who have signed the Candidate's Nomination as Fellow.

---

To the President and Council of the Royal Institute of British Architects:

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to inform you that my acquaintance with Thomas Scott  
Insert name of Candidate P. W. D. Scott  
Insert name of Proposer in block with Candidate's name who is desirous of being admitted a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, commenced in the year 1928 and that Scott is a  
man of a high character in education & is  
well versed in excellent knowledge of the profession  
and a very capable architect

I am also acquainted with some of the works executed under the Candidate's superintendence, viz — the new extension of the Institute in  
London to which he was my chief architect  
and some other buildings in Nigeria & the latter of which  
are of a high standard of quality. He is eminently capable  
and I recommend him by confidence and will be pleased to supply further information should it be required.

I, further, believe that he is a fit and proper person to be admitted a Fellow of the Royal Institute.

Signature of Proposer Henry Curtis  
 Address 12, Strand, W.C. London, a Room Office (A.R.P.)  
 Date 9.9.39

Figure 172: Thomas Scott RIBA Fellow Application (Proposer's separate statement)

candidate in his statement. For 12 years he was my chief architect whilst I was Senior Architect in Nigeria. He is eminently capable and I recommend him by confidence and will be pleased to supply further information, should it be required'. It therefore appears that the

two men had held a very cordial working relationship between 1925 when Scott joined the department and 1936 when Porter retired. This statement was signed by Porter on 19 August 1939 after he had left Nigeria, and by 13 February of 1940 after passing his exams, Scott was elected Fellow at the RIBA council meeting. Scott also signed his formal 'Declaration' on 1st April of the same year.

3761  
(FELLOW)

**ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS**  
*Incorporated by Royal Charters of William IV, Victoria, Edward VII and George V*  
66 Portland Place, London, W.1

Name and Title in full: Thomas Scott

Place of Residence: Public Works Department, Lagos, Nigeria.

Place of Residence: Lagos, Nigeria.

having passed the Examination of Licentiates qualifying for admission to the Class of Fellows, and having read the Charters of Incorporation and Bye-Laws of The Royal Institute of British Architects, and being duly qualified thereunder, is desirous of being admitted as a FELLOW.

A separate written statement by the Candidate, giving particulars of his professional education and works, and a separate written statement by one of the undersigned, Raymond Porter giving particulars of his acquaintance with the Candidate's professional education and works, accompany this Nomination.

We the undersigned do, from our personal knowledge of him, propose and recommend him for election.

Witness our hands this 19<sup>th</sup> day of Aug 1939.

The Candidate must write his ordinary Signature here, no fill in date of so doing.

Thomas Scott

Raymond Porter Fellow

William S. ... Fellow

... .. Fellow

Approved by the Council  
of 19

Elected at the Council Meeting held on Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> of February 1940

Signature of Chairman of the Council  
... ..  
Signature of Chairman of the Council

Figure 173: Thomas Scott RIBA fellow election



3781

A FELLOW

**ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS**  
Incorporated by Royal Charters of William V, Victoria, Edward VII and George V  
 56 Portland Place, London W.1

**Declaration.**

I, THE UNDERSIGNED Thomas Scott, having been elected a FELLOW of The Royal Institute of British Architects, do hereby promise and agree that I will not accept any trade or other discounts, or give or accept any illicit or surreptitious commissions or emoluments in connection with any works the execution of which I may be engaged to superintend, or on which I may be employed under any other person or with any other professional business which may be entrusted to me. Lastly, I declare that I have read the Charters and Bye-laws of the said Royal Institute, and will be governed and bound thereby, and will submit myself to every part thereof and to any alterations thereof which may hereafter be made until I have ceased to be a member; and that by every lawful means in my power I will advance the interests and objects of the said Royal Institute.


Witness my hand this 27 day of April 1940

Signature Thomas Scott Fellow.

Signed by the above-named Thomas Scott in the presence of—

None of Witness [Signature]

Address [Blank]



120—24/10/38 P. 2 1/4

Figure 174: Thomas Scott Declaration on being elected Fellow

It is interesting to see that Scott's declaration form was witnessed by the Manager of the Bank of British West Africa Limited, in Kaduna. Perhaps, it would have been expected that with Porter now retired and back to the UK, and Scott being the new Senior Architect, he

might have had the document witnessed by the Director of Public Works (DPW)? The Public Works department was a largely Engineer oriented department at the time, and always had an engineer as its Director. Could Scott's preference of the British West Africa Bank Manager witnessing his RIBA Fellow Election papers, rather than his PWD boss, be an indication of frosty relations between architects and engineers in the department? Or was it just a matter of convenience, proximity and avoiding the long train ride to Lagos? A Bank Manager in Kaduna would have been much easier to reach, since Scott appeared to have most of his building projects located in Northern Nigeria.

By and large however, Scott's training, practice in the PWD and qualifications in the RIBA provide insights into the professional progression of An articled PWD architect's career at the time. But my interview with Stevenson was more broad-based. Although the comparison is not based on an articled or university trained status, the interview was able to capture not only the career progression, but also a tinge of Stevenson expressing aspects of his social life and reminiscences of practice stories. But the most significant point to note from Scott's application process and election as Fellow, is that it reflects the empire wide, and connection to the metropole nature of the PWD. Although the architects practiced in Nigeria, their training, qualification and eligibility for practice was based on the requirements for the RIBA.

I don't, however, see anything particularly out of place with the way this was structured at the time. If anything, I think it standardized professional practice requirements across Empire and created flexibility for the architects to gain wider experience, and share such experiences for better building where the need arises. Besides, Nigeria had not yet developed its own indigenous practice of the architectural profession then, so it wasn't a question of Nigerian

Institute of Architects members being marginalized at the expense of RIBA architects. And when the Nigeria Institute of architects eventually came into being, its knowledge of RIBA practices never went to waste, but became a foundation to build the new institute on.

- **What were the architects' trajectories after independence?**

As pointed out in previous sections, the legacy of Nigeria PWD Architects had remained in a shadowy and forgotten past before this research was conducted. But unveiling the identities of the architects and exploring further details about their stay in Nigeria may prove to be a rather inconclusive study. One pertinent question which remains even after harnessing these facts will be what happened to the architects after their professional years in Nigeria?

This question is virtually tied to the 1960 year of Nigeria's independence. The year for the architects, therefore came with the inevitable question mark of 'What happens next?' for the architects. Even though this turn of events were already expected, 1960 still became a watershed, which was to determine the immediate future of these groups of professionals. When I asked Stevenson about his experience during this period, he said he and other architects whose opinions he sampled would have strongly preferred to remain and continue to work in the department. But he said, it became clear that the drive to 'Nigerianize' everything was subtly making them more irrelevant. Besides, there was the yearly trouble of making the 15 day cruise journey from Lagos to London to have your contract renewed for the next one year. What then was the trajectory of the architects after the independence period? There were a number of options, but which ones did they take? Did they return to the UK to take up their old practices or begin new ones? Did they return to UK and join a government service to build on their experience of working in the PWD? Did they return to the UK and then

move on from there to another colony, as Stevenson did? Did they remain in Nigeria despite the subtle hostility?

Table 11: Trajectory of PWD architects’ place of practice after independence

Moved to another colony	6
Record of returning to UK available	7
Remained permanently in Nigeria	6
Professional records available into the 60s	7
Professional records available into the 70s	12
Professional records available into the 80s	6

These are some of the questions raised to which possible answers were being generated from the available data. Although the post 1960 records for a little over half the numbers of architects were not found, the other nearly one –half of records found, still provided useful insights. Some of the architects after living Nigeria, relocated to other colonies while there records showing others taking up appointments and resettling in the UK. A number – I will say just the Nigerian born architects, remained permanently in Nigeria. However, rather than provide post-independence location details, the other part of the result give insight on the professional practice records of architects which remained available in to the next three decades of the 1960s, 1970s and 80s. many of these were not any detailed or flamboyant documents, they were mostly just the simple RIBA membership cards through which the institute continued to update details about the membership of individual architects.

Aside from the architects name and relevant registration numbers, these cards just often provided the latest status of the owner in the institute’s record which could be “card expired”, “card removed” and member “resigned” or “deceased” along with the accompanying date of

the event. The card which had the latest of the dates on it, was that of the PWD architect Cartwright, Andrew StGeorge, who came to work in Nigeria in 1959 at the age of 34. The card simply read his name and had the updated information “Resigned 14/5/1982” by which time he must have turned 57 years old.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the composition of PWD architectural personnel between the study period of 1900 and 1960. More particularly, however, it has focused its exploration on the body of architects who began working in the department in Nigeria Post World-War II. What makes the study of these architects significant is that, although the Post World-war II arrival of graduate architects coming to work in Nigeria (and other tropical regions) has generated earlier literary interest, no known study, aside from this research has been done on the architects who joined the Nigeria PWD at the same time.

Nigeria PWD architects therefore remained largely ‘forgotten’ until this research was conducted. In his 1957 article title *Architectural Work of the Ministry of Works, Western Region Nigeria*, Davidson, who was himself a PWD architect and chief architect of the department at the time, had written that the staff strength comprised of five architects. However, that was about as much reference that he made to architects in the department at the time. Since Davidson’s work remained only article written on the PWD prior to this study, the question of who the architects who worked in the department were, when they came to Nigeria where they worked, and the significance of their working in Nigeria at the time have remained unanswered.

In this chapter however, by conducting an investigation of the RIBA Kalenda membership card, and other archival sources, the research has been able to demonstrate what the PWD architectural staff strength comprised, and also unravel the identities of individual architects. In this way, the research's third strand of study which looks at PWD architectural personnel, will gain insights not just on the statistics and number of architects, but relate with real participants and get real life opinions.

The resulting numbers of architects also show how the department embraced new professionals and building design methods, showing a marked difference between the earlier era of engineer designers and their use of standardised handbooks in design. Because the era also coincided with the tropical modernist designs being undertaken by private architects, the department's buildings began to feature less of their erstwhile distinctive colonial architecture features, of deep roof overhangs and deep wide verandas, and more of the emerging perforated external wall designs.

But it wasn't only PWD building designs that were changing, or its drawing office personnel from Engineer designers to professional architects. It was Post World War II, and imperialism itself was undergoing an evolution, from the stand point of the colonized as well as the colonizers. New attitudes were developing, and were gradually being manifested in the political and social sphere of the colonies. And of course, these attitudes had also begun to materialize in architecture and imperial building. Tropic modernist architecture for one, had become the propaganda machine for the what was being known as 'Architecture of development.' This was a course being championed by the new entry private architects who went to work in the tropical colonies Post-war, and was a way of distinguishing their own designs from the earlier colonial architecture which they deemed as 'oppressive.'

However, what the private architects perhaps did not realise was that, their architecture of development was not the only way architecture was experiencing change in the Post war era. The PWD which were seen as the proponents of an erstwhile ‘oppressive’ architecture was also undergoing systemic and design changes. It is also useful to note here, that tagging PWD architecture as oppressive did not mean there was anything oppressive about the buildings themselves. The distinctions were being made based on the absoluteness of imperial rule in the Pre-World War II era, when no dissenting voices were heard, except those of the colonial administration. But Post war saw more freedom being expressed in agitations for independence from the colonized, but also policy implementations for welfare and improved conditions in the colonies by the imperial government itself.

So with Post-war witnessing attitude changes on both sides, and private architects pushing for an ‘Architecture of development’, in what way was the PWD keeping pace with these new developments and adjusting to the new local realities?

One strategy which the research adopts to gain insights here is by exploring the department through real life participants, as seen in my unstructured interview session with the veteran PWD architect Charles C. Stevenson. More participants would have been sought for a wider range of opinions, but Stevenson, a 93 year old veteran of the department, was the only living PWD architect who I could locate from that era.

In terms of PWD’s adaptation to the Post World-War II era, a number of insights came to the fore from my interview with him. First, he noted that, the PWD had to keep up with the evolving times, more so it was witnessing criticism from two ends – the private architects who tagged the department as having a reputation of oppressive architecture, and the elite natives championing independence agitations. But from an insider perspective, he argued

that the PWD had actively participated in the changing times and was changing its system not to be seen as Colonial, oppressive agency that the opposition made it out to be.

For one, he was sure that he and a good number of architects who joined the department Post-war, did not perceive themselves as ‘Colonial agents’ – a status which private architects implied the PWD architects belonged to, and which they, the private architects, hoped to prove through their designs, they were not. To Stevenson, he and his colleagues never saw themselves in this light, but perceived themselves purely as professionals who took up practice appointments when work opportunities opened up for imperial development.

Secondly, he argues that the PWD was even more in tune with the realities of the changing times than the private architects. This according to him is that, unlike the private architects whose commissions were mostly limited to designing architectural showpieces for Businesses and commercial concerns, the PWD continued to produce government administrative and public buildings, but with improved modes of operations designs than the earlier Engineer designers were able to achieve. He explained how the changing telecommunication technology had seen the PWD create a unit on telecommunications, and to which he was the head of department. He also described how in this capacity, he supervised new designs for the upgrade of old post offices and had prepared project budgets, and travelled round Nigeria implementing these new works.

He also explained how in doing these works PWD was able to relate more with local people and understand their needs. For incorporating shaded verandas in new post-office designs, because they realised many locals came to the post offices to use the services of letter writers, because they were not literate. So they often needed a space to sit to get this service done,



which prompted the PWD to include such spaces in the design. So he argues that they were more relevant to the changes being witnessed by everyday people than the private architects.

The PWD was to improve native participation to go with the changing agitations of the time. So there was immediate employment ready for Nigerian Graduates returning from the UK, who became their colleagues and acquaintances. In all, Stevenson paints the picture of a group of professionals who were excited to be part of the evolution being witnessed in Nigeria, and were happy they were contributors to that change. They were happy that the system enabled them to take up building projects which they may have never had the opportunity of doing as juniors serving in architectural firms in London. With such levels of enthusiasm and new works to be done occasioned by Colonial Development policy and funds, the department was also experiencing a new lease of life. So just as the private architects envisaged that their architecture of development was the shining new light that was changing both architecture and colonial attitudes in the colonies, the Nigeria PWD was also in tune with the realities of the time, particularly with its cohort of new architects. These architects can be said to have started the department away from its cold and dry engineer-designer run days to more progressive paths of the time, as it continued its task of designing and producing government buildings.

### **Post Script: PWD legacy and Nigeria's Post- independence architectural Scene**

This research has investigated the Public Works Department (PWD) Nigeria between the turn of / early Twentieth Century, to the late Mid-Twentieth century in 1960. This period coincides with the period of colonial rule in Nigeria, when an administration formally

came into being at Lokoja in 1900, and ended on October 1 1960 day of Nigeria's independence. During this designated period of study, the investigations done in this research looked into the PWD along three strands of its systems of operations, building output and the development of its architectural personnel. But one pertinent question here will be so what happened next? Did everything just grind to an abrupt halt on 1 October 1960? What shows that this was not the case, are the Findings made in this chapter, particularly those based on the architects post-independence trajectories. Although the architects whose records could be found did not all remain in Nigeria, the findings showed some sustained presence, particularly in the immediate years following independence. Gradually however, many returned to the United Kingdom.

But the question again may be were there any new entrants of foreign consultants being employed to work in the department after 1 October 1960? Based on the emphasis for a 'Nigerianization' of Government agencies, this will hardly have been so. In fact, the RIBA Kalenda, which at the time provide up-to date information on architects going to work in the colonies, had stopped publishing any information on architects working in Nigeria after independence. Although the research was not able to ascertain if this was a decision of the RIBA or if such a decision emanated from the NIA (Nigeria's newly established body of architects), what became clear was that a transformation was taking place regarding the usual pull of PWD (addressed in some quarters as colonial architects) coming to work in Nigeria, and this transformation was one which left PWD more and more side-lined in the system. While such transitions were taking place in the PWD however, the reverse appeared to be the case in the private architectural sector. The Private Architects, who were also avowed proponents of the 'Architecture of development' appeared to have made a very impressive in-road Nigeria's Post-independence architectural scene. This research suggests that the success

of the private architects at this time was directly related to the new vistas which were opening up in Post independent Nigeria's economic, political and social scenes. These all required new buildings, and with money becoming available to finance large infrastructural development projects, the desire for new post war modernist designs was also being fuelled. Private architects were therefore in high demand.

But rather than cause the complete downfall of the PWD, This new development was again bringing the department to the fore. This is because at the exit of the colonial administration, it was mainly the Nigerian born PWD architects who were at the fore front of establishing the Nigerian Institute of Architects (NIA). Chief among this were Architect Onafowokan O, who later became known as the 'father of Architecture in Nigeria', Jaiyesimi Oluyemi, Adyemi A.A, Egbor A.A., and of course Olumiyiwa Oluwole who had studied at University of Manchester and who's views part informed the organization of the 1953 Tropical Architecture conference which held at the AA in London.

Regarding the introduction of architectural education, however, the expectations are slightly different from what eventually came to bear. For example, it could almost be taken for granted that since the majority of newly trained indigenous architects (with Pa Onafowokan being the first University trained architect in Nigeria – graduating from the University of Glasgow in 1953<sup>530</sup>) were from, and returned to the country to practice in Western Nigeria, will translate into establishing a school of architecture in the same region. This was however not to be the case. When the first school of architecture was eventually established, it was to be located up North at the Nigeria College of Technology, Zaria – which was to later become the present day Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

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<sup>530</sup> First listed in the RIBA Kalendar of 1953/54

## **CHAPTER 7: KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS**

*“The volumes of architectural history that line our library shelves rarely give any reference at all to the office of the Supervising architect.....”*

### **Preamble**

This final chapter of the research discusses the study’s key findings, and how they contribute to knowledge on the tropical imperial built environment, colonial architecture in Nigeria, as well as the country’s late colonial mid-twentieth century architecture – as explained through the agency of the Nigeria Public Works Department (PWD). The chapter also looks at how the findings can be used and what practical implications they portend. Finally, it examines and proposes areas that make for possible future studies.

### **Chapter contents**

7.1 Key findings of the research

7.2 Practical implications of the research and how findings can be used

7.3 Possible areas for future studies

### **7.1 Key findings of the research**

#### **What has the research examined?**

The research has examined the architecture of the Public Works Department (PWD) in Nigeria, by investigating PWD and related colonial administrative historical sources. It has also investigated the department’s surviving buildings in Nigeria, as well as the make-up of its architectural personnel in the emergence of Nigeria’s architectural profession. The historical sources investigated have included colonial records, official documents, paper trails, drawings, illustrations and maps related to PWD operations from 1900 to 1960 in

Nigeria. The department's building output on the other hand, have been examined by investigating its surviving buildings in the categories of monumental and modest administrative buildings, buildings typifying climatic factor design and tropical health considerations, as well as buildings facilitating travel, trade and communications. The third strand of the study on the department's architectural personnel, has also being examined by investigating professional architectural records and archival biographical records to unravel who the architects were, when they worked in Nigeria and so forth.

#### Why was the Nigeria PWD examined along the three strands of study?

This research has examined the architecture of the Public Works Department in Nigeria from the early to mid-twentieth century by adopting three main strands of study, which include; the department's building operations and administration, its building output, as well as the composition of its architectural personnel. There are two reasons why the research adopted these three strands of investigations. The first is in line with its aim to build on Davidson's 1957 *the architectural work of the Ministry of Works, Western Region Nigeria*, and thereby contribute to the knowledge on the department after a fifty-eight year gap in the study. In his study, he had looked at these three strands of investigations, but it was all done within a two page article which provided very limited insight.

The second reason the research was investigated along the three strands of study was to explore deeper on the presence of surviving PWD in Nigeria. Nigeria PWD buildings remain a striking feature of country's urban environment, and were a major pull in my initial interest on the PWD. However, further explorations on the department's outputs revealed more sources than just buildings. To provide fuller insights on the department therefore, this research explores the two other main strands which have comes to light through the sources;

the departmental building operations as well as PWD architectural personnel. Both strands as well as the PWD buildings output are yet to be the focus of any major previous study.

#### What did the investigations find?

- *Nigeria PWD – a new department meets new building needs*

The first area in which findings were made was on the purpose for which the department had come into existence. It was found that the department emerged as part of the mandate to fulfil the period's colonial policy on the development of the imperial estate. Some literary sources had quoted Joseph chamberlain approving the construction of Nigeria's first railways that to be built by the department in 1894. The Lagos government house was also built in the same year, although its drawings were signed in 1889 by F. Anderson, the Colonial surveyor.

The need for administrative buildings was important because prior to early European contacts and colonization, settlements in Nigeria had mainly comprised the village type houses that were synonymous with the period's agrarian existence. With the advent of missionary and early trading contacts, as well as the formalization of colonial rule, however, came new resident European communities, new modes of governance and livelihoods, new technological advances and new lifestyles; all of which required a different form of architecture from what had previously being in existence. The initial public building requirements of the time was therefore not about increasing demand of existing infrastructure, but about producing new building types to accommodate newly emerging realities. With a new colonial justice system in place, the village chief's palace court was gradually replaced by Law courts, police stations and prisons. Other changes to architecture in the period included; village square meetings being moved to town hall buildings, sending

of long distance messages through palace messengers replaced by post offices, and native doctor sheds replaced by hospitals.

- **Nigeria PWD architecture cannot be explored without linkages to the predecessor Royal Engineers**

My findings also showed that an investigation of the Nigeria PWD cannot afford to ignore the Royal engineers; rather, it must begin with it. The reason is because many PWD building methods are steeped in the engineer's practices. I found that the most significant of these practices are those with roots in the Royal Engineering design practices found in the West Indies, which have similar tropical conditions to those found in Nigeria. The designs usually emphasize improved ventilation and fittings or features geared at excluding mosquitoes from the interiors. One method commonly practiced was to suspend buildings on pillars and off the ground level. In this way it was believed that the building will receive increased airflow within its interiors and mosquitoes may not access its increased height. Mosquito netting were also popularly used.

The West Indian Royal Engineering traditions also influenced the PWD's adoption of the 'Colonial Engineer.' In the RE tradition, he was a jack of all trades who undertook and supervised everything from bridges to churches and house. In the PWD, he was gradually replaced by engineer designers, whose role became more limited to the drawing office. Here, the engineer designers worked in line with another practice which the Nigeria PWD adopted from India. This practice was the use of Standardised handbooks for design. Little creativity or innovation for new designs were required by the Engineers with the use of these handbooks. The handbooks simply served as standard guides to various building designs, which the designers then replicated.

- **PWD architecture is not unique to Nigeria but linked to PWD practices in the wider empire**

Another significant finding is that the Public Works Department was an imperial building production agency which was not unique to Nigeria. For this reason therefore, a research on the Nigeria PWD cannot limit its explorations to how the department was run in Nigeria. Rather it needs to also explore how the PWD operated in other colonies. However another main finding in this regard, is the very limited literature which exists on the subject from other colonies. From the few found though, it was seen that the department's methods of operation, building types and the colonial rule narrative in buildings were similar to those which this research also brings to light. The marked difference between this research and the studies found however is the strand of investigation which this research dedicates to the exploring and Nigeria PWD architects, and analysing the significance of their presence in Nigeria at the close of empire.

- **Nigeria PWD standardized its building operations**

The colonial administration was highly organization to meet the unique setting of Nigeria's approximately two-hundred and forty tribes. This was done by creating a government structure of Colony, Provinces, Divisions and Native Administrations. The PWD was therefore a department whose relevance spanned across all tiers of government, because every level required new administrative buildings. The department was therefore required to run and coordinate building projects across these various tiers of government, and within each individual level. In order to meet these demands, the department adopted three methods. First it developed a regulation book of its own structure and officials duties. But more importantly, it links each building project task directly with the government level approving and requiring it. It also standardized its operations by building prototype construction yards in



major administrative headquarters, for coordinating construction works in the area. Lastly it standardized its operations by employing standardization of building designs, such that a 'type' design was created for the appropriate levels of government.

- **Native staff worked in administrative roles and some paper trails were in Nigerian language**

Going by the first 1907 departmental regulations, the only reference to native staff had been seen them in their role as site labourers, who were supervised by foremen on PWD building projects. However, sources from later periods show that native staff had also worked in administrative roles in the department. One particular source published by the Native Administration level of government in Northern Nigeria, showed how native staff undertook clerical roles, stores, accounting and book keeping roles, and project administrator roles in staff quarters construction. Although the staff were also trained for these roles, not many had undergone any previous formal education at the time. And so to avoid language being a barrier to their jobs, many of the accounting and store keeping cards, as well as other paper trails were published in Hausa language.

- **Nigeria PWD buildings were politically symbolic**

My next significant finding is seen in the Nigeria PWD building output, ranging from Post Offices, Court Houses, Police Stations, Staff Quarters and various other types of administrative buildings of the time. I find that by serving the purpose of the new colonial government, the buildings were reflective of the government's political power and administrative control. In reflecting this power also, they could either be in the monumental and grand building types, or just modest and basic building types. The functions which these buildings served had always existed in the earlier traditional societies, but such functions

were undertaken within the more common traditional buildings of the time. There had always been traditional courts, a law enforcement system, a traditional council of chiefs, and native herbal cure centres. But with the commencement of PWD buildings, these functions were for the first time having buildings specifically designed for those purposes. Although the buildings were for the smooth running of the colonial government, they were also often of benefit to the native people. However they remained largely seen as symbols of the prevailing new system of control.

- **Nigeria PWD buildings sometimes adopted regional architecture features**

The other type of symbolism which Nigeria PWD buildings were sometimes seen to adopt, were the traditional architectural features from various regions of the Nigerian society. This symbolism came in either traditional mud-brick buildings being wholly adopted for use, or through the building's salient forms and features being replicated in modern cement block structures. One part of Nigeria where these symbolisms were more commonly adopted was in the Northern region. During the early days of the colonial government, the traditional Hausa elite mud-brick house, featuring a domed mud roof, parapet walls, arches and phallic roof projections, were largely adopted as European staff quarters. The reason they were adopted could have been to symbolically aligning with the elite and royalty in the in-direct rule policy, which allowed them to continue holding power over native affairs, while being supervised by the Colonial Governor. It could have also have been a cheaper option and to reduce cost during the early days of settling in. After all, the adobe mud material was widely available for free, and expertise was also available from traditional builders. In the later years, the first parliament building in Northern Nigeria was designed to reflect the typical Hausa house form.

- **Nigeria PWD buildings adopted climatic control designs and improved tropical health features**

Another major feature of Nigeria PWD buildings was the adoption of climatic control features and building for improved tropical health. Going by the early days of the colonial administration, that was characterised by high mortality rates from malaria and harsh tropical climatic conditions, these two factors remained a priority in the design of PWD buildings. The building of hospitals was also fast tracked. As seen in the earlier PWD-Royal Engineer linkages, PWD buildings continued long after the Royal engineers, to incorporate anti-malaria and climate mitigating elements in buildings. This included proving all windows and in some cases verandas with mosquito netting, raising buildings on pillars off the ground level, and building hospitals for malaria treatment. However, while the designs strived to keep mosquitoes out, it was also essential that rooms and indoor spaces were kept ventilated and cooled from the harsh solar glare. This was achieved by creating deep, wide veranda spaces, deep roof overhangs, cross-ventilated rooms and roof vents. Climatic and health conditions were particularly also given priority in PWD buildings which housed large numbers of people, such as prisons.

- **Some Nigeria PWD buildings were essential to Imperial trade, and Communications**

An improved communication system was one of the key factors which sustained empire's administration. In the very early days of empire, it took months for mail that was dispatched by steam ships to get to the metropole from the far flung Colonies, Dominions and Possessions, and vice versa when the mails where being sent from the metropole. However with the new advancement in telegraph technology and airmail, communications within empire greatly improved. Further facilitating this improvement were the range of post –

offices and post and telegraph buildings designed by the PWD to suite all levels of government in Nigeria. International trade between the colonies and industrial Europe was also one of the hallmarks of Empire, with Nigeria being a top player among the other colonies, for its richly abundant levels of agricultural produce and other raw materials at the time. PWD buildings also provided the booming export trade infrastructure as seen in its railway stations and what were then known as the European trading sites.

- **Nigeria PWD architectural personnel changed Post-war, from Engineer designers to professional architects**

I also found that the department experienced a water shed period in the timeline of its building production practices. Building projects had been mainly designed and produced by engineer-designers. However, this water shed came post war, and saw an influx of architects coming in from Europe and particular Great Britain to work and design buildings in the department. New opportunities arose post war in the colonies with the enactment of the colonial development and welfare act, and many architects sailed out to these lands, to either practice as private architects or take up civil service appoints with PWDs. Two significant developments which also came with the water-shed, is that the old classical style buildings started to wain and PWD began adopting designs done in the tropical modernist style popularised by the private architects of the time. Second, is that for the first time in Nigeria's architectural history, the country began developing its own body of architectural professionals.

- **Nigeria PWD maintains an impressive legacy of surviving buildings in Nigeria**

I also find that a good number of these buildings are still currently in use, and for the specific functions for which they were built. While some remain in pristine conditions, others have weathered and deteriorated over time. For the latter, I also find no evidence of any conservation efforts.

## **7.2 Practical implications of the research and how findings can be used**

Finding can be used to place Nigeria among the former tropical colonies with an available study of its PWD – I had observed during the research that the dearth of literature on the PWD was not only unique to Nigeria. In my attempt to source previous PWD literature on the other former tropical colonies, I realised that there have been a limited number of studies in this regard. Considering the significant work which the department undertook, it would have been expected that more studies will have been done. It is therefore of essence that the findings of this research will contribute to knowledge in the field by locating Nigeria as one of the few countries who now have available research done on its colonial Public Works Department. So as the quote at the beginning of this chapter suggest, ‘the volumes of architectural history that line our library shelves’, can now include a researched work on the Architecture of the Public Works Department in Nigeria.

Findings can be used to teach Nigerian architectural history courses to explain the architectural features of Nigeria PWD buildings - In the early days of empire in West Africa, where Nigeria is located, the region had the evil reputation of being known as the white man’s grave. This was occasioned by the harsh tropical climate and presence of malaria carrying anopheles mosquitoes which resulted in very high European mortality rates. The

administration and PWD building designers therefore placed very high proprieties on dealing with tropical health issues and thereby eradicating climate and malaria induced mortality levels. For this reason therefore, the government fast-tracked the construction of hospitals for treating malaria and other tropical diseases. The PWD on the other hand imbibed tropical building features that aimed to eradicate misquotes within living spaces and at the same time increase ventilation, cooling and shading, this brought about architectural features of PWD buildings including buildings suspended on pillars and mosquito netting, as well as deep roof overhangs, deep wide verandas, roof vents, cross ventilation for cooling and shading.

Findings can be used to teach Nigeria architectural history courses to explain the imperial and political history of surviving PWD architecture in Nigeria – PWD buildings are the surviving architectural legacy of the wider colonial administrative period in Nigeria. The buildings had been built to facilitate the smooth running of the new government, and in this way had developed into a vernacular of government buildings spread across the landscape of Nigeria. During the colonial administrative period, the buildings were symbolic of government presence in towns where they were found. By the end of the colonial administration, these buildings became the foundation on for future government administrative developments.

Findings can be used to provide more details on Nigeria PWD buildings and stimulate a discussion with the Federal Government of Nigeria for the conservation and restoration of the buildings – There are two issues of note here, first the focus of this research is not on the conservation or restoration of PWD buildings. Second, the culture of conservation and restoration is a very less trodden path in Nigeria. However, although my fieldwork findings were slightly hindered by lack of access to many building due to security concerns, these shortcomings were significantly made up for in with some very intact surviving building

plans which I sourced. With these and other archival details of some buildings, a case may be put forward to the government for restoration works where the need applies.

Findings can be used to provide an inventory and biodata of PWD architects who worked in Nigeria during the early and mid-twentieth century to the Nigeria Institute of architects and Federal Ministry of Works, Nigeria - There is currently no pre-1960 record of PWD architects who practiced in Nigeria at the Nigeria institute of Architects NIA, or the Federal Ministry of Works, Abuja. My findings can be used to provide this information as part of government records on the early days of architectural practice in Nigeria.

Findings can be used to explain transnational architectural practice between the metropole and colonies at International talks on transnational architecture - In recent times, there have been increased scholarly interests on the discussion of Transnational Architecture. These studies have largely addressed the context of expatriate architects coming mostly from Europe to advance new practice ideas either in other European countries, or within their former colonies. Sometimes also, it could be the expatriate architects just taking up commissions in other parts of the world where practice opportunities exist at the time. Examples of these types of exchanges abound around the globe, and my findings, which showcase British architects coming to work in Nigeria, will fit into this discussion at international conferences and talks.

Findings can be used to generate a book titled “The architecture of the Public Works Department in Nigeria during the Early to mid-twentieth century – I had earlier indicated how my findings could be used to teach Nigeria architectural history courses. But going on from this, I will like to use my findings to reach even wider audiences. My findings can therefore

be used to publish a book which will be useful to not only to students, but to researchers and for the wider public's interest.

### **7.3 Possible areas for future studies**

The research is characterised by a number of areas which will make for possible future studies. The first for example, is that a non-availability of archival source materials on Eastern Nigeria PWD meant that my research was more limited to exploring Northern and Western Nigeria. The gap on Eastern Nigeria, and other towns not explored in my investigations can therefore be the focus of future studies.

Second, although the research referenced the former Gold Coast (now Ghana) in discussions about colonial administrative building in British West Africa, its focus is limited to PWD architecture in Nigeria and not on the sub-region. A future study on the department can therefore investigate PWD linkages in the wider West-African sub-region

Third, the timespan being examined in the research is the early to mid-twentieth century period. Besides a few very relevant references made to events in the post-independence period (after 1960), the research is largely limited to exploring the Nigeria PWD within the stipulated time-span. Future studies could perhaps investigate the PWD significance in Post-colonial Nigeria.

Fourth, the research investigated only the aspect of PWD which produced colonial administrative architecture. The department had also featured a vibrant engineering unit which built civil engineering infrastructure for the colonial administration, but which is



beyond the limit of my research. A future research could make linkages between the architectural and engineering units of the department.

Fifth, my exploration of PWD building operations are limited to the department's administrative and building design roles. The research does not therefore delve into financial allocations, project budgeting and in-depth financial analysis. It is also not focused on building construction methods details. These are therefore areas which a future research can make its focus of studies.

Sixth, the PWD buildings in this research are limited to understanding them in the context of tropical imperial built environment and colonial architecture in Nigeria. Their analyses are therefore not based on stylistic considerations or a 'then' and 'now' comparative study. Future study can therefore look at a case of conservation for the buildings in their current

Seventh, the research exploration of Nigeria PWD architects did not produce further results on Nigerian Born PWD architects, as all efforts to trace them was futile. Further studies can focus its investigations on researching these architects.

So although these points are indicative of areas of weaknesses in the research, the weaknesses also reflect areas for possible further studies.

## **Conclusion**

The chapter has examined the key findings of the research, its practical implications and how the findings can be used, as well as explored areas of possible future studies. It sees from the

key finding that the PWD had responded to meeting the diverse building needs of the colonial administrative government in Nigeria, during the early to mid-twentieth century. Although these buildings may have been put up to resolve immediate administration's immediate functional needs, the impact of their presence resonated on much deeper levels. First, some of them were addressing old functions – such as law enforcement, village square gatherings and Palace council meetings - with new building forms – such as police stations and prisons, city halls, and parliamentary building. Others were new forms serving new functions that hadn't existed in the erstwhile traditional society – such as office buildings. There are no indications though, that native responses were averse to these changes; But PWD buildings were not immediately present in every village at the onset of the administration. Many district officers had lived in village huts, and in the Hausa North, top administrators had live in adapted Hausa elite house.

Another impact of the buildings was also that of the symbolic colonial authority. To the natives, these buildings were never really perceived as 'belonging to our community', but where seen more in the light of 'the white man's house' or 'the government's house'. Perhaps using the buildings to signify authority over the natives may have been acceptable to administration in the early days, but with the passage time, particularly towards the end of empire this became more and more unacceptable. On the contrary, a Colonial Development Policy was even enacted to fund more government projects that will benefit the natives.

But the buildings were also high in priority on improving living spaces and mitigating the effects of the harsh tropical climate. This I will say was a foundation being laid for future modern buildings in Nigeria. Long before the European presence and modern houses, Natives had long devised climatic adaptation in their own traditional buildings. But the PWD's

adoption and emphasis on tropical building methods was a good way of improving living conditions. This practice had long been used by the PWD before the later mid twentieth century tropical modernism.

In improving tropical living conditions the PWD also built hospitals which the colonial government provided. These hospitals were also a major input of the colonial administration government which changed the face of earlier traditional living, as modern health care was now available to everybody. Another major impact of the administration with regard to the PWD, was the end of empire Colonial Development. This saw architectural practice developing in Nigeria through the architects who had taken up work in the PWD, and this gradually built a foundation for the Nigeria Institute of architects which was to come.

Based on these positives legacies therefore, I will argue differently with the notion that PWD buildings were only consumables of empire and that the PWD itself was only a Scaffold for building the main structure of empire. In my own opinion PWD operations, buildings, and architectural practice were the good foundation works that were laid for government building programmes in a one day to be independent Nigeria.

### **Post Script: A reflection on my experience and learning from the PhD Research**

My research on the Architecture of the Public Works Department in Nigeria during the early and Mid-twentieth has been a very insightful experience indeed. Now looking back to my growing up years in Nigeria, I can vaguely recall family discussions, where reference was made to the PWD – and this could be sometimes be about a relative or close friend of the family who had worked in the department during colonial times. Many years later after graduating from University, I recall coming across a ‘PWD Bus-stop’ located along Lagos-

Abeokuta Express way, when I went on my National Youth Service Corp in Lagos. That was about the only sketchy information I previously had regarding the department at the time. However, in the course of later post-graduate study on Colonial architecture in Nigeria, I began coming across more references being made to the department, although, this was usually just a passing statement about it. My taking up the department's architecture as a PhD research therefore opened new and very interesting vistas of findings.

In fact, some of the research's most unforgettable moments for me, were the long hours of searching for, and pouring over newly discovered materials about the department at various archives I visited. To me, it was a very humbling experience to find and unwrap (for what seems like the first time) copies of original drawings made by the department. An example is, the 1926 Staff housing for Northern provinces designed by Henry Porter.

Another unforgettable aspect of my study and from which I had gleaned much new knowledge, was in establishing the methods through which to conduct the research. This was really important because, as the investigations proceeded, a divergent range of source materials were also being discovered. It was therefore important to adopt methods which could cut across and establish linkages among these range of sources. By and large however, I can confidently say that the research culminated in a great learning experience for me.

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## APPENDICES

### **Appendix 1 - full text of 1 October 2014 interview, granted me by veteran PWD Architect Charles Stevenson (1923 - )**

**Stevenson:** How are you?

Ibiyemi: I am very fine and very pleased to meet you, finally. I have read about your work, and seen loads of photographs of your buildings, but I haven't seen you yet. It is so nice meeting you.

**Stevenson:** O, I must look different from when I was in Nigeria.

Ibiyemi: Yes, yes, very different....very nice to meet you.

**Stevenson:** I'll like to know what some of my buildings look like now too. I think some of them will probably look as old as me.

Ibiyemi: But the funny thing is they are still the buildings...they still serve the functions for which you designed them at that time.

**Stevenson:** O... so have you been out to the P and T building at Oshodi... on the way to the airport?

Ibiyemi: Yes, yes.

**Stevenson:** Because that was my first Job in Nigeria.

Ibiyemi: O, ok. But what I have often wondered is why did you go to Nigeria? Was it a part of your career plan ....?

**Stevenson:** I was em.... After I left the Navy and I finished my training, I was working in an office in Glasgow, but the work wasn't very interesting for a junior. We were working on old factories, which we were trying to modernise after world-war II. And it was a lot of industrial work because of the restrictions after World-war II on materials and that sort of thing. You had to have priorities. And the main priority for building was getting the factories back and running with their normal production after the war to get the country's economy going again. Because most of the country was predominantly on the war effort, and that was most

important so factories made furniture and materials like furnishings materials like cottons and things like that. They weren't important so they were working on war materials during the war, but they were bringing them back in afterwards. But some of the factories were so old they were still running on steam engines. Yes. One factory I worked in at Glasgow was a massive steam engine that worked with belts; belt system right through the factory, and all these girls working at these weaving machines. But then they were converting them to electric and that sort of thing. It was very uninteresting work for an architect. And er.. I couldn't get a house; there was no housing available....

Ibiyemi: O really, why? Why was there a housing shortage?

**Stevenson:** Well, there was no new building during the war, and when all the army troops came back and got married, married men will get priority for housing and I was still back at University as a student. I couldn't afford much real housing, and I got married then at 1947. So I saw this advertisement for a job in Nigeria...

Ibiyemi: Was it in the papers? Where did you see the advertisement? The advertisement for the job in Nigeria, were did you see it?

**Stevenson:** Where did I see it? O it will be in some of the local newspapers and it was the crown agents who used to recruit. Crown agents in London used to recruit architect for all the colonial territories in Africa, Malaysia, India and so on.

Ibiyemi: Can you still remember the name of the Crown agent...was the Crown agency like a company?

**Stevenson:** The Crown Agent was a government organization in London. They organized all materials and recruitments for the colonial territories. Any country could use the Crown agents so they had all sort of expertise. If you wanted prefabricated buildings, the crown Agents will get quotations and send information out. And they also did recruitment for the colonial service. But I went on a contract basis, not permanent and pensionable.

Ibiyemi: O really, why was that?

**Stevenson:** Well it was because the er...there was a certain amount of permanent and pensionable people that after World War II...because they saw the colonies were all going towards independence, they stopped recruiting permanent and pensionable people and recruited me on contract. All the young architects that came out to my post and telegraph Building section were on contract. The chief architect there was a man called Thomas Scott, he was the chief architect of the Public works department in Lagos. And then he retired, and it was a Mr George Stout took over the department when I was recruited.

Ibiyemi: Thomas Scott and George Stout, had they been...How many years do you think they had been in Nigeria before you came, and what were there experiences?

**Stevenson:** You mean how long George Stout had been?

Ibiyemi: Yes and Thomas Scott, did they pass on any experiences to you?

**Stevenson:** What I gathered from George Stout was that he er...George Stout was in the British Army, and he was in Burma with West African troops and that's how he got to know west African people. And after the war, he recruited in the colonial service as an architect, but he came out...OR he will be coming out in the early forties, just after World War II he was older than me, and he came out as an architect and when the old chief Architect Thomas Scott retired, George Stout took over as chief architect.

Ibiyemi: So what year did you get to Nigeria?

**Stevenson:** That will be er... when I went in '53, Thomas Scott was about to retire, I was at his farewell party, and then George Stout was the Chief architect all the time I was there.

Ibiyemi: So Thomas Scott, he had been in Nigeria before you, did he have any experiences he passed on to you?

**Stevenson:** Thomas Scott, the chief architect, he retired when he...he was over 50, I can't remember...maybe in his 60s. But when he retired, he had been in Nigeria as an Engineering

draftsman, he wasn't a fully qualified architect, because he went in for the building side of engineering, he became what they call an LRIBA, never heard of that have you?

Ibiyemi: Yes, the Licentiates.

**Stevenson:** Licentiate, he wasn't a qualified architect, but he became a licentiate architect LRIBA. And he had been in Nigeria before World War II.

Ibiyemi: So were there things you could learn from him...did you get to know about his experiences before he left?

**Stevenson:** He was experienced in the practical side, not so much in the design side. The design side was very much controlled by the engineers, because there was always...the director of public works was always an engineer. And before the war, they didn't have any architects; it meant most of them were just draftsmen. But it was after World War II because of the impetus towards independence, and a lot of building works required, they started recruiting architects. And one or two in the early days came on permanent and pensionable post. But in the early fifties when there was a lot of big development schemes started up with lots of building works, they recruited a lot of young architects on contract.

Ibiyemi: When the young architects including yourself...when you got into the system was there...what was the relationship with the engineering designers who had been on ground and were not architects. Did you continue in there tradition or was there a clear break from what the PWD had been doing?

**Stevenson:** Well I think in Nigeria they had a lot of very enlightened....originally it was just the director of Public works and then the chief architect who looked after all the building section and the director of public works looked after the civil engineering and the architecture. There was a chief Engineer and a chief Architect. But later on the way things are... because....em, at a lot of stages, there were a lot of more architecture works that roads and bridges because public works department found out they could give a lot of their road and bridge work to consultants and consulting engineers. But the architectural section they still carried on doing a lot of building work. So they decided that there will still be a director

of public works, and deputy director architecture, and a deputy director, civil engineering. People left works on their own. In fact the architectural department used to bring in consultants too, but mainly from the engineering...

Ibiyemi: From where did they bring in the consultants?

**Stevenson:** As I said we brought in Engineers, structural engineers mainly; because a number had set up in Lagos. But the main one that we used was Ove Arups. Over Arups set up in Lagos. I think the Architects co-partnership group brought them out initially. No, they were brought out I think...er.... on some of the national pride jobs...and they were very...we would call them architectural engineers because they were prepared to do things that.... whereas the public works department engineers, we used to call them 'slab and beam merchants'.

Ibiyemi: I want to know the transition between the the days of working with handbooks, standardization handbooks, and then the move over to design by architects.

**Stevenson:** Well when I took over the post and telegraph building section, pre-war Thomas Scott had designed these little post offices for all over the country with one apse for a type I, two apses for a type II, and three house apses for a type III, depending on the size of the village or township that the post office was to go. But we took these, still basic plan, but we took them and modernised them with..em...perforated blocks, screens and verandas and things like that because there were always lots of people waiting and hanging around post office, so they could sit in the shades. And there were these people who used to write letters for people...they used to sit outside the post offices to write letters for people who couldn't write. And then we went there from a standard to....and then when the bigger post offices came in like Kano and Zaria and places like that they were specially designed. I would appoint one of the young architects to bring up sketch plans and set up some ideas, and we'll work on them and...em...ultimately...The one I could particularly remember was Zaria. Have you seen Zaria post office?

Ibiyemi: I grew up in Zaria.

**Stevenson:** You know there's a mirror in front of the post office. That is still there? Cos I remember we got the local....

Ibiyemi: I grew up in the seventies/eighties in Zaria. I used to see it then.

**Stevenson:** Ah...because we used the local arches to make this beautiful mirror that was to represent telecommunications. And it worked like the way they used to do the mud designs on the northern region buildings... it was all in a big panel at the front of the post office in Zaria.

Ibiyemi: Were there any influences from the type designs – those Type I, Type II, Type III – did you use any influences from them or did you discard them completely? Were they still relevant when you started designing?

**Stevenson:** Well we had a lot more modern equipment after the war, counters and things like that and the whole interior was different from the old one. It was just a simple rectangular building because some had to be built in like Dutsin Wai and very out of the way places, those were the post offices. And then of course there is always a difference with the telephone exchanges. They were also....they hadn't... I don't think they had built many telephone exchanges pre-war....but so we had a field team building programme, we had telephone exchanges all over the country so we designed a series of 1000 line... in those days there were mostly manual...you know, girls at switch boards. We had this thousand line, standard thousand line exchange, a two thousand line and then there was the four thousand lines. There was only two of these built, four thousand line - one was in Ibadan and one was in Enugu I remember.

Ibiyemi: So what was it like for the European community? How did they adjust to the tropical climate and the new environment?

**Stevenson:** When I first arrived....I had been in....em....when I was in the navy, I went in a convoy out to East Africa, and we in stopped at Sierra Leone and I got my first taste of West Africa then. But when I arrived in Lagos, it had a rest house in Ikoyi. A government rest house owned by the government...so, in a building round the rectangular, and I was in a room around the corner, and there was no breeze and there was no air, no air-conditioning at



all, and I thought I will die of the heat. But after a couple of weeks I got used to it and I didn't worry about the climate after that. I got much acclimatized because I had been in the tropics before.

Ibiyemi: Sorry, you had been where?

**Stevenson:** Well I was with the Navy, I was called up in 1942. I was eighteen and a half. I went.... after training in England, I was drafted to a Ship, it was the ship Barter, and I had to get on to....it took us about six weeks to sail from Britain, and actually we went from the Clyde, from my area and we sailed right round and we didn't see land or touch land until we came into Cape Town and South Africa. A double liner head convoy and one and a half went into Cape Town and we went round to Durban. So I stayed there in a transit camp at Durban and I got a smaller ship up to Mombasa.

Ibiyemi: Wow, you did some travelling.

**Stevenson:** I was in a transit camp in tents in Mombasa, just across from the old town. You know Mombasa?

Ibiyemi: Yes, it's in East Africa.

**Stevenson:** Kenya.

Ibiyemi: Yes, Kenya. But when you were in Nigeria...when you had settled in Nigeria, did you consult with architects in other colonies, especially in Africa. Did you need to? Did you have any working relationship with...maybe another architect in Kenya or Southern Rhodesia or something.

**Stevenson:** Well it was the colonial service, and a lot of colonial services used to em... swap some standard plans... like housing plans. I don't know whether you know the government standard block of flats in Ikoyi?

Ibiyemi: Yes I know it.

**Stevenson:** The standard government flat? It was em...two stories...three story block of flats and there's a central entrance that goes flat by flat by flat. Then there's a back stairs that the servants used to use and the rubbish went over back on the back stair. That plan was designed by George Stout, the previous chief architect in Lagos, and that plan was used in other parts of Africa, in East Africa. It was called the Nigerian type block of flats.

Ibiyemi: Really, that is so interesting.

**Stevenson:** There is a lot of interconnection between the different British colonies.

Ibiyemi: Ok. Are you...your native heritage, are you from Glasgow?

**Stevenson:** There was a Mike Onafowaokan, have you...did ever hear of him? Mike Onofowakan?

Ibiyemi: No...O, Mike Onafowokan....yes, I have.

**Stevenson:** Mike Onafowakan. He came out to Lagos, after I've been there for all of maybe five years of something like that... and he had trained at Glasgow. And he came to our section in Lagos, and later on he ...I think he was in line to be senior architect in Lagos, but then he moved off. I think he was from Ibadan or somewhere. He moved in to the Western province government and he went to Ibadan. But I didn't hear anymore of him after that. He said the only trouble he had in Glasgow was history of Art. He found that really difficult.

Ibiyemi: But did you err...are you... is Glasgow your native town?

**Stevenson:** Yes, yes I was born in Glasgow.

Ibiyemi: And then you went on to....

**Stevenson:** It's now called the Macintosh School of Architecture, but it was just the Glasgow school of architecture when I went there. And then it became part of the University of Strathclyde. Recently they had a degree course where you went to Glasgow University for one year, and then you came into the Glasgow school of Architecture and did three more

years and did three more years and that was a degree course. I did start an apprenticeship in 1939 just before err...after I left school, I got an apprenticeship with an architect and studied night school. We go on to what they call the certificate course in Architecture, and then afterwards we could do two years full time and get your diploma and RIBA. But because I was an ex-service man, after I got back I got full time education.

Ibiyemi: But from what I have read, there were some of the architects who did not have a formal... they didn't go to a school of art or anything they just trained on the Job, and they were in the PWD.

**Stevenson:** Yes you can. They did five years as an apprentice architect and you became a junior architectural assistance. When you weren't a qualified architect, you were an architect's assistant. Some of these men were extremely...you know...well trained and carried on. You may have gone to night school to part time classes in design and construction, that sort of thing. But they didn't...if they wanted, they could take the external RIBA exams. So they could do the course of study on their own, they didn't have to go to school of architecture.

Ibiyemi: But when they became architectural assistants, were they Licentiates or associates?

**Stevenson:** If they took the RIBA final and passed you became associate.

Ibiyemi: So who was a Licentiate?

**Stevenson:** Well a licentiate were.... My boss that I went... he was sixty something when I joined the firm in 1939. He was over sixty then. I think he was about sixty eight but he was still working as an architect and he had this practice. He had never.... You see the RIBA only started in 1938 as a close profession and you had to be a member of RIBA by examination. But all existing professional architects just had to put their name in, and they were licenced by the RIBA so they had LRIBA. That was what my old boss had. He was an LRIBA.

Ibiyemi: So they were licenced because before 1938 there was no RIBA?

**Stevenson:** No. The RIBA was first registered as a close profession in 1938.

Ibiyemi: So before then, you couldn't be an LRIBA?

**Stevenson:** Well, they didn't have a... they just called themselves professional architects. My old boss had gone to France, and studied in France at the Beaux art school in Paris....

Ibiyemi: What year did you start in Glasgow and when did you finish? What exact year?

**Stevenson:** O I started... I was 16 in April 1939. Sixteen and I could have carried on another year or so in Secondary School and gone to university but my parents couldn't afford it then. But then I got a good job. A lot of professions had a lot of apprenticeship systems in those days and I got apprenticeship as an architect, at sixteen. I did two years and eleven months and then I was called up for the navy, then I came back and did one more year as an apprentice, and then I got into full time education. It was a total of about seven years because when you went from part time education to the full time course, you couldn't go from...year three to year four, you had to do year three again in full time education, because the same thing goes parallel.

Ibiyemi: But what was your experience generally in Nigeria? I ask because, at the time you came into Nigeria...emm...there were...agitations for independence, we don't want the British anymore....all those kind of agitations. Did it....

**Stevenson:** Well...there was a lot of animosity. Do you know what they called PWD? The Public works department was in the local newspaper. They called it 'plunder without detection'. And everything had to be 'Nigerianised'. But they didn't have enough fully qualified architects, lawyers, doctors and surveyors, so they had to depend on expatriates. Gust Egbor was the first qualified architect that came to Lagos. Is Gust Egbor still going?

Ibiyemi: I'm not sure if he is still alive. I'm not very sure. But err....

**Stevenson:** He was much younger than me...and George Stout came from Newcastle; and Egbor did his training in Newcastle, and George Stout helped him a lot. He married an Irish nurse. He lived in Ikoyi, not far from me.

Ibiyemi: So...after you left Nigeria, what was the trajectory for most of the architects? Were they returning to the UK, or were they going to other colonies?

**Stevenson:** Well I... I came to London and I was looking around for jobs. I tried to get jobs...yeah most of the young architects that were in the P and T section, they'd come out for mainly just one tour – eighteen months to two years – because as a junior architect just straight from university and architecture school and going into a private office, you never got a job for yourself, you're doing little jobs or detail works for the senior architect, you see. When these young architects came to Nigeria in my section they would get a complete project to themselves more or less with my supervision and emm.....it was a bit of good experience for them. But I found out that after ten years in Nigeria when I went back to look for a job in London they reckoned I was a bit behind the times, that I was building 'grass huts' in Africa. So there was a lot of prejudice against me. But in actual fact we were building stuff in Nigeria that wasn't anything like they were building in Britain. Because we had visitors from a British telecoms ...err...British....errr...British post office in those days, they came out and when they saw our telephone exchanges, they were very jealous. Because what they had were old buildings and refurbish them and extend them. They never had an opportunity to build a completely new telephone exchange. And it was quite interesting that they were quite jealous the way we could do a brand new design for telephone exchange in Nigeria.

Ibiyemi: So err.. did any of the...were you....after your time at Nigeria, did you keep in touch with the other architects, were you aware of where they were or.....

**Stevenson:** What happened was that I was living in London and I was looking around for a job when I bumped into my old boss George Stout who had retired about a year before me, he took retirement; and he was working for a firm Watkins Grey in London, and he said o, come along, and I got a job with Watkins grey in London they were responsible for the Ibadan teaching Hospital. They were hospital specialists, architectural specialists in hospitals. But I didn't...I was in London for about eighteen months, but I didn't enjoy the life there after the social life of Lagos. Yes it was very sociable there. There was no television there we just had the social life and I was keen on sailing at the Yatch club... and err... we had dinner parties

every other night amongst the expatriates. So it was a very social life. But when I was in London that was quite lonely, so I started looking out for another job overseas, so that's how I ended up in the Solomon islands. That is another Colonial territory. I actually applied for a job in Fiji. It was a hospital job there because I had been working on hospitals with Watkins grey in London, so I applied for the Job in Fiji which came up through the crown agents but I was only short listed. So they rang me up and said we've got another job in the same area in the same area we think will be suitable for you in the Solomon islands, and I didn't know where that was.

So I kept I touch with George Stout in the office, but there was another architect from Nigeria, he was up in Kano – I can't remember his name - but he had gone to Uganda and he had come back and he was working in London. So I met him...and ...but I didn't have contact with any other young architect in my section; because as I said they would come out for one tour and that will be it...and emm.... We just lost touch. But I've got some names that I've often wanted to look up in the RIBA register to see where they are but... I'm not in touch with them. And of course the main architect that I'm still in touch with in Lagos is John Godwin.

Ibiyemi: O yes.

**Stevenson:** John and Jill Godwin?

Ibiyemi: Yes, I know them.

**Stevenson:** I'm still in touch with them, and I hear from them at least once a year. And I hear that Alan-Vaughn Williams had died.

Ibiyemi: Yes, Unfortunately. Yeah he died.

**Stevenson:** That will surprise me. He was quite a bit younger than me. I knew him quite well.

Ibiyemi: Did you only work in Lagos? Did you also work in Kaduna....

**Stevenson:** My post was in Lagos, but my projects were all over the country. Once a year, I will do a tour of the projects, the projects at hand, the projects under construction.

Ibiyemi: Was it like that for a lot of architects? Where, maybe your post is in Kaduna and you go on a tour of your projects to other places?

**Stevenson:** Yes there were architects in Kano and there was another architect I also knew here in New Zealand here called, Ron Madaufer, I think he was up in Kaduna airport working up there for some time. But he was still federal Public works. Later on when it became a federation, he was still federal public work but he came back to Lagos afterwards. But ...emmm.... no, there were architects in one or two other places, but not many. Only in Ibadan I think and Kano, maybe Kaduna. When there was a construction work, a major job like Kaduna airport or something, they will draft an architect there. My job was all over the country. We will generally supervise under construction the contractor made by the provincial engineer. Evry province and district had a public works engineer in charge of roads and bridges and buildings and so on, and we will get them to supervise the contract. I got reports...I kept a file cabinet of reports of all the jobs going on all over the country and once a year I would do a tour around. I was also acting chief architect just at the year during independence in 1960 in Lagos.

Ibiyemi: So what did your duties entail, what were you expected to do as the acting chief architect?

**Stevenson:** Well it was, more or less a tour of all the jobs in the Public Works Department. As the senior architect, I was just in charge of the Post and telegraph building programme. Which started off at the early stages about fifteen million pounds. And then later on there was a second programme that came in that was even more about fifty million pounds, that was for lots of the big post offices and the telephone exchanges and I was in charge of the whole lot. All the ... getting land to build and the sites and things like that. All the preliminaries of getting the land to build and sites in the various areas and things like that came through my office. And then we get the final details. And then we were working with the post and telegraph department and they had consultants doing the communications equipment for the biggest buildings; SIEMENS, ERICSON, GEC and ....er it was about five big European

producers of communications equipment. Macuni did the VHF, that's the high frequency communication. between them we'll build these towers, aerial towers right across the country and a reputer station. And I went on tour to get a report on all these construction.

Ibiyemi: Was there a relation...or link between the PWD and the new private architects who were coming up? Because that period was also very boisterous or very busy for Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, it was very busy for Watkins Grey and for a number of expatriate private architects. Was this relevant in any way to the workings of the PWD or was there collaboration?

Stevenson: Well, they would ...er.. these consultants they produced the designs and working drawings and the documentation... and very often, there'll be a Public Works Department architect on site. Like Keith ...Keith Smith, that was the name of the young architect I was trying to think of, who worked on the hospital at Ibadan. And then he went to Uganda, and he was in charge of Hospital design in Uganda. and then Normally ....er... consultants did the whole job on their own. But all jobs came through the Public works department initially. We didn't work with them. Government work was separate from private work. They were mostly doing private work, and the government architects did the public works. But we socialized a lot with the other architects.

Ibiyemi: But there were some of them who did significant government work. Some of the private architects. Especially towards the end, maybe like between '55 and '65... a lot of the private ones got good government projects.

**Stevenson:** Emm...'55 and '65...mmmm.....no not so much. They were doing a lot....there was a lot of commercial developments. Many architects like Watkins Gray, he got hospital work as a private architect. He did hospital work through the government. There was a lot of commercial work going on. Big factories, banks and so forth. And Godwin and Hopwood, John Godwin recently came out with architect's co-partnership, and then he split from them and started out on his own because Joules is an architect as well. And the two of them really produced quite a lot of work without a lot of staff expenses as well, because it was expensive for architects to bring out staff to West Africa because they had to provide housing and passages and that sort of thing. So with Joules and John, working on their own, and they were



just in a little shack on the back streets of Lagos. John used to sail with me on my boat at the Lagos yacht club and he came out to New Zealand two years ago. We had quite a session and we still here from them. But his semi-retired now I believe?

Ibiyemi: Yes... yes semi. He still does a little bit of work.

**Stevenson:** He had a lot of big clients, and I believe they were working in the Scottish mission in Calabar?

Ibiyemi: Yes they had those sort of clients.

Ibiyemi: So at the end were you ...emm....were you encouraged to stay back after Independence? What was it like after Independence?

**Stevenson:** I could have stayed on quite a bit, but they were gradually bringing in the young architects from Nigeria to take over. Because I was on contract, I had to renew my contract after every year after every tour, and it was gradually getting more and more difficult... for some people to come back. I still had a job, but I decided that it was time I went.

Ibiyemi: And I'm sure for many of the other architects too, they felt they had stayed...maybe over stayed their welcome, and they could leave. Maybe some had that sought of feeling.

**Stevenson:** Yeah I didn't leave till '62 that was two years after independence. And emm ... the Nigerianization as they called it was really building up then. And I think after George... didn't Gust Egbor become chief architect then?

Ibiyemi: Ok Egbor, yes, yes I think he did... in the Western Region. I think he became chief architect in Ibadan.

**Stevenson:** Ibadan? Quite one or two people stayed on, but I decided it was time I leave. Because the P and T building programme had more or less completed, except that errr... the you know, the story about... the telephone exchange that was built at Aba?

Ibiyemi: Mmm.. I'm not very conversant with eastern Nigeria.

**Stevenson:** You know Aba is 50 miles inland from Port-Harcourt? While I was senior architect, we had finished the building and installers were working installing the equipment and it went on fire at the weekend when they were down in Port Harcourt, and the building and all the equipment was... hundreds of thousands of pounds of telephone equipment were destroyed. And I had to go to the inquest into the course of the fire and so on. And the air-conditioning was on and that kept blowing the flames up. That will be somewhere around.. Independence...1960s or something. In 1968 when I was on leave from Solomon, I was in London and I was watching the British news about the war on Biafra and there was the Aba telephone exchange going up in flames again. The retreating Biafra troops said they have a....

Ibiyemi: But what do you think became of...because the PWD was not just for Nigeria - it existed in almost all the colonies and it was for developing buildings and bridges....

**Stevenson:** Every colonial administration was a separate entity, you see separate organization, and they had their...because they were in developing countries, they had their engineering sections which is the Public works Department. They had surveyors, they had law they had medicine and so on. they were all just separate entities in each country. And the normal term for the works department was the Public works department. It's a term that was used in Britain as well; The Public works department of the local council. The local council, they had a public works department.

Ibiyemi: So what became of that whole idea? Is it still relevant today?

**Stevenson:** Well it's still. You still have a works department in Nigeria?

Ibiyemi: Yes, definitely.

**Stevenson:** It was last known as the federal public works. It became the ministry of works but it was still commonly known as the PWD or ministry of works. After independence it became under the ministry of works.

Ibiyemi: So the materials...the building components and materials, did you source them locally or were they mostly imported?

**Stevenson:** O yes...In Nigeria, all the timber we used was Nigerian Timber, and it came from Nigerian forests. A lot of it came out from Sapele, with Unilever's big forestry and their ply wood factories. I think we used a lot of ... and we had a cement factory in Nigeria before independence...yes a cement factory.

Ibiyemi: Where was that?

**Stevenson:** In the eastern region somewhere. So we used a lot of local materials. But things like plumbing fitting and things like that, they would be all imported. And finishing materials like tiles and that sort of thing. But they used to make something like that... in the old house I was in Lagos, built In Ikoyi built in 1926, the roofing tiles were made in somewhere near Lagos from Clay. Yeah clay tiles, roofing tiles were made. And err they had some... Iganmu... they made these clay tiles as well. Iganmu tiles...so there were a lot of materials as well compared to the Solomon Islands. The only thing that we had was timber. We had to import cement and everything into the Solomon Islands, because they had timber, but that was all.

Ibiyemi: So in terms of design, the way you designed the buildings, is it correct to say your designs were influenced by Britain/Europe, or did you design to suite Nigerian...because some people argue that PWD designs are influenced from UK. But some people say there are some Nigerian or local influences in terms of design.

**Stevenson:** The designs were mainly to suite the climate. But the telephone exchanges were mainly air-conditioned. So they were designed on European Standards....em...they were designed so much to do with the climate, except that all the windows were shaded and we had special roofs on the flat roof ones but I will say they were more European or Expatriate designs. If you were designing...like the houses originally weren't air-conditioned and they were designed with big verandas and shades and through breeze to catch the breeze and that sort of thing. But later on when air-conditioning came in and fully air conditioned buildings, it was just designed like the rest of Europe, fully air-conditioned.

Ibiyemi: I'm so grateful to you for this session, it has been really nice. I am very, very happy. I say a big thank you to Louise.

**Stevenson:** I'm sure we could have a lot more of the sessions, because I still have a very good memory of my work in Nigeria.

Ibiyemi: Yes, I am surprised you still remember Iganmu, which was way out somewhere then

**Stevenson:** Some of the names come back and sometimes I forget them.

Ibiyemi: Thank you so very much. I really appreciate this.

## Appendix 2 – Snapshot of Data on Nigeria PWD architects (Bio-data, training, travel and practice records)

Name; Born – Died years; Architectural Training	Available Bio-data and migration record	PWD Office and practice records found
<b>AGG Alfred D.</b> <i>1912 - ?</i>  <i>1945 A</i> (Articled) <sup>531</sup>	Born: 5/6/1912 Last permanent residence before sailing out: Nyasaland Sailed from London: 8/29/56 To: Mozambique Travelled with: Mrs H. Agg Occupation on manifest: Architect <sup>532</sup>	<b>Began work at PWD Enugu in 1960<sup>533</sup></b> <b>Aged 48; left after 1960</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>ALLEN Douglas Noel</b> <i>1918 - ?</i>  <i>1950 A</i> (Articled)	Born: 10/12/1918 Last permanent residence before sailing out: England Sailed from Southampton: 4/24/59 To: Lagos, Nigeria. Occupation on manifest: Architect	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1960</b> <b>Aged 41; left after 1960</b>  Surviving membership card reads ‘expired 31.12.76’
<b>ARCHER G.L.</b> <i>No birth/death years found</i>  <i>1956 A</i> (Articled)	No Bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1957; left after 1960</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>BANTING Edgar</b> <i>1913 - ?</i>  <i>1946 L</i> (Articled)	Born: 1913 on Isle of Wight <sup>534</sup> Last permanent residence before sailing out: ‘other parts of the British empire’ written in column Sailed from Liverpool: 5/11/53 To: Lagos, Nigeria Occupation on manifest: Architect	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1949</b> <b>Aged 40; left 1956</b>  Surviving membership card reads ‘expired 5.12.79’
<b>BARNES Harry Stewart</b> <i>1921 - ?</i>  <i>1953 A</i> (Articled)	Born: 1/6/1921 Last permanent residence before sailing out: Solomon Isles Sailed from Liverpool: 31/3/60 To: Lagos, Nigeria Occupation on manifest: Architect	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1960</b> <b>Aged 39; left 1960</b>  Surviving membership card reads ‘resigned 1974’

<sup>531</sup> Architects’ year of election and RIBA status – A (associate) F (Fellow) and L (Licentiate), and architectural training records have been sourced from the RIBA Kalendar of 1949/50 to 1960/61

<sup>532</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record> Passenger List Leaving UK 1890-1960 Transcription

Except where otherwise referenced, the bio-data and migration records for PWD architects have been source from this transcription of passenger list leaving the UK 1890-1960. The other transcriptions referenced elsewhere in the table, are those of England and Wales Births, England, Wales and Scotland Censors, England and Wales death, and England and Wales marriage transcriptions

<sup>533</sup> Architect’s PWD office in Nigeria, year they began working there and year they left the country have all been sourced from the RIBA Kalendar of 1949/50 to 1960/1961

<sup>534</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2ft27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales Births 1837-2006 Transcription

<p><b>BATES M.P</b> <i>No birth/death years found</i></p> <p>1955 A (Articled)</p>	<p>No Bio-data or migration records found</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1958; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>
<p><b>BEATON Donald George</b> <i>1926 - ?</i></p> <p>1956 A (Articled)</p>	<p>Born: 19/10/1926 Last permanent residence before sailing out: Scotland Sailed from Liverpool: 2/5/1957 To: Lagos, Nigeria. Occupation on manifest : Architect</p>	<p>Available career timeline – before, in and after Nigeria</p> <p>1955 – Worked at Coventry City Architects Department (RIBA Grey book 14)</p> <p><b>1957 – Began work at PWD Ibadan Aged 41; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>1966 - Moved back to Edinburgh as a private architect<sup>535</sup></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads ‘expired 31.12.1976’</p>
<p><b>BEGG Kenneth Andrew</b> <i>1903 - ?</i></p> <p>1929 A, 1929 F (Articled)</p>	<p>Born: 27/02/1903 in Bombay.<sup>536</sup> Counted in 1911 Census in Kensington, London, aged 8.<sup>537</sup> 11/11/1936, Mrs K.A Begg (Born 1911) sailed out from Liverpool to Madras to join him in India</p>	<p>Available career timeline – before, in and after Nigeria<sup>538</sup></p> <p>1922 to 1928 - Studied architecture at Edinburgh College of Arts, and was pupil of Dick Peddie &amp; Walker Todd between 1924 and 1925.</p> <p>1929 - Became Sir Edwin Lutyens London assistant.</p> <p>1931 - Moved to Rhodesia as chief assistant to William D'Arcy Cathcart.</p> <p>1933 - Returned to London as chief assistant to Laurence Mursell Gotch.</p> <p>1939 - Moved to Madras, India to set up Edwards, Reid &amp; Begg Partnership. Joined His Majesty's Forces in the same year.</p> <p>1945 - Demobilised and became Chief Architect to the Ugandan government.</p> <p><b>1959 - Began work at PWD Ibadan Aged</b></p>

<sup>535</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

<sup>536</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> British India office Ecclesiastical returns – Birth and baptism Transcription

<sup>537</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> 1911 England, Wales and Scotland Census Transcription

<sup>538</sup> All information apart from work in Ibadan sourced in the Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

		<b>54; left 1962/63</b>  1963 to 1964 - Moved to Guyana to work as the Chief architect of PWD, ministry of works and Hydraulics, Georgetown.
<b>BEILBY Leslie George</b> <b>1915-1990</b>  <i>1946L, 1952 A</i> (Articled)	Born – died: 1915 - 1990. <sup>539</sup> Place of birth: Scarborough Yorkshire Married: Hilda Slater in 1938 <sup>540</sup>	Available career timeline – before and in Nigeria  1953 - Worked in Uxbridge Urban Districts Council, Architects Department (RIBA Grey book 64)  <b>1956 – Began work at PWD Ibadan Aged 41; left 1957</b>  Surviving membership card reads ‘expired 5.11.81’
<b>BERRY Thomas Macpheson</b> <b>1888 - ?</b>  <i>1954 A</i>  Dip. Arch (Glasgow)	Born: 1888 in Rattray, Perthshire, Scotland. <sup>541</sup> Counted in 1901 Census aged 13. <sup>542</sup>	Available career timeline – before and in Nigeria  1954 - Worked at Renfrewshire as private architect  1954 - Joined the Ghana PWD  <b>1959 - Began work at PWD Lagos Aged 61; Left after 1960/61</b>  1959 – Project architect of Head Post office Kano. <sup>543</sup>
<b>BLACKBURN J.W.</b> <b>No b/d year found</b>  <i>1953 A</i> Dip. Arch (Leeds)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>BRADBURY F. W.</b> <b>No b/d year found</b>	✓	<b>Began working at PWD Lagos in 1959; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>

<sup>539</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2ft27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales death 1837-2007 Transcription

<sup>540</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2ft27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and wales Marriages 1837-2008 Transcription

<sup>541</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2ft27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> 1901 England, Wales and Scotland census Transcription

<sup>542</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2ft27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> 1901 England, Wales and Scotland Census Transcription

<sup>543</sup> The Architect and Building News, “West Africa.” (6 May 1959): 591

1958 A (Articled)		
<b>BROWN Gordon Derek 1925-2000</b>  1957 A (Articled)	Born-Died: 1925-2000 Durham Central, England <sup>544</sup>	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959 Aged 34; left after 1960/61</b>  Surviving membership card reads 'removed 19.3.65'
<b>BURDEN G. W. No b/d year found</b>  1950 A Dip. Arch (Man.)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1956; left 1959</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>BUTTENS HAW Peter Edward 1926-2003</b>  1949 A  <i>DIP. ARCH</i> (Birmingham)	Born: 14/10/26 in St Albans Hertfordshire <sup>545</sup> Married: Shirley A Williams 1956 <sup>546</sup> Sailed from Liverpool: 27/3/1956 To: Lagos, Nigeria Travelled with wife: Shirley Ann Buttenshaw Occupation on manifest: Architect	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1956 Aged 30; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>1958 – Project architect for Houses for federal ministers in Lagos<sup>547</sup></i>  <i>1959 – architect on Kano Head post office project.<sup>548</sup></i>  Returned to Scotland and joined the East Kilbride Development Corporation. <sup>549</sup>
<b>CARTWRIGHT Andrew St George 1925 - ?</b>  1955 A (Articled)	Born: 1925 in Pancras, London <sup>550</sup> Married: Jean Mary Pugson <sup>551</sup>	<b>Began working at PWD Kaduna in 1959 Aged 34; left 1960/61</b>  Surviving membership card reads 'Resigned 14.5.1982'
<b>CAUSTON Thomas William 1904- ?</b> 1949 F (Articled)	Born 1904 in Croydon. <sup>552</sup>	<b>Began working at PWD Enugu in 1949 Aged 45; left 1952</b>  Surviving membership card reads 'Resigned 1971'
<b>CHITTY Dennis</b>	Born: 26/9/1927 in Surrey,	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959 Aged</b>

<sup>544</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales death 1837-2007 Transcription

<sup>545</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales Births 1837-2006 Transcription

<sup>546</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=bmd%2fm%2f1949%2f1%2faz%2f000212%2f047&highlights=%22%22> England and Wales Marriages 1837-2006 Transcription

<sup>547</sup> The Architect and Building News, "West Africa." (23 July 1958): 117

<sup>548</sup> The Architect and Building News, "West Africa." (6 May 1959): 591

<sup>549</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

<sup>550</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales Births 1837-2006 Transcription

<sup>551</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> Derbyshire Registrars marriage index Transcription

<sup>552</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales Births 1837-2006 Transcription



<p><b>Walter</b> <b>1927 - ?</b></p> <p>1952 A (Articled)</p>	<p>England<sup>553</sup> Married Janet M Lowe in 1949<sup>554</sup> Last permanent residence: England Sailed from Liverpool: 19/2/1959 To: Lagos, Nigeria Occupation on manifest: Architect Other PWD architects on the Ship: Corniliac L.E.</p>	<p><b>25; left 1960/61</b></p> <p><i>1959 - architect on General Post Office project, Lagos</i><sup>555</sup></p>
<p><b>CHERLIN</b> <b>Lennox</b> <b>1926 - ?</b></p> <p>1958 A (Articled)</p>	<p>Born: 16/10/26 Last permanent residence before sailing out: Singapore<sup>556</sup> Sailed from Liverpool: 4/2/1960 To: Lagos, Nigeria;travelled with wife Mrs Valma Lennox and son Malcom lennox Cherlin Occupation on manifest: Architect</p>	<p>Worked at Public Works Department, High street, Singapore Malaya ( as stated on his RIBA members card – No date given)</p> <p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1960 Aged 42; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>Worked at Department of National development, Sydney Australia (Back of RIBA membership card – No date given)</p>
<p><b>CORNILLIAC</b> <b>Louis Eugene</b> <b>1922 - 1979</b></p> <p>1952 A</p> <p>B.Arch. (McGill)</p>	<p>Born:15/6/1922 Sailed from Liverpool: 19/2/1959 To: Lagos, Nigeria Last permanent residence: West Indies Occupation on manifest: Architect Other PWD architects on the ship: Chitty D.W.</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959 Aged 37; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>Worked in Trinidad and Tobago Department of Works and Hydraulics (Grey book 64)</p> <p>Surviving membership card reads ‘Deceased 1979’</p>
<p><b>DAVIDSON</b> <b>C.S.M (Major)</b> <b>1908 - ?</b></p> <p>1946L, 1947 F Articled</p>	<p>Born: 1908 Sailed from Southampton: 9/1/1948 To: Lagos, Nigeria Last permanent residence: England Travelled with Mrs CSM Davidson Occupation on manifest: Architect</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1948 Aged 40; Left 1957</b></p> <p><i>1956 – Project architect for Parliament Building Ibadan 1956.</i><sup>557</sup></p> <p><i>1957 – Project architect for Standard Type quarters, as built in all Provinces.</i><sup>558</sup></p> <p><i>1957 – Project architect for office Block for the Public service commission Ibadan.</i><sup>559</sup></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads ‘Resigned 28.1.81’</p>

<sup>553</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2ft27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales Births 1837-2006 Transcription

<sup>554</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=bmd%2fm%2f1949%2f1%2faz%2f000212%2f047&highlights=%22%22> England and Wales Marriages 1837-2006 Transcription

<sup>555</sup> The Builder, “The West African Builder and Architect “General post office, Lagos, Nigeria” (March/April 1962): 35

<sup>556</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2ft27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> Passenger List Leaving UK 1890-1960 Transcription

<sup>557</sup> The Builder, “New parliament buildings for the Western region, Nigeria Ibadan” (Feb 1 1957): 222

<sup>558</sup> The Builder, “Architectural works of the ministry of works, Western region Nigeria.” (Feb 1 1957): 220

<sup>559</sup> The Builder, “Architectural works of the ministry of works, Western region Nigeria.” (Feb 1 1957): 220

<p><b>EDWARDS M.C.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i></p> <p>1953 A Dip. Arch (Sheffield)</p>	<p>No bio-data or migration records found</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959; left 1960</b></p> <p><i>1959 – architect on General Post Office project, Lagos<sup>560</sup></i></p>
<p><b>EGBOR Augustine A.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i></p> <p>1954 A B. Arch (Durham)</p>	<p>No bio-data records found</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1956; remained in Nigeria and later established Egbor and Associates in Lagos<sup>561</sup></b></p> <p><i>1959 - Project architect for The Massey Street Polyclinic Lagos.<sup>562</sup></i></p> <p><i>Last practice record in 1979 as part of Murtala Mohamed Airport project</i></p>
<p><b>EVANS John Earnest</b></p> <p>1936 A</p> <p>Articled</p>	<p>No bio-data or migration records found</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1949; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads expired ‘expired 31.12.76’</p>
<p><b>FARMER Maurice</b> <i>1930 - ?</i></p> <p>1954 A</p> <p>No detail on card</p> <p>Dip. Arch (Dundee)</p>	<p>Born: 23/7/1930 Sailed from Liverpool: 11/6/1959 To: Lagos, Nigeria Occupation on manifest: Architect Travelled with wife Mrs Ruby Joyce Farmer Last permanent residence: Scotland</p>	<p>Practiced as a private architect in Fife, Scotland from 1954<sup>563</sup></p> <p><b>Began worked at PWD Kaduna in 1960 Aged 29</b></p> <p>Returned to the UK in 1966, and accepted a lecturing position at the Department of Architecture Bristol. Address 25 Great George Street Bristol.<sup>564</sup></p> <p>Wrote 1962 article in Architectural records titled “Auditorium, Boulder City, Nevada; Architects: Zick &amp; Sharp”</p> <p>Co-designed 1968 Teaching theatre, Bristol University</p> <p>Co-authored 1969 RIBA Journal article “Does education disqualify students for practice? Report of a symposium held at the</p>

<sup>560</sup> The West African Builder and Architect “General post office, Lagos, Nigeria” (March/April 1962): 35

<sup>561</sup> Airport Forum, “Lagos Murtala Mohammed Airport: Nigeria’s gateway to the world” No 4 (1979): 57

<sup>562</sup> The Architect and Building News, “West Africa.” (6 May 1959): 591

<sup>563</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

<sup>564</sup> ibid

		RIBA on Feb. 11, 1969. Articles. (1), The responsibility of the schools. (2), Viewpoint of the large practice. (3), Viewpoint of the small practice. (4), Viewpoint of a recent entrant to the profession.” Source: RIBA Online Biographical entries
<b>GEDDES A.E.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i>  1953 A Dip. Arch (Dundee)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>GORDON James</b> <i>? – 1976</i>  1954 A  Dip. Arch (Glasgow)	No bio-data or migration records found	Practiced as a private architect in Glasgow and Lanarkshire between 1954 and 1956 <sup>565</sup>  <b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959</b>  Returned to the United Kingdom in 1966 and continued Practicing as a private architect in Newcastle-upon-Tyne <sup>566</sup>  Surviving membership card reads expired ‘Deceased 11.9.76’
<b>GORDON Patrick John Vincent</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1948 A (Articled)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1952; left 1957</b>  <i>1957 - Project architect Survey Training School Oyo.</i> <sup>567</sup>  Surviving membership card reads ‘expired 8.4.70’
<b>GREER-PERRY John Reginald</b> <i>1929 - ?</i>  1957 A (Articled)	Born: 2/2/1929 Sailed from Liverpool: 18/4/1957 To: Lagos, Nigeria Last permanent residence: England Occupation on manifest: Colonial government PWD Architect Other PWD architects on board: Gregson J.K (and Greenwood P.J. whose occupation is given as “Colonial government lecturer in Architecture”)	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1957 Aged 28; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>1960 – architect on State House Kaduna project</i> <sup>568</sup>

<sup>565</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

<sup>566</sup> *ibid*

<sup>567</sup> The Builder, “Architectural works of the ministry of works, Western region Nigeria.” (Feb 1 1957): 220

<sup>568</sup> Architectural Review, “Nigeria” (July 1960): 19

<p><b>GREENWOOD F.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i></p> <p>1955 A Dip. Arch (Man.)</p>	<p>No bio-data or migration records found</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>
<p><b>GREGSON John Kenneth</b> <i>1931 - ?</i></p> <p>1955 A Dip. Arch (Manchester)</p>	<p>Born: 8/8/1931 Sailed from Liverpool: 18/4/1957 To: Lagos, Nigeria; Travelled with Mrs Henrietta Gregson Last permanent residence: England Occupation on manifest: Colonial government PWD Architect</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1957 aged 26; Left in 1958</b></p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>
<p><b>GULWELL Wallace</b> <i>1922 – 1980</i></p> <p>(1954 A)</p> <p>Articled</p>	<p>Born: 22/3/1922 Married: Barbara Cooksley 1952<sup>569</sup> Sailed from Liverpool: 2/6/1955 To: Lagos, Nigeria; Travelled with Mrs Wallace Gulwell Last permanent residence: England Occupation on manifest: Architect</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1956 Aged 32; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads 'Deceased 20.3.80'</p>
<p><b>HALE G.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i></p> <p>1949 Associate Dip. Arch (Sheffield)</p>	<p>No bio-data or migration records found</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Kaduna IN 1950; left in 1951</b></p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>
<p><b>HAMES Jack Cecil Marshall Esq.</b> <i>1915 -1969</i></p> <p>1948 Associate (Articled)</p>	<p>Born: 1915 Sailed from Liverpool: 3/4/1948 To: Lagos, Nigeria; Travelled with Mrs JCM Hames Occupation on manifest: Architect</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1948 Aged 33; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>'Surviving membership card reads Deceased April 1969'</p>
<p><b>HASLAM F.C.</b> <i>1894 - ?</i></p> <p>1925 A, 1947 F</p> <p>Articled</p>	<p>Born: 1894 Sailed from London: 26/11/1936 To Mombasa, Kenya Occupation on manifest: Architect Sailed from Liverpool: 29/6/1937 To: Lagos, Nigeria; Travelled with: Mrs F.C. Haslam (Civil Servant) Occupation on manifest: Civil Servant</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1937 Aged 43; left 1950</b></p> <p><i>Practice records found in Nigeria PWD information books 1938, 1943 and 1946</i></p>
<p><b>HENDERSON A.A.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i></p> <p>1953 A</p>	<p>No bio-data or migration records found</p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1957; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>1959 - Project architect on Automatic telephone exchange Ibadan<sup>570</sup></p>

<sup>569</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2ft27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales death 1837-2007 Transcription

<sup>570</sup> The architect and building news "West Africa" (6 May 1959): 589

Dip. Arch (Durham)		
<b>HICKSON F.R.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i>  1953 A B.Arch. (Durham)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1956; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>HILL J.G.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i>  1950 A Articled	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Enugu in 1951; left in 1958</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>HOPE John Leonard</b> <i>1908 – 1960</i>  1935 A (Articled)	Born: 1908 Sailed from Liverpool: 18/12/52 To: Lagos, Nigeria Travelled with: wife Rose Ellen Occupation on manifest: Architect	<b>Began work at PWD Enugu in 1949 Aged 41; left in 1957</b>  Surviving member's card reads 'Deceased 17.6.1960'
<b>HOWELL Owen John</b> <i>1916 - ?</i>  1950 A  Articled	Born: 22/11/1916 Sailed from London: 23/4/1955 To: Mombasa, Kenya Country of intended permanent future residence: Uganda Travelled with: Mrs Joan Howell (Housewife); Occupation on manifest: Ch. Architect	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959 Aged 44; left 1959</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>HUDSON Ralph Malcom</b> <i>1921 – 1977</i>  1953 A Articled	Born: 10/5/1921 Died: 1977 <sup>571</sup>	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1956 Aged 35; left in 1958</b>  Surviving member's card reads 'Deceased 25.5.1977'
<b>JACK W.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i>  1946 A Articled	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1951; left in 1955</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>JAIYESIMI Samuel Oluyemi</b> <i>No b/d year found</i>  1959 A Dip. Arch (N. Polytechnic)	No bio-data records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1960</b>  Surviving membership card reads 'expired 8.4.60'
<b>JEFFERY L.</b> <i>1915 - ?</i> <i>No b/d year found</i>  1952 A	Born: 1915 Sailed from: 1/12/47 To: Mombasa, Kenya Country of intended permanent future residence: Uganda	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1959 Aged 44; left after 1960/61</b>  1965 – Joined private architects Design Group in Kaduna Nigeria <sup>572</sup>

<sup>571</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales death 1837-2007 Transcription

<sup>572</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

Articled	Occupation given on manifest: Architect	1970 – Moved to Zomba, Malawi <sup>573</sup>
<b>JOHNSON G.C.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i> 1950 A Dip. Arch (Birmingham)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1956; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>1956 – architect on parliament building Ibadan</i> <sup>574</sup>
<b>JONES R.J.O.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i>  1958 A Dip. Arch (Cardiff)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Enugu 1959; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>KIRKWOOD Alexander Garland Esq</b> <i>1925 - ?</i>  1952 A Articled	Born: 1925 Sailed from Liverpool: 26/2/1953 To: Lagos, Nigeria Occupation given on manifest: Architect	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in Aged 28; left in 1955</b>  Surviving membership card reads ‘expired 1966’
<b>LANE K.W.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i>  1955 A Articled	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1959; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>LYONS R. D.</b> <i>No b./d year found</i>  1951 A Articled	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1954; left in 1956</b>  <i>1956 – architect on parliament building Ibadan</i> <sup>575</sup>
<b>McGREGOR Thomas Aloysius Esq</b> <i>1931 - ?</i>  1957 A Articled	Born: 25/9/1931 Sailed from Liverpool: 19/3/1959 To: Lagos, Nigeria Travelled with wife Thelma Mcgregor Occupation given on manifest: Architect Country of last residence: Scotland	<b>Began working at PWD Lagos in 1957 Aged 36; left after 1960/61</b>  Surviving membership card reads ‘worked in PWD Sydney’ and ‘expired 5.4.73’
<b>McKENZIE A.</b> <i>No b/d year found</i>  1953 A Dip. Arch (Dundee)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Enugu 1953; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>McLEOD G.G.</b>	Born in Perth on April 7 1924 <sup>576</sup>	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1959 aged 34; left after 1960/61</b>

<sup>573</sup> ibid

<sup>574</sup> The Builder, “New parliament buildings for the Western region, Nigeria Ibadan” (Feb 1 1957): 222

<sup>575</sup> The Builder, “New parliament buildings for the Western region, Nigeria Ibadan” (Feb 1 1957): 222

<b>1924 - ?</b> 1955 A Dip. Arch (Edinburgh)		According to the Dictionary of Scottish architects, he left Nigeria around 1965, Went on to work for the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland in 1970 and returned to England in 1987 <sup>577</sup>
<b>MARTIN R.J.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1953 A Articled	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>MILES P.L.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1954 A Articled	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1955; left 1959</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>MILLS W.J.M.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1949 A Dip. Arch (Cardiff)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1959; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>MURRAY James</b> <b>? - 1956</b>  1947 A  Articled		<b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1950; Died in Kano air crash 1956</b>  <i>1953 - Project architect Broadcasting house Lagos<sup>578</sup></i>  <i>1956 - architect on sisters' home block, Ibadan<sup>579</sup></i>
<b>NWAFOR Christian Ogbonaya Esq</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1959 A Dip. Arch (Northern Poly.)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959</b>  Surviving membership card reads 'expired 5.4.73'
<b>ODEINDE O.A.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1959 A Dip. Arch (Hull)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1960</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>

<sup>576</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

<sup>577</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

<sup>578</sup> The Architect's Journal April 22, 1954 "Buildings in the news." 483 482 - 483

<sup>579</sup> The Architect and building news "Events and comments" (5 July 1956): 2

<p><b>OLIVER E.F.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i></p> <p>1952 A Dip. Arch (The Polytechnic)</p>	No bio-data or migration records found	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1959; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads 'Resigned 31.12.60'</p>
<p><b>ORD W.G.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i></p> <p>1953 A</p> <p>Dip. Arch (Durham)</p>	No bio-data or migration records found	<p><b>Began work at PWD Enugu in 1960; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>
<p><b>PERRY A.A.J.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i></p> <p>1951 A Articled</p>	No bio-data or migration records found	<p><b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1960; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>
<p><b>PHILLIPS Peter Paul</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i></p> <p>1957 Articled</p>	No bio-data or migration records found	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1959; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads 'card expired 1979'</p>
<p><b>PICKUP Geoffery Esq</b> <i>1916 - ?</i></p> <p>1939 A Articled</p>	<p>Born: 21/9/1916 Sailed from Liverpool: 9/6/1960 To Lagos, Nigeria Occupation given on manifest: Chief Architect</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Enugu in 1958 Aged 42; left after 1960/61</b></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads 'Resigned 31.12.75'</p>
<p><b>PREW William S.A.</b> <i>1911 – 1962</i></p> <p>1942 L Articled</p>	<p>Born: 1911 in Bridgewater, Somerset<sup>580</sup>; Married Gwendolyn Chidgey in 1936<sup>581</sup> Sailed from Liverpool: 12/6/1947 To Lagos, Nigeria Occupation given on manifest: Chartered Architect</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1949 Aged 39; left 1960</b></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads 'Deceased 14.1.62'</p>
<p><b>PRIOR W.J.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i></p>	No bio-data or migration records found	<p><b>Began work at PWD Enugu in 1959; left 1960</b></p>

<sup>580</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2ft27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales Births 1837-2006 Transcription

<sup>581</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=bmd%2fm%2f1949%2f1%2faz%2f000212%2f047&highlights=%22%22> England and Wales Marriages 1837-2006 Transcription



1951 A Articled		<i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>PUNTER L.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1949 A Dip. Arch (Birmingham)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1956; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>PURDOM K.A.R.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1950 A Dip. Arch (Dundee)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1957; left after 1960/61</b>  1957 – Project architect, Small type post office Ibadan. <sup>582</sup>  1959 – Project architect, National Hall/ Federal parliament building <sup>583</sup>
<b>REDWOOD J.N.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1958 A Articled	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1959; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>RINGLAND F.L.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1951 A Articled	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1953; left after 1960/61</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>ROBERTS C.H</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1948 A DIP. ARCH (Durham)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1952; left 1956</b>  1956 – Architect on HE Governor’s Office Ibadan <sup>584</sup>  1956 – Architect on New parliament building for the western region Nigeria <sup>585</sup>
<b>ROBINSON J.K.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1955 A	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1956; left after 1960/61</b>  1958 – Project architect for Government office block to accommodate Prime minister’s suite of offices in Lagos. <sup>586</sup>

<sup>582</sup> The Builder, “Architectural works of the ministry of works, Western region Nigeria.” (Feb 1 1957): 220

<sup>583</sup> The Architect and Building News, “West Africa.” (6 May 1959): 591

<sup>584</sup> The Builder “Architectural work of the ministry of works, western region Nigeria” (Feb 1 1957): 221

<sup>585</sup> The Builder “New parliament buildings for the Western region Ibadan Nigeria” (Feb 1 1957): 222

Articled		
<b>SCOTT Thomas. O.B.E. 1898-1982</b>  <i>1931 L, 1940 F</i> Articled	Born: 25 October 1898 in Dunfermline, Scotland and emigrated to Lagos Nigeria in 1925. <sup>587</sup>	1919 – was draughtsman to James T. Scobie in Dunfermline and attended Herriot Wyatt college. <sup>588</sup>  <b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1925 Aged 27; left 1954</b>  1947 – Project architect Lugard Hall, Kaduna  1953 – Project architect, Government model village for Nigerian miners  Returned to Scotland and settled in Dollar until his death in 1982. <sup>589</sup>
<b>SHEARMAN Wilfrid 1915 – 1990</b>  <i>1953 A</i> Dip. Arch (N. Polytechnic)	Born: 28/3/1915 Sailed from Liverpool: 16/5/1957 To: Lagos, Nigeria Occupation given on manifest: Colonial Government Architect Died: 1990 <sup>590</sup>	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1959 Aged 44; left after 1960/61</b>  Surviving membership card reads ‘expired 8.4.70’
<b>SLINGSBY Alfred Esq 1918-1965</b>  <i>1940 A</i> Dip. Town Planning (London)	Born: 1918 Sailed from Liverpool: 18/11/1954 To: Lagos, Nigeria Occupation given on manifest: Architect	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1956 aged 38; left 1958</b>  Surviving membership card reads ‘Deceased 14.8.65’
<b>SMITH K.P. No birth/death year found</b>  <i>1949 A</i> Articled	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1952; left 1953</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>SOBOWALE F. B. No b/d year found</b>  <i>1960 A</i> Dip. Arch (N. Polytechnic)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1960</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>STAMWITZ G.C</b>	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1949; left 1950</b>

<sup>586</sup> The Architect and Building News, “West Africa.” (23 July 1958): 117

<sup>587</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

<sup>588</sup> *ibid*

<sup>589</sup> *ibid*

<sup>590</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2f27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales death 1837-2007 Transcription

<i>No birth/death year found</i>  1941 A Articled		<i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>STEVENSON Charles C.</b> <b>1923 –</b>  1952 A Articled	Born: 1953 in Fife Scotland <sup>591</sup>	<b>Began worked at PWD Lagos in 1953 aged 30; Left after 1960</b>  Moved back to practice brief
<b>STOUT George Russell</b> <b>1912- ?</b>  1937 A, 1951 F Articled	Born: 1912 in Durham <sup>592</sup> First sailed from Southampton 4/6/1946, and Later from Liverpool: 22/4/1948 To: Lagos Nigeria Occupation given on manifest: Architect	<b>Began work in PWD in Lagos 1949 Aged 36; left after 1960</b>
<b>TIMMINGS Reginald</b> <b>1917 – ?</b>  1950 A Dip. Arch (Birmingham)	Born: 16/2/1917 Sailed from London: 26/7/1955 To: Lagos, Nigeria as Occupation given on manifest: Architect	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos 1952 Aged 35; left after 1960</b>  1958 – Architect for Government office block to accommodate Prime minister’s suite of offices in Lagos. <sup>593</sup>  Surviving membership card reads ‘Resigned 5.2.75’
<b>UKU V.T.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1959 A Dip. Arch (Sheff.)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Ibadan in 1959</b>  Surviving membership card reads ‘expired 1977’
<b>WARD John A.</b> <i>No birth/death year found</i>  1960 A Dip. Arch (Leicester)	No bio-data or migration records found	1958 – Worked in the Edinburgh office of Basil Spence and Partners; carrying out drawings on the Glasgow University institute of virology building <sup>594</sup>  <b>1960 – Began work at PWD Lagos 1960; Left 1960</b>  Resigned 5.2.75
<b>WEBBER Alexander</b>	Born: 14/11/1919 in West Derbyshire <sup>595</sup>	<b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1954 aged 35; Left 1957</b>

<sup>591</sup> Information sourced from Author’s Skype interview with Charles Stevenson on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2014

<sup>592</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales Births 1837-2006 Transcription

<sup>593</sup> The Architect and Building News, “West Africa.” (23 July 1958): 117

<sup>594</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

<sup>595</sup> <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=tna%2fbt27%2f1632000023%2f00555&highlights=> England and Wales Births 1837-2006 Transcription

<p><b>Mackenzie</b> <b>1919 -?</b></p> <p>1949 A Articled</p>	<p>Sailed from Liverpool: 30/12/54 To: Lagos, Nigeria; Travelled with wife Webber Jill Elizabeth Occupation on manifest: Architect Sailed again from Liverpool 1/2/1957 To: Saint John, Canada</p>	<p>1960 – Moved to work in Canada and worked there till 1979<sup>596</sup></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads 'Resigned 24.03. 82'</p>
<p><b>WEBBER (Mrs) Jill Elizabeth</b> <b>1925 -?</b></p> <p>1955 A B. Arch (Liverpool)</p>	<p>Born: 1925 Sailed from London: 30/12/54 To: Lagos, Nigeria as Travelling with Husband, Alexander M. Webber Occupation on manifest: Housewife</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1954 Aged 29; Left 1957</b></p> <p>1957 – Project architect Nigerian Northern Region Development Corporation headquarters, Kaduna.<sup>597</sup></p>
<p><b>WEDDERBURN-OGILVY</b> <b>Eustrace Caryl</b> <b>1925 - 2003</b></p> <p>1950 A Dip. Arch (Dundee)</p>	<p>Born 1925 in Devon, died 2003<sup>598</sup></p>	<p>1953 - Worked as assistant to T. Lindsay Gray in Dundee <sup>599</sup></p> <p><b>1955 - Began work at PWD Ibadan in Aged 30; left 1959</b></p> <p>1960 to 62 – returned to Glasgow to work for James Taylor architects<sup>600</sup></p> <p>1962 to 79 – Worked with the Scottish health service building division<sup>601</sup></p> <p>Surviving membership card reads 'Resigned 26.01.1980'</p>
<p><b>WENMAN G.A.</b> <b>No birth/death year found</b></p> <p>1956 A Articled</p>	<p>No bio-data or migration records found</p>	<p><b>Began worked at PWD Enugu in 1959; Left after 1960</b></p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>
<p><b>WHITE D.N.</b> <b>No birth/death year found</b></p> <p>1958 A Articled</p>	<p>No bio-data or migration records found</p>	<p><b>Began work at PWD Kaduna in 1959; left 1960</b></p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>
<p><b>WICKENS G.M</b> <b>No birth/death year found</b></p>	<p>No bio-data or migration records found</p>	<p><b>Began worked at PWD Lagos in 1959; Left after 1960</b></p> <p><i>No further practice records found</i></p>

<sup>596</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

<sup>597</sup> The Builder, "Building Trades Operatives" (July 19 1957): 119

<sup>598</sup> Dictionary of Scottish architects [http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect\\_full.php?id=405459](http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=405459)

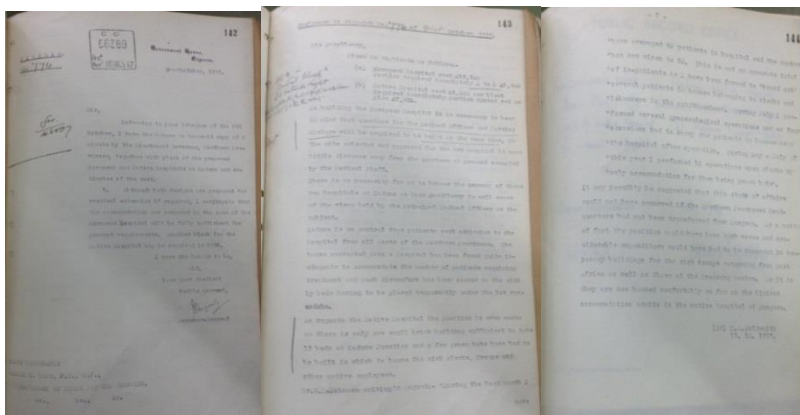
<sup>599</sup> ibid

<sup>600</sup> ibid

<sup>601</sup> ibid

1953 A Articled		
<b>WINTER (Miss) O.M.D. No b/d year found</b>  1949 A BA Arch (London)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1957; Left 1959</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>
<b>WOODCOCK G.F.H. No b/d year found</b>  1949 A Articled	<i>No further practice records found</i>	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1959; Left after 1960</b>  1959 – Architect on Post and telegraph training school Oshodi <sup>602</sup>
<b>WOODHEAD D.K. No b/d year found</b>  1953 A Dip. Arch (Manchester)	No bio-data or migration records found	<b>Began work at PWD Lagos in 1957; left after 1960</b>  <i>No further practice records found</i>

**Appendix 3 - 1917 Letters for the construction of European and Native Hospitals, Kaduna**



1917 Government of Nigeria Letter on European and Native Hospital project, written to the Colonial Office<sup>603</sup>

**NIGERIA**  
No: 774

*Government house,  
Nigeria  
21<sup>st</sup> October 1917*

*Sir,*

<sup>602</sup> The Architect and building news "West Africa" (6 May 1959): 587 - 588

<sup>603</sup> The National Archives CO583/60 "Nigeria 1917 Vol.6 Despatches (Oct. – 14 Nov)", 1926

*Referring to your telegram of the 5th October, I have the honour to transmit copy of a minute by the Lieutenant Governor, Northern Provinces, together with plans of the proposed European and Native Hospitals at Kaduna and estimates of the cost.*

*2. Although both designs are prepared for eventual extension if required, I anticipate that the accommodation now proposed in the case of the European hospital will be fully sufficient for present requirements. Another block for the native hospital may be required in 1919.*

*I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient  
humble Servant,  
Signed (F.D. Lugard)  
Governor General.*

*THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
WALTER H. LONG, P.C., M.P.,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,*

*&c., &c., &c.*

*-2-*

*Enclosure in Dispatch NO. 774 Of 21st October, 1917.*

*His Excellency,*

*Plans in duplicate as follows:-*

*(a) European Hospital cost £18,500*

*Portion required immediately A to B £8,400*

*(b) Native Hospital cost £1,000 per block required immediately portion tinted red on plan £2,420.*

*In the building the European Hospital it is necessary to bear in mind that quarters for the medical officer and Nursing Sisters will be required to be built at the same time, as the site selected and approved for the new Hospital is some little distance away from the quarters at present occupied by the medical staff. There is no necessity for me to labour the urgency of these two hospitals at Kaduna as your excellency is well aware of the views held by the principal medical officer on the subject.*

*Kaduna is so central that patients seek admission to the Hospital from all parts of the Northern provinces. The houses converted into a hospital has been found quite inadequate to accommodate the number of patients requiring treatment and much discomfort has been caused to the sick by beds having to be placed temporarily under the very hot verandahs.*

*As regards the Native hospital the position is even worse as there is only one small brick building sufficient to take 13 beds at Kaduna Junction and a few grass huts have had to be built in which to house the sick clerks, troops and other native employees.*

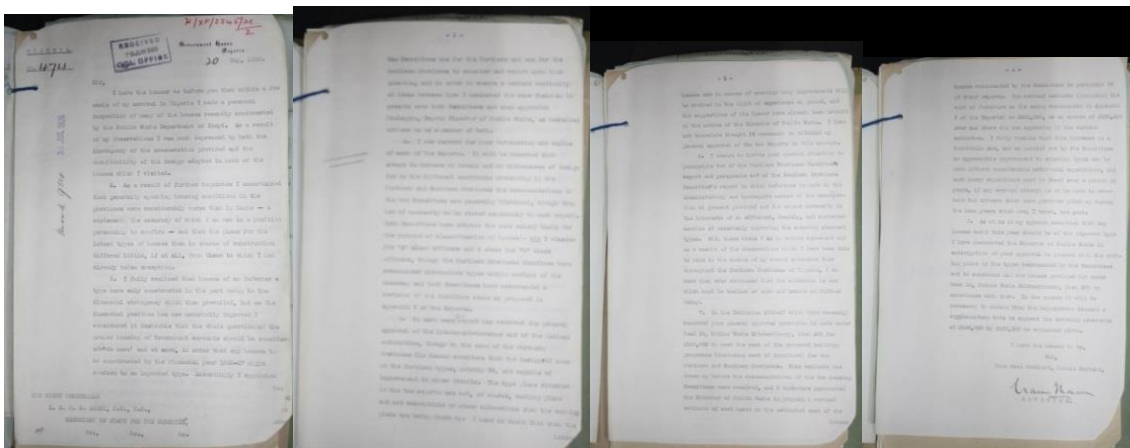
*Dr. W.B. Johnson writing in August:-*

*"During the last month I have averaged 40 patients in hospital and the number has now risen to 50. This is not an accurate total of in-patients as I have been forced to "board out" several patients in houses belonging to clerks and labourers in the neighbourhood. During July, I performed several gynaecological operations and on four occasions had to have to carry the patients to houses near the hospital after operation. During May to July of this year I performed 10 operations upon clerks, my only accommodation for them being grass huts".*

*It may be possible to suggest that this state of affairs would not have occurred if the Northern Province Head Quarters had not been moved from Zungeru. As a matter of fact, the position would have been much worse and considerable expenditure would have had to be incurred in temporary buildings for the sick troops returning from East Africa as well as those at the training centre. As it is, they are now housed comfortably, so far as the limited accommodation admits in the native hospital at Zungeru.*

(Sd) H.S. Goldsmith  
11. 10. 1917

**Appendix 4 - 1926 Letter on Northern Province Staff housing for Kaduna**



1926 Letter from the Governor of Nigeria on officer's housing project, written to the secretary of state to the colonies<sup>604</sup>

NIGERIA  
NO. 474

Government House,  
Nigeria  
20 May, 1926.

<sup>604</sup> CO 554/70/6, *Bungalows and houses* (The National Archives, 1926)

Sir,

*I have the honour to inform you that within a few weeks of my arrival in Nigeria I made a personal inspection of many of the houses recently constructed by the Public works department at Ikoyi. As a result of my observations I was much impressed by both the inadequacy of the accommodation provided and the unsuitability of the design adopted in most of the houses which I visited.*

*2. As a result of further inquiries I ascertained that generally speaking housing conditions in the provinces were considerably worse than in Lagos - a statement the accuracy of which I am now in a position to personally confirm - and that the plan for the latest types of houses then in course of construction differed little, if at all, from those to which I had already taken exception.*

*3. I fully realised that houses of so inferior a type were only constructed in the past owing to financial stringency which then prevailed, but as the financial position has now materially improved I consider that I consider that the whole question of the proper housing of government servants should be considered 'de novo' at once, in order that any houses to be constructed in the financial year 1926-1927 might conform to an improved type. Accordingly I appointed*

*THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
L.C.H.S. AMERY, P.C., M.P.,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,*

-2-

*two committees one for the northern and one for the southern Provinces to consider and report upon this question, and in order to ensure a certain continuity of ideas between them I nominated the same chairman to preside over both committees and also appointed Mr. Loggin, Deputy Director of Public Works, an technical adviser to be a member of both.*

*4. I now forward for your information six copies of each of the Reports. It will be observed that except in matters of detail and in differences of design due to the different conditions prevailing in the Northern and Southern provinces, the recommendations of the two committees are generally identical, though they had of necessity to be stated separately in each report. Both committees have adopted the same salary basis for the purpose of classification of houses - viz 3 classes for 'A' class officers and 1 for "B" class officers, though the Northern Provinces Committees have recommended alternative types within certain of the classes; and both committees have recommended a revision of the furniture scale as proposed in Appendix I of the reports.*

*5. In each case, the report has received the general approval of the Lieutenant-Governor and of the Medical authorities, though in the case of the Northern Provinces His Honour considers that the design of some of the Northern types, notably T6, are capable of improvement in minor details. The type plans attached to the two reports are not, of course, working plans and are susceptible of minor alterations when the working plans are being dreamed up. I have no doubt that when the*

-3-



*houses are in courses of erection many improvements will be evolved in the light of experiences so gained, and the suggestions of His Honour have already been brought to the notice of the Director of Public Works. I have not therefore thought it necessary to withhold any general approval of the two Reports of this account.*

*6. I desire to invite your special attention to paragraphs 5-8 of the Northern Provinces Committee's report and paragraphs 4-7 of the Southern provinces committee's reports in which reference is made to the unsatisfactory and inadequate nature of the accommodation at present provided and the urgent necessity in the interests of an efficient, healthy, and contended service of materially improving the existing standard types. With these views I am in entire agreement and as a result of the observations which I have been able to make in the course of my recent extensive tour throughout the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, I am more than ever convinced that the situation is one which must be tackled at once and brooks no further delay.*

*7. In the Estimates 1926-1927 which have recently received your general approval provision is made under Head 34, Public Works Extraordinary, item 208 for £146,000 to meet the cost of the proposed building programme (including cost of furniture) for the Northern and Southern Provinces. This estimate was dreamed up before the recommendations of the two Housing Committees were received, and I therefore instructed the Director of Public Works to prepare a revised estimate of cost based on the estimated cost of the houses*

*-4-*

*recommended by the committee in paragraph 26 of their reports. The revised estimate (including the cost of furniture on the scale recommended in Appendix I of the reports) is £281,220, or an excess of £135,220 over and above the sum appearing in the current estimates. I fully realize that this increase is a formidable one, but as pointed out by the committees no appreciable improvement to existing types can be made without considerable additional expenditure, and such heavy expenditure must be faced over a period of years, if any serious attempt is to be made to over-take the arrears which were forced piled up during the lean years which now, I trust, are past.*

*8. As it is in my opinion essential that any houses built this year should be of the improved type I have instructed the Director Public Works in anticipation of your approval to proceed with the working plans of the types recommended by the committees and to construct all the houses provided for under Head 34, Public Works Extraordinary, item 208 in accordance with them. In due course it will be necessary to obtain from the Legislative council a supplementary vote to augment the existing provision of £146,000 by £135,220 as explained above.*

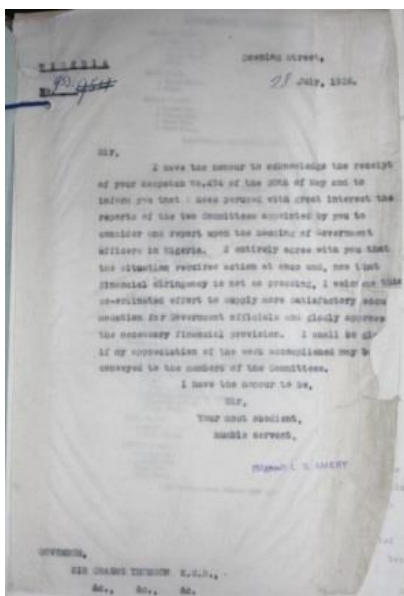
*I have the honour to be,*

*Sir,*

*Your most obedient, humble servant,*

*Signed*

*Governor.*



1926 Secretary of state's reply to the Governor of Nigeria's letter on officer's housing<sup>605</sup>

NIGERIA

Downing Street,

No. 953

28, July 1926.

Sir,

*I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 474 of the 20th of May and to inform you that I have perused with great interest the reports of the two committees appointed by you to consider and report upon the housing of Government officers in Nigeria*

*I entirely agree with you that the situation requires action at once and, now that financial stringency is not so pressing, I welcome this co-ordinated effort to supply more satisfactory accommodation for government officials and gladly approve the necessary financial provision. I shall be glad if my appreciation of the work accomplished may be conveyed to the members of the committees.*

*I have the honour to be,*

*Sir,*

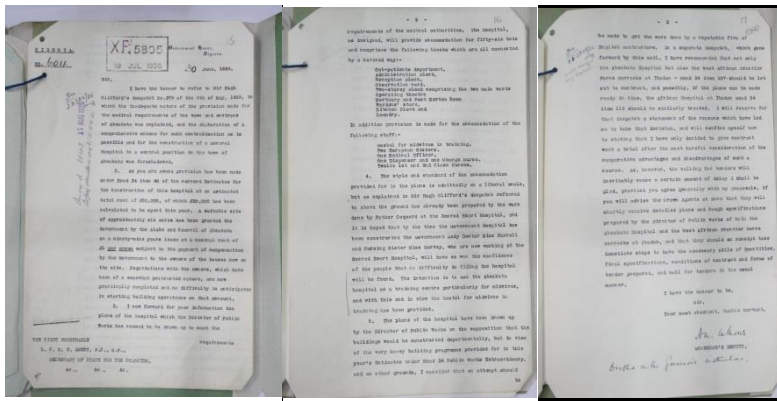
*Your most obedient,  
humble servant,*

*(Signed) L.S. AMERY*

GOVERNOR,  
SIR CRAEME THOMPSON, K.C.B.,  
&C., &C., &C

<sup>605</sup> CO 554/70/6, *Bungalows and houses* (The National Archives, 1926)

**Appendix 5 - 1926 Letter for the construction of Abeokuta General Hospital**



1926 Letter Government of Nigeria letter on the construction of Abeokuta General Hospital<sup>606</sup>

NIGERIA  
No. 604

Government House,  
Nigeria.

30 June 1926.

Sir,

*I have the honour to refer to Sir Hugh Clifford's dispatch No.379 of the 5th of May, 1925, in which the inadequate nature of the provision made for the medical requirements of the town and environs of Abeokuta was explained, and the elaboration of a comprehensive scheme for such centralization as is possible and for the construction of a General Hospital in a central position in the town of Abeokuta was foreshadowed.*

*2. As you are aware provision has been made under Head 34 item 40 of the current Estimates for the construction of this hospital at an estimated total cost of £50,000, of which £20,000 has been calculated to be spent this year. A suitable site of approximately six acres has been granted the Government by the Alake and Council of Abeokuta on a ninety-nine years lease at a nominal rent of £1 per annum subject to the payment of compensation by the Government to the owners of the houses now on the site. Negotiations with the owners, which have been of a somewhat protracted nature, are now practically completed and no difficulty is anticipated in starting building operations on that account.*

*3. I now forward for your information the plans of the hospital, which the Director of Public works have caused to be drawn up to meet the requirements*

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
L.C.M.S. AMERY, P.C., M.P.,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES  
  
&c., &c., &c.

<sup>606</sup> The National Archives "Construction of Abeokuta Hospital" CO 583/144/7

*of the medical authorities. The Hospital, as designed, will provide accommodation for fifty-six beds and comprise the following blocks which are all connected by a covered way:-*

*Out-patient department,  
Administrative block,  
Reception Block,  
Observation ward  
Two-storey Block comprising the two main wards  
Operating theatre  
Mortuary and Post Mortem room  
Warden's store,  
Kitchen Block and  
Laundry*

*In addition, provision is made for the accommodation of the following staff:-*

*Hostel for midwives in training  
Two European sisters  
One Medical Officer  
One dispenser and one Charge Nurse  
Twelve 1st and 2nd Class Nurses*

*4. The style and standard of the accommodation provided for in the plans is admittedly on a liberal scale, but as explained in Sir Hugh Clifford's despatch referred to above, the ground has already been prepared by the work done by Father Coquard at the Sacred Heart Hospital. It is hoped that by the time the Government hospital has been constructed, the Government lady Doctor, Miss Farrell and Nursing Sister Miss Garvey, who are now working at the sacred heart Hospital, will have so won the confidence of the people that no difficulty in filling the hospital will be found. The intention is to use the Abeokuta hospital as a training centre particularly for midwives, and with this end in view the hostel for midwives in training has been provided.*

*5. The plans of the hospital have been drawn up by the Director of Public Works on the supposition that the buildings would be constructed departmental, but in view of the very heavy building programme provided for in this year's Estimates under Heads 34 Public works Extraordinary, and on other grounds, I consider that an attempt should*

*-3 -*

*be made to get the work done by a reputable firm of English contractors. In a separate dispatch which goes forward by this mail, I have recommended that not only the Abeokuta hospital but also the West African frontier force Barracks at Ibadan - Head 34 item 107 should be let out to contract, and possibly, if the plans can be mad ready in time, the African hospital at Ibadan Head 34 item 116 should be similarly treated. I will reserve for that dispatch a statement of the reasons which have led me to take that decision, and will confine myself now to stating that I have only decided to give contract work a trial after the most careful consideration of the comparative advantage and disadvantage of such a course.*

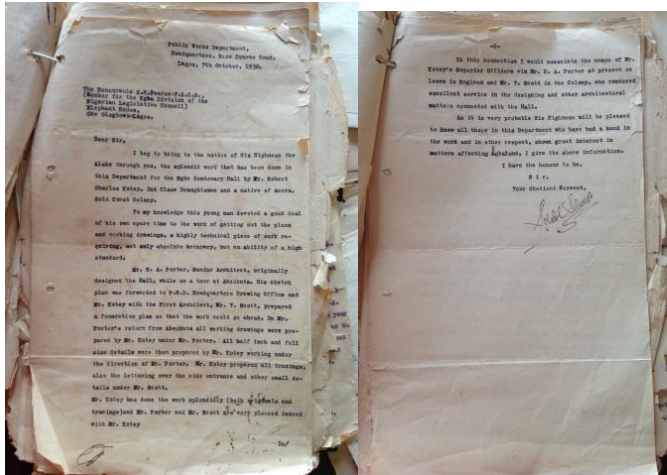
*As, however the calling for tenders will inevitably cause a certain amount of delay I shall be glad, provided you agree generally with my proposals, if you will advise the Crown agents at once that they will shortly receive detailed plans and rough specifications prepared by the Director of Public works of both the Abeokuta Hospital and the West African Frontier Force Barracks at Ibadan, and that they should on receipt tale immediate steps to have the necessary Bills of Quantities, final specifications, conditions of contract and forms of tender prepared, and call for tenders in the usual manner.*

*I have the honour to be,  
Sir,*

Your most obedient, humble Servant,  
Signed,

GOVERNOR'S DEPUTY.

## Appendix 6 - 1930 Letter on the completion of Abeokuta Centenary Hall



1930 Public works department letter to the Alake of Egba land, written through Honourable Pearse<sup>607</sup>

*Public Works Department,  
Headquarters, Race Course Road,  
Lagos, 7th October, 1930.*

*The Honourable S.H. Pearse-F.R.G.S.,  
(Member for the Egba Division of the Nigerian Legislative Council)  
Elephant House,  
Oke Olowogbowo-Lagos*

*Dear Sir,*

*I beg to bring to the notice of his Highness the Alake through you, the splendid work that has been done in the this Department for the Egba Centenary Hall by Mr. Robert Charles Kotey, 2nd Class Draftsman and a native of Accra, Gold Cost Colony.*

*To my Knowledge this young man devoted a good deal of his own spare time to the work of getting out the plans and working drawings, a highly technical piece of work requiring, not only absolute accuracy, but an ability of a high standard*

*Mr H.A. Porter, Senior Architect, originally designed the Hall, while on a tour of Abeokuta. His sketch plan was forwarded to the P.W.D Headquarters Drawing Office and Mr Kotey with the First Architect, Mr T. Scott,*

<sup>607</sup> National archives of Nigeria Abeokuta, Ake 2/1- F42 NAA "Centenary Hall" 1930

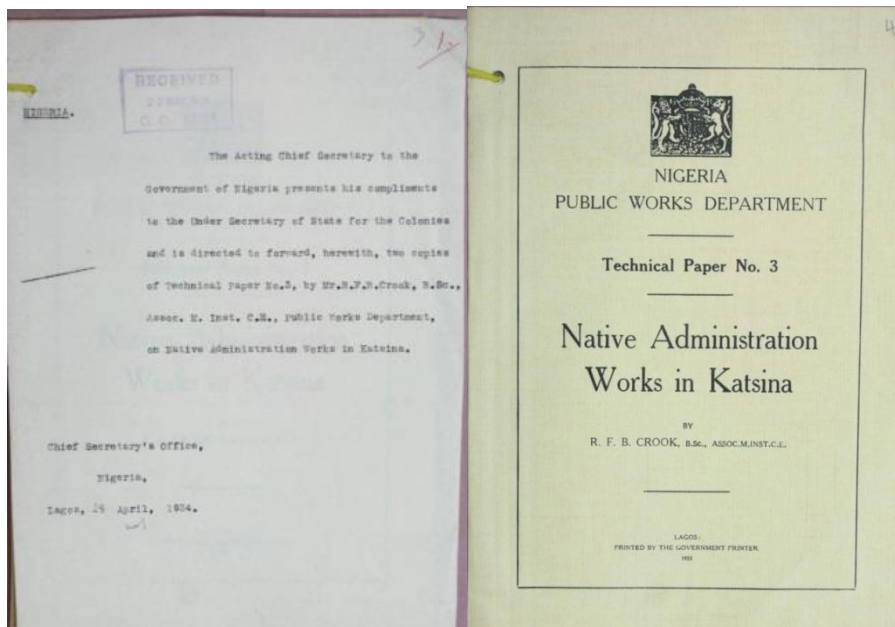
prepared a foundation plan so that the work could go ahead. On Mr Porter's return from Abeokuta all working drawings were prepared by Mr Kotey under Mr Porter. All half inch and full inch size details were then prepared by Mr Kotey working under the direction of Mr. Porter. Mr Kotey prepared all tracings, also the lettering over the side entrance and other small details under Mr Scott.

Mr Kotey has done the work splendidly (both originals and tracings) and Mr Porter and Mr Scott are very pleased indeed with Mr Kotey. In this connection I would associate the names of Mr. Kotey's superior officers viz Mr. H.A. Porter at present on leave in England and Mr. T. Scott in the colony who rendered excellent service in the designing and other architectural matters connected with the Hall.

As it is very probable His Highness will be pleased to know that all those in this department who have had a hand in the work and in other respect, shown great interest in the matters affecting Egbaland, I give the above information.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
  
Signed: Solade Solomon

## Appendix 7 – 1934 Letter on Native Administration Works in Katsina



Letter on Native Administration works in Katsina<sup>608</sup>

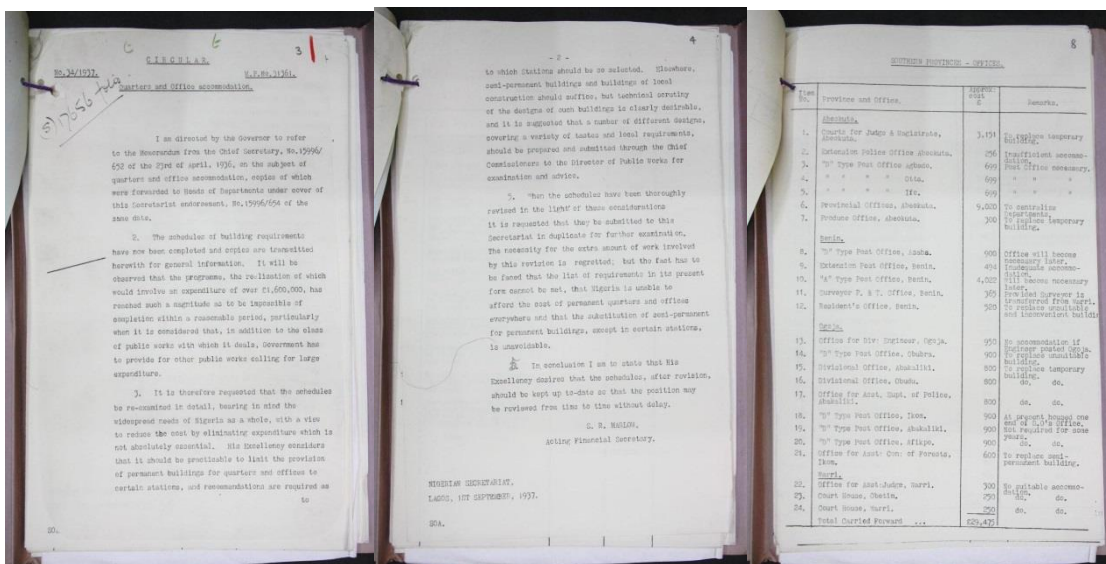
<sup>608</sup> Drawing traced from The National Archives, CO 583/197/12 "Native Administration" - Nigeria Public Works Department (Technical paper No. 3) Native administration works in Katsina, (1934), 14

NIGERIA

*The acting chief secretary to the Government of Nigeria presents his compliments to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies and is directed to forward, herewith, two copies of technical paper No.3, by Mr R.F.H. Crook, B.Sc., Assoc. M. Inst. C.E., Public Works Department, on Native Administration works in Katsina.*

*Chief Secretary's office,  
Nigeria,  
Lagos, 14 April, 1934.*

**Appendix 8 - 1937 Circular on provision of Quarters and Office Accommodation**



1937 circular on quarters and office accommodation passed by the Nigerian secretariat acting financial secretary S.R. Marlow<sup>609</sup>

<sup>609</sup> The National archives of Nigeria CO583/227/3 “PWD – Quarters and office accommodation: Provision of” 1938

Quarters and Office accommodation

*I am directed by the Governor to refer to the Memorandum from the Chief Secretary, No. 15996/652 of the 23rd of April, 1936, on the subject of quarters and office accommodation, copies of which were forwarded to Heads of Department under cover of this Secretariat endorsement, No. 15996/654 of the same date.*

*2. The Schedules of building requirements have now been completed and copies are transmitted herewith for general information. It will be observed that the programme, the realization of which would involve an expenditure of over £1,600,000, has reached such a magnitude as to be impossible of completion within a reasonable period, particularly when it is considered that, in addition to the class of public works with which it deals, Government has to provide for other public works calling for large expenditure.*

*3. It is therefore requested that the schedules be re-examined in detail, bearing in mind the widespread needs of Nigeria as a whole, with a view to reduce the cost by eliminating expenditure which is not absolutely essential. His Excellency considers that it should be practicable to limit the provision of permanent buildings for quarters and offices to certain stations, and recommendations are required as to which should be so selected. Elsewhere, semi-permanent buildings of local construction should suffice, but technical scrutiny of the designs of such buildings is clearly desirable, and it is suggested that a number of different designs, covering a variety of tastes and local requirements, should be prepared and submitted through the Chief commissioner to the Director of Public Works for examination and advice.*

*4. When the schedules have been thoroughly revised in the light of these considerations it is requested that they be submitted to this Secretariat in duplicate for further examination. The necessity for the extra amount of work involved by this revision is regretted; but the fact has to be faced that the list of requirements in its present form cannot be met, that Nigeria is unable to afford the cost of permanent quarters and offices everywhere and that the substitution of semi-permanent for permanent buildings, except in certain stations, is unavoidable.*

*In conclusion I am to state that His Excellency desires that schedules, after revision, should be kept up to-date so that the position may be reviewed from time to time without delay.*

S.R. MARLOW

Acting Financial Secretary.

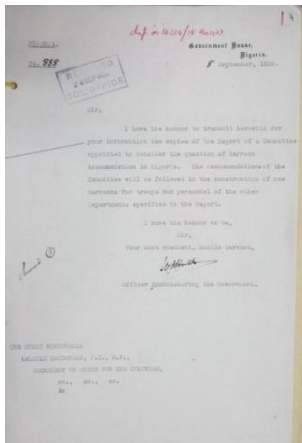
NIGERIAN SECRETARIAT

LAGOS, 1ST SEPTEMBER, 1937

SOA



## Appendix 9 - 1938 Letter on Barrack Accommodation in Nigeria



1938 Letter on the consideration of Barrack accommodation, from the government of Nigeria to the secretary of state to the colonies<sup>610</sup>

NIGERIA

NO. 888

*Government House,*

*Nigeria*

*8 September, 1938.*

*Sir,*

*I have the honour to transmit herewith for your information ten copies of the Report a Committee appointed to consider the question of Barrack accommodation in Nigeria. The recommendations of the committee will be followed in the construction of new barracks for troops and personnel of the other Department specified in the Report.*

*I have the honour to be,*

*Sir,*

*Your most obedient, humble Servant,*

*Signed*

*Officer Administering the Government.*

**THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
MALCOLM MACDONALD, F.C., M.P.,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,**

*&c., &c., &c.*

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<sup>610</sup> The National Archives, CO 583/234/9 Cover letter for “Report of a committee appointed to consider the question of Barrack accommodation in Nigeria”, in *Barrack Accommodation*, 1938