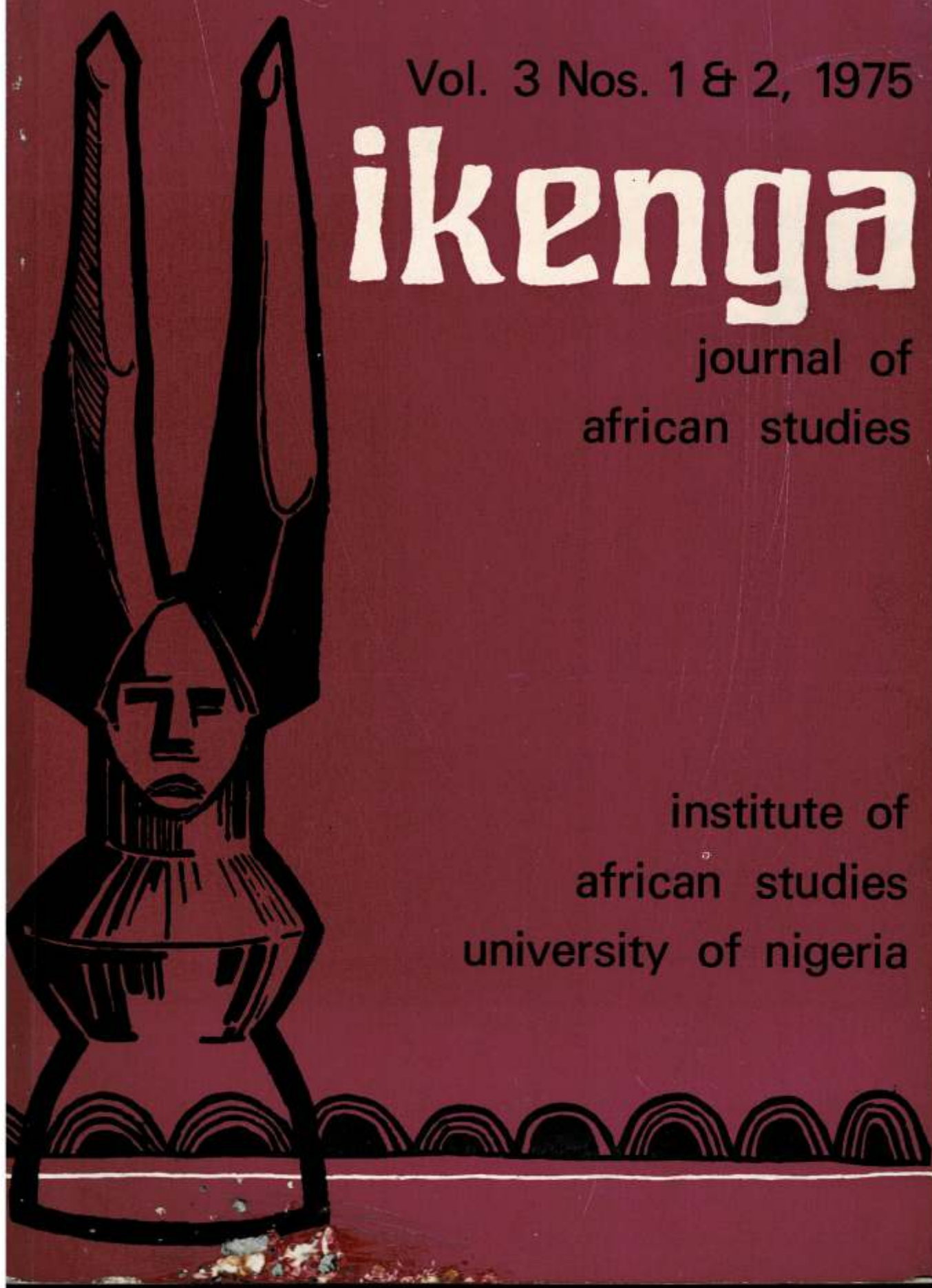


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IKENGA, after which this journal of the Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, has been named, is a cult object of the Igbo-speaking peoples to which traditionally attributed success or good fortune in the professions or in life generally. It is also closely associated with the right arm with which a man hacks his way through life. IKENGA could therefore be briefly described as the Igbo god of achievement. The journal is dedicated to the critical study of the fortunes of the black man down the centuries, and of his contemporary problems and dilemmas. Its interest covers the entire spectrum of African Studies.

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1. Eric J. Arnould—*Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.*
2. Akintola J. G. Wyse—*Department of History, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone.*
3. Wilfred A. Ndongko—*Faculte de Droit et des Sciences Economiques Université de Youndé.*
4. E. Nqlue Emenanjō—*Lecturer, Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri.*
5. Edmund Ilogu—*Professor of Religious Studies and Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.*
6. Ogbu U. Kalu—*Lecturer in Religious Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka*
7. Uma O. Eleazu—*Department of Business Management and Public Administration, Institute of Management and Technology, Enugu.*
8. J. A. Atanda—*Department of History, University of Ibadan.*
9. M. O. Ijere—*Acting Head, Department of Agric. Management, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.*
10. O. C. Nwana—*Dean, Faculty of Education, Director Curriculum-Development Centre, University of Nigeria Nsukka.*
11. Omotoso Eluyemi—*Institute of African studies, University of Ife.*
12. C. N. Ubah—*Research Fellow, Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.*

THE DAHOMEAN DOKPE: SOME EFFECTS OF RECENT EVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL CHANGES ON AN ARCHAIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

ERIC J. ARNOULD

Introduction

In this paper I will discuss the often mentioned Dahomean dokpe in relation to certain key evolutionary changes in Dahomean social organization which have occurred during a three hundred year period¹

Known from Herskovits² as the young men's cooperative work group, the dokpe has also been termed a voluntary association. Strictly speaking this cannot be the case since membership in the local dokpe was in fact an ascribed status, a prerequisite of adulthood for all young men as early as the eighteenth century. In a longer paper I maintain that this mandate for collective action emerged in response to specific ecological pressures operating in and around the area known by geographers as the gap of Benin.³ Later the dokpe assumed an important integrative role under the Dahomean proto-state.⁴ Powerful moral and even coercive sanctions arose to ensure reciprocal relations among younger members of the dokpe and a relationship of subordination to elders.

Membership in the dokpe remains nominally compulsory in many rural areas today. But recent cultural impositions and acculturative developments, including incipient class formation, in Dahomey have contributed to the emergence of a work ethic different from and antagonistic to the old traditions of labour recruitment. The idea of voluntarism expressed to me as "bonne volonte" (good will) is a significant feature both motivating, and in the negative case, limiting, for work parties in both rural and urban areas. I follow Anderson⁵ in seeing the emergence of nonne volonte as the point of convergence of certain symbolic elements and social sub-systems undergoing rapid changes in Dahomey. Even though Herskovits may have ignored local variations in the organization of his time,⁶ this phenomenon still constitutes a major break with past traditions. But it is only a momentary outcropping of certain structural tensions which allows us to speak of the dokpe as voluntary association.

1. This paper is a revision of a paper read to the Northeastern Anthropology Association, Spring 1973 meeting in Burlington, Vermont. My own materials on the dokpe were gathered during a three month period of intensive fieldwork in 1972 directed by Dr Rondaldi Schwarz.
2. Melville J. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom*, (Evanston, Illinois 1938 rep 1967) Vol. 1. 63.
3. Eric J. Arnould *The Dahomean Dokpe from the Mid-1600's until 1972: Some Speculations in Ecological or Cultural Materialism* (Bard College, Annandale, N.Y., 1973) pp. 6-17
4. Stanley Diamond, "The Rule of Law Versus the Order of Custom," *Social Research*, Vol. 38, pp. 42-72, 1971.
5. Robert T. Anderson, "Voluntary Associations in History" *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 73, pp. 200217, 1971.
6. Herskovits, p. 64 note 2.

The Dokpe

In Dahomey today one may isolate several of the mutually reinforcing historical trends whose intersection has led to new variations in both the patterns of recruitment and in participation in the activities one finds associated with the modern day dokpe. Among these factors are the spread of metropolitan style primary education,⁷ the development of wage labour and cash-cropping,⁸ the emergence of alternative avenues to economic advancement and to the procurement of prestige,⁹ the slight attention being paid by government agencies to the development of an economically and socially sound rural society,¹⁰ vastly increased possibilities for travel, and in response to these factors, a progressive weakening of the corporate land-holding lineage,¹¹ and the build-up of unresolved intra-familial tensions.

An initial reading of the literature on the dokpe, derived from Herskovits¹² might suggest that because of its pan-village basis of recruitment, implicit levelling mechanisms and emphasis on cooperative effort, the association was structurally flexible enough to integrate local groups and perform re-socialization functions under the impact of colonialism. However, the dokpe is an archaic institution geared to make internal adjustments, given a population with common interests and boundaries. Just why the dokpe should have failed to become an association capable of generating and assimilating evolutionary changes in social organization like those enumerated above does not become clear until several confusions in the existing literature have been cleared away.

A typical cumulative list of the tasks attributed to the dokpe follows.¹³ It is without historical or explanatory significance; (a) performance of horticultural and productive tasks for the infirm and aged without expectation of reimbursement, (b) work in the fields of rich men whose dependent labour force is insufficient for a particular task, and (c) participation in the extensive funeral ceremonies "establishing" the ancestors of a local kin group¹⁴.

Such a cataloguing obscures the fact that the dokpe acquired these various roles over a period of three centuries, growing out of the relationship between ecological pressures and an evolving political milieu that demanded massive adjustments of Dahomean society. The first three tasks form a complicated bundle at the core of the dokpe, analysis of which discloses the shifting imbalance between

7. Maximilien Quenum *Au Pays des Fons*, (Paris 1938) p. 54.

8. Kenneth Little, *Some Aspects of Urbanization South of the Sahara*, (Reading Massachusetts), p. 31. Robert F. Stevenson, *Population and Political Systems in Tropical Africa* (New York, 1968), p. 215.

9. Virginia Thompson, "Dahomey," in *Five African States: Responses to Diversity*, Ed. Gwendolyn W. Carter, (Ithaca, N.Y., 1963), pp. 183-196. R. Grivot, *Reactions Dahomeans*, (Paris, 1954), p. 103.

10. Claude Tardits, "Development du Regime D Appropriation Privée des Terres de la Palmerie du Sud Dahomey," *Aspects Sociaux de l'Industrialisation et l'Urbanisation en Afrique au Sud du Sahara*, Ed. C. Daryl Forde, (Paris, 1956), p. 313.

11. Adolph Akindele et Cyrille Auguessy, *Le Dahomey*, (Paris, 1956).

12. Herskovits, pp. 63-77.

13. Karl Polanyi, *Dahomey and the Slave Trade: An Analysis of an Archaic Economy*, (Seattle, 1956), p. 54.

14. Herskovits, pp. 352-402.

available land and labour resources in newly populated, pre-state Dahomey (sixteenth century).¹⁵ Certain endemic problems grew out of the relation between the ecological peculiarities of the gap of Benin,¹⁶ and the migration patterns of incoming groups, refugees from neighbouring states. A nucleated settlement pattern helped to thwart would-be slavers and enabled incoming groups to control long-standing trade routes.¹⁷ Within settlements there seems to have been a system of hierarchical lineages grouped into a diffuse clan system. Among agnatic kinsmen, tensions naturally arose due to the gerontocratic trusteeship of land and labour resources. Within the groups defended sphere. An on-going contradiction developed between the fissioning process of expanding lineages (with concomitant local labour loss), efforts to limit the economically active and competing population within the group, and the mobilization and maintenance of a defensively viable unit.¹⁸ Generated in response to these disharmonious sub-systems the dokpe was sufficient to adjust the imbalances produced. Local labour forces were coordinated through the leadership of the dokpegan, divisive differences in productive capacities of the kin groups levelled, and the internal cohesion of the village promoted by the oblique extension of inter-kin group obligations through individual dokpe.¹⁹

On the basis of the manifest productive activities, there arose the second and third categories of dokpe activities, the socialization functions. In the mutual exchange of goods (gifts of food and drink) and services (labour) at each gathering of the dokpe, reciprocal relations were fostered between antagonistic adjacent generations. The dokpe nevertheless maintained the structural hierarchy imposed by the system of land tenure.²⁰ While reinforcing the material precedence and prestige of the elders who sponsored many gatherings (built up in part through years of service in the dokpe), rebellious tendencies among young men temporarily excluded from a say in lineage affairs were rechannelled into competitive labour on utilitarian projects.²¹

The fourth type of service mentioned in the catalogue-work in the fields of rich men has an entirely different origin than that sketched above. During the period of indigenous state development (17th through 19th centuries) the dokpe was coopted as a kind of corvée by the bureaucrats charged with coordinating the state's ever-expanding tribute-collecting apparatus.²²

15. Arnould p. 6-12

16. Polanyi, p. 10, 11, 17.

17. Stevenson, p. 169, 218.

18. Cf Arnould, p. 12.

19. The dokpe was the minimum labour resource available to all men. See Arnould, pp. 6-17

20. Compare Philip and Iona Mayer, "Socialization by Peers: The Youth Organization of the Red Xhosa in Socialization: *The Approach from Social Anthropology*, A.S.A. Monograph 8, (London, 1970), pp. 159-190. Paul Spencer, "The Function of Ritual in the Socialization of the Samburu Moran," in *Socialization: The Approach from Social Anthropology*, p. 157.

21. Arnould, pp. 42-44.

22. Diamond, p. 58.

The final category of activities, participation in the ritual affairs of the local kingroups, appears to have arisen from the general attack of the state upon the autonomy of the local groups during this period. A reliable oral tradition recounts how the early kings introduced new burial customs in Dahomey.²³ Bureaucratization and codification of the burial ceremonies and cult of the ancestors through concentration of ritual authority in a court-appointed dokpegan has been seen as an attempt to rechannel ritual priority and tribute to the royal court.²⁴ This seems plausible since it was this ceremonial apparatus which governed the transmission of rights in lineage resources. Contrary to the state's intent, the codification of the ceremonies led to a reintegration of solidarity at the village level, though lineage autonomy may have declined. This conservative reintegrative response was due to the increased importance placed on roles already established for the dokpe and the dokpegan who personified male communality.²⁵ This important event in the history of the dokpe finds reflection in the remarkable resiliency of the local community in the face of efforts of the proto-state (18th and 19th centuries) to manipulate the dokpe for corvée and military conscription.²⁶

Factors Conditioning the Present Modification of the Dokpe

I will now examine in greater detail the forces which are presently encouraging the disjunction of the dokpe with past roles, and encouraging the reorganization of the indigenous community under the self-reciprocating pressures exerted by externally imposed, evolutionarily significant trends in modern Dahomey.

A decline in war and raiding deaths, improvements in medical care and consequent decreases in infant mortality rates, increases in economic surpluses after the collapse of the kingdom's tax apparatus, and a perception of the relationship between education and power, spurred Fon parents to channel their progeny into newly established schools in the early part of this century.²⁷ The form that such education has continued to take is such that it orients young people away from the life of rural horticulture and provides them with new goals and the minimum skills necessary for administrative work. Once entered upon a school career, few youths willingly return to rural life.²⁸ A large group of educated and largely disaffected people continue to migrate to the cities²⁹ only to find the swollen state bureaucracy and stagnant private sector of the economy have no place for them.³⁰

In order to pay the head tax, originally conceived by the protostate, and to purchase newly desirable imported commodities poorer Dahomeans have taken

23. Herskovits, Vol. 1, p. 66.

24. Diamond, p. 58.

25. Herskovits, Vol. 1, p. 65.

26. The state's attack it should be noted, was necessarily muted by the dependence of its local agents on the fruits of the dokpe's productive labours, in horticulture and road-building, for example.

27. R. Grivot, *Reactions Dahomeennes*, (Paris, 1954), p. 29.

28. Quenum, p. 18.

29. Grivot, p. 29.

30. Thompson, p. 241.

to wage labour on recently consolidated plantation or on the farms of former nobles.³¹ Wealthy men frequently find it more economical to employ these day labourers than to fete local dokpe, especially during the busy rainy season.

Paid occupational specialties and prestigious commodities intrude even more directly into dokpe activities. Rather than convene a dokpe, masons and carpenters are called in to construct houses and compound walls made of cement and corrugated metal. Craft professionalization alienates the dokpe from some of their more valuable roles and brings new models of wage labour into rural communities. The dokpe sometimes *demand*s cash payments nowadays.

The lines of political power were quickly redrawn under colonial rule. The village chiefs frequently drawn from the old noble families emerged as the primary political figures locally.³² The chief passes on the demands of the state to the populace and reinforces his position through access to state sanctioning bodies and through retention of a portion of the taxes he collects.³³ The increased authority exercised by the chiefs had been accompanied by a decline in the authority of the traditional dokpegan who is largely excluded from access to the modern state's chartering power. He has become a dependent of the chief where he lacks his own financial or social resources.

Educated youth and labour migrants returning to the bush with independent resources have contributed to the spread of new norms of interpersonal behaviour. Because of the division of cultural experiences and expectations between stay-at-homes and migrants, especially in regard to authority and decision-making; the young of dokpe age are no longer united in a mutual appreciation of a given position in an accepted social structure.³⁴ This has left the dokpe and the elders suspended between two conflicting hierarchies of social relations, one traditional and one desperately acculturative.

Gross population increases, the end of the necessity for nucleated, defended communities, the imposition of a Western cash economy and French legal code which has led to shifts in land tenure towards contractual ownership of newly alienable property, and the development of plantations at the expense of small-holding³⁵ have led to the decline of the corporate land-holding lineage. Changes in this basic structure have certainly undermined the dokpe, and herald the rise of class type social relations.

In contrast to the above, celebration of the funeral ceremonies and ancestral cult, an ideological bulwark of traditional social hierarchies,³⁶ remains important

31. Tardits, p. 313

32. See Thompson, "Dahomey" for a general discussion of the new forms of political activity in Dahomey particularly 160-170, and Immanuel Wallerstein, "Elites in French-speaking West Africa: The Social Basis of Ideas," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 3 (1965), p. 133 for a discussion of the roles of the elite groups.

33. Thompson, p. 168

34. Compare Yehudi Cohen, "The Establishment of Identity in a Social Nexus," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 66, (1966), pp. 529-552

35. Tardits, p. 313

36. Herskovits, Vol. 1, p. 194

even in urban areas where the dokpe's other functions have been superseded. The allocation and validation of rights in family resources and family authority takes place in these ritual contexts.³⁷ The dokpegean eases the kin group and the community through these transition periods while demanding strict obedience to his commands and taking much of the ritual danger upon himself.³⁸ This authority may spill over into the area of labour relations, but where traditional ritual suffers, one of the remaining supports of dokpe solidarity is removed.

Association Today

As a co-variant of the decline in economic value of the lineage, and of consensual support for the dokpegean and elders, the forms of social definition and differentiation provided by the dokpe have become outmoded. It is in this context that voluntarism or *bonne volonte*, a goodwill predicated on self-interest has emerged in rural areas.

The pattern of and need for collective action remains,³⁹ but other types of extra-kin associations formed by new social groups have arisen as replacements for the dokpe in the society which is on the verge of an evolutionary transformation in social relations. Many such associations reflect a new emphasis on individual goals and Western interests.

A youth group located in Abomey, the old royal capital, is noteworthy in this regard. Members acknowledged that this group had replaced the dokpe for educated youth: it was inappropriate for them to perform manual labor they felt. The association provides an arena for display, achievement and control through theatre and sports groups. The group is encouraged to provide a kind of "appeasement" status to keep urban youth out of subversive political activity and delinquency.

I postulate that there is a probable link between voluntarism in the traditional dokpe and the development of new extrakin associations in which membership reflects shifting individual interests, transformed by a rapid evolutionary leap in Dahomean social organization in the aftermath of rapid and uneven colonial development. But both the idea of voluntarism in the dokpe and the types of associations characterised by voluntary recruitment and participation (*bonne volonte*) now found in Dahomey mark a transitional phase in social relations between compulsory, adjustive associations which emerged in kinbased society in response to pressures not entirely social, and the loose friendships and shifting associations which are characteristic of European class-based society.⁴⁰ This is not to argue a deterministic convergence in the global development of associations. Dahomey will continue to produce associations which reflect the peculiarities of its plural society,⁴¹ but inasmuch as Dahomey seems to be moving toward a neo-colonial class-based society, associations there and in Europe may come to differ not so much in function and structural position as in form and manifest purpose.

37. See Jack Goody, *Death, Property, and the Ancestors*, (Stanford, 1966).

38. Herskovits, p. Vol. 2, pp. 365-366

39. Quenum, p. 232

40. Compare Bertell Ollman, *Alienation: Marx's Concept of Man in a Capitalist Society*, (Cambridge, 1971).

41. Some of this is implicit in the argument of Kenneth A. Little, "Some Aspects of Urbanization South of the Sahara," (Reading, Massachusetts, 1968).

THE GAMBIA IN ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS, 1905-12

AKINTOLA J. G. WYSE

The Entente Cordiale of 1904 was an agreement on reconcilable Anglo-French colonial differences in various parts of the World. After this date there was a closer rapprochement and an identification of common interests between the two powers; and this of course meant that, ideally, on issues for discussion between Britain and France on the one hand, and between the two and another power, say Germany, on the other, their attitude might be governed by this new detente.¹

The Gambia was part of the 1904 package deal, and what this article seeks to do is to show the practical difficulties attendant on an agreement like this, such as the problem of implementing the provisions agreed upon. On a broader perspective also, the paper discusses the future of the Gambia and its bearing on the relationship between Britain and France—in other words, we are looking at how the Entente worked in practice.

Article V of the Anglo-French agreement of April 8, 1904 provided that:² "The present frontier between Senegambia and the English Colony of the Gambia shall be modified so as to give to France Yarbutenda and the lands and landing places belonging to that locality. In the event of the river not being open to maritime navigation up to that point, access shall be assured to the French government at a point lower down on the River Gambia, which shall be recognised by a mutual agreement as being accessible to merchant ships engaged in maritime navigation.

The conditions which shall govern transit on the River Gambia and its tributaries, as well as the method of access to the point that may be reserved to France in accordance with the preceding paragraph, shall form the subject of future agreement between the two governments..."

The French government asked the following year that the provisions be implemented, and at once difficulties arose. The French colonial authorities in Senegal taking into consideration the requirements of their colony, such as

1. On the various interpretations of the Entente Cordiale, see G. Monger, *The End of Isolation: British Foreign Policy, 1900-1907* London (1963) p. 126ff; J.D. Hargreaves, "Anglo-French Relations, 1904-1906" unpublished M.A. thesis, Manchester (1944); P.J.V. Rolo, *Entente Cordiale: the Origins and Negotiation of the Anglo-French agreements of 8 April, 1904*, London (1969). Pierre Guillen, "The Entente Cordiale of 1904 as a colonial settlement", in Prosser Gifford and Roger Lewis, (eds.), *France and Britain in Africa*, Yale Univ. Press (1971) pp. 333-368.
2. A.J.G. Wyse, "British Policy towards territorial change in Tropical Africa, 1905-1914", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Aberdeen (1972) p.88ff; G.P. Gooch and H.W. Temperley, *British Documents on the Origins of War, 1898-1914*, H.M.S.O. London, (1926-38) Vol.II pp.402-407. Hereafter cited as B.D. The Gambia has since become independent on February 18, 1965.

obtaining the shortest possible route for transporting materials for the construction of the Thies-Kayes railway, argued that the concession given was inadequate. M. Roume the Governor-General of French West Africa, declared that Yambutenda was useless since maritime ships could not reach that place. And indeed what the French wanted was access to that part of the river which a ship of 15' draught could navigate.³ And so taking advantage of the provision in paragraph two of the article quoted above, they demanded that a new point be chosen lower down the river Kuntaur, Niani Marou, Badan Sha, strategically placed in the rich groundnut belt of Senegambia, were eventually named as possible sites. The territory so chosen should be ceded, not leased, and French law should rule it.⁴

Now this was too much for the Governor of the Gambia, Sir George Denton, who appreciating the vulnerable position of his colony, was not prepared to accept the French claim for access for 15' draught vessels. Neither was he amenable to the suggestion put by Roume at a meeting arranged so that the two administrations could thrash out the problem, for four recognised routes on both north and south banks, to be given to France so that she could be at liberty to send merchandise and produce to its Senegal territory.⁵ For in the view of Governor Denton, if these concessions were given to France, the Gambia would be seriously affected. It might even be the end of the Gambia as a British territory.⁶ As it was the 300 mile long River Gambia was the natural outlet of Senegal, but it belonged to the British territory of the same name, itself divided in the middle by the river into two thin strips of territory which lunged like a dagger into the heart of the French colony.⁷ The advisability of correcting this anomaly was obvious, and in this regard Paris had made several attempts in the 19th century to induce London to cede the Gambia to her or to exchange it for another territory. But equally so, there were very strong reasons such as economic and commercial factors, native interests, strategy and the like which militated against such a deal.⁸ It is not surprising therefore since these factors were of no less moment in 1906, that the two administrators failed to make any headway in solving the question of concessions.⁹

3. FO 27/33107 Capt. Cowie (Dakar Consulate) to Lansdowne, Feb. 28, 1905; GO 879/889/33868 Denton to C.O. Sept. 29, 1904; CO 879/173/19799 Denton to Lyttleton, May 23, 1905; Nouvelle Serie (Afrique) La Gambie, 1904-1911, NS 16/VOL.II Minutes dated March 1, 1904; M.A.E. a, M. de Colonies, January 4, 1905. These latter documents are deposited in the Quai d'Orsay, Paris. Reference to them will be distinguished by the prefix NS.

4. FO 27/33107 Cambon to Lansdowne, Feb. 8, 1905; F.O. 367/274/23154. Memo by G. de Bernhardt, June 4, 1912; Wyse, op.cit. p.90.

5. Ibidem; NS 16/Vol. II Cambon to Deleasse, January 20, 1905.

6. FO 367/6/1188 F.O. to C.O. January 12, 1906. See also, G. Denton, "Twenty-three years in Lagos and the Gambia", *Journal of the African Society*, Vol.XI No. XLII (1911-1912) pp 129-138.

7. Only 288 miles of this river is navigable. See J.M. Gray, *A History of the Gambia*, C.U.P. (1940) pp.1-3; R. J. Harrison Church, *West Africa*, London, (1957) p.215ff. A minute on a French document of 1904 noted: "La riviere de la Gambie constitue une sorte d'anomalie dans le region hydrographique du littoral de L'Afrique occidentale." NS. 16/Vol.II, March 1904

8. Henry A. Gailey (Jun.), *A History of the Gambia*, London (1964), pp 80-80; J. D. Hargreaves, *Prelude to the Partition of West Africa*, London (1966) pp 174-194; "C.O. Library African pamphlet collection" (uncatalogued) The Gambia in M F73 King's College Library, Aberdeen; "The Gambia and its proposed session to France" by C Fitzgerald Oct. 25, 1875 and "Report of the Council of the Royal Colonia Institute on the Gambia Question", 1876 etc.

9. Wyse, pp 90-93.

But even so, the French in fact came up the following year with a suggestion, in a round about way, that the Gambia be ceded to them. The British foreign office, which in any case according to a memo of Cecil Hurst, (Assistant Legal Adviser in the F.O.) appeared to agree with Roume's demand for more concessions, was much more disposed towards this overture than the Colonial Office.¹⁰ M. Roume, who should be counted as one of the greatest French Empire builders of the stature of Col. Faidherbe (a former governor of French Senegal, 1854-61 and 1863-65) had elaborate and ambitious plans, which included railway construction, for the development of Senegal. Because of the strategic location of the Gambia, he felt that it was imperative and eminently desirable for France to acquire the British enclave.¹¹ This might save the Senegal administration about £1 million annually; and more important, a line constructed from the head of the Gambia navigation to a point on the Senegal-Niger Railway would halve the length of the projected Thies-Kayes line, thus reducing costs. On the other hand, warned the French governor-general, if the railway was built it would adversely affect the Gambia. And in any case, he would have to build customs posts on the whole frontier, to stop smuggling from British territory. And this measure might result in friction.¹² To obviate this latent friction between the two entente partners it would be, urged Roume, a good idea for Britain to cede the Gambia in exchange for the surrender of French rights in the New Hebrides. The Gambia and the New Hebrides, he added, were two dark spots in Anglo-French relations.

Of course, this proposal merely re-echoed those of the 19th century. But the two powers were now friends and the differences were reconcilable. For instance, in the New Hebrides, Britain and France maintained an uneasy condominium, made more complicated by the insistent demands of the Commonwealth states of Australia and New Zealand that Britain declare a protectorate over the New Hebrides. The French equally were strongly opposed to giving up their rights in the territory.¹³ In Muscat and Zanzibar, Anglo-French differences arose out of old treaties which both powers had signed with the native rulers. By the treaty of November 17, 1844 the French secured rights to import arms to Muscat. The Anglo-French declarations of March 10, 1862 forbade either power to infringe upon the sovereignty of the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat. By the beginning of the period under review these treaties had become irksome for British policy. French arms were being used to cause trouble on the Indian frontier and on the borders of British Somaliland; and Britain could do nothing except with the consent of Paris. London also wanted to get rid of French extra-territorial privileges in Zanzibar in order to regularise her

10. Ibidem.

11. See Frederic Riembaud, *De Dakar au Niger: La question de Chemin de fer et la mise en valeur de territoires de la Senegambie et du Niger*. Paris (1908) pp.54-56 where Roume urged the quick solution of the Gambia question in order that railway development could get underway. Q.U. Auguste Terrier and Charles Mourey, *L'Expansion Francaise et la Formation territoriale*, Paris (1910) pp. 510-519.

12. FO 367/40/7954 Cowie to Grey, Feb. 20, 1907. The Thies-Kayes railway was completed in 1923. See Hubert Beschamps (ed.), *Histoire Generale de l'Afrique noire de madagascar et des Archipels*, Paris (1971) Vol.II, p.388.

13. See R. Hyam, *Elgin and Churchill at the Colonial Office*, London, (1968) pp.291-312 for background study.

protectorate over that territory. The French appeared unwilling to live up these rights except for a compensation.¹⁴ Lastly, the British were interested in removing the residuary rights of the French in Newfoundland—a matter in which France was showing extreme obstreperousness; while the British Admiralty was interested in certain French Pacific islands (e.g. Mangareva), Lord Lansdowne (British Foreign Secretary 1900-1905) had been unwilling to make approaches to the Quaid'Orsay with regard to these Islands for fear that it might "bring forward counter proposals of a very embarrassing character"¹⁵

These were tailor-made interests which could be haggled over and upon which mutually satisfactory arrangements could be reached. This was a very important consideration which made the Roume feeler attractive to the Foreign Office. And Sir Edward Grey, its political head, did not omit pointing this out in his covering letter to his counterpart in the Colonial Office, Lord Elgin.¹⁶ His Lordship, however, sent back a frigid reply:

"His Majesty's Government cannot lightly enter upon a negotiation to sell or exchange a British colony, and if the storm of criticism and misrepresentation which would be aroused by such a proposal is to be faced, the propriety of the transaction must be clear and well defined."¹⁷

In view of past experiences in negotiation, the interests of the natives and the trade of the Gambia, went on Elgin, he was of the opinion "that the elements for making an arrangement which would be both equitable and capable of defence in Parliament are lacking." He would therefore deprecate any encouragement being given "at present to the suggestion put forward by the Governor-General of French West Africa."

Despite the withering tone of the Colonial Office letter Barrington and others were hopeful: "I do not think the Colonial Office wish absolutely to close the door, but they would like to postpone the consideration of the question. M. Cambon is unlikely to discuss without encouragement from us", observed the Assistant Under-Secretary. Charles Hardinge, the permanent Under-Secretary, advised temporizing and Grey noted, rather puckishly: "We must wait until things get worse."¹⁸

The crucial point to note here is that the Foreign Office, in principle, was not averse to the idea of ceding the Gambia. And even Elgin's letter looked at closely, did not exclude the possibility of a negotiation. The main obstacle was the right

14. FO 367/227/37669 Memo on French proposals by A. Parker, Sept. 1911; voluminous correspondence on the Muscat arms question can be found in Case 622, FO 367 Africa (New Series) P.R.O. London. See also A.S. Caplan, "British policy towards Ethiopia, 1904-1919", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London (1965), p.63ff.

15. FO 367/227/37069 F.O. Minutes and Annex. Sept. 23, 1911.

16. FO 367/40/7954 F. O. to C.O. March 19, 1907; of Gailey, *op.cit.* p.104ff who argues that the F. O. never seriously reacted to these feelers for an exchange.

17. FO 367/40/16996 C.O. to F.O., May 24, 1907.

18. Minutes by Barrington, Hardinge and Grey on FO 367/40/16996.

price, and perhaps public opinion (though I think this was of less importance).¹⁹ For according to trade reports which Grey had asked for, the Gambia was in a healthy financial position. It was true that because of the dominant position of groundnuts, the main cash crop in the Colony's economy, Gambia's export trade was heavily dependent on France. And if that country chose to take hostile acts against the Gambia, such as erecting customs posts in strategic areas, the trade figures could be affected, as indeed they were in 1907. On the other hand, the Gambia was equally useful to French Senegal, in terms of commerce and communications. In short the two economies were inter-dependent.

To an imperial government which had the tradition of spending money sparingly on its dependences, the fact that the Gambia, if not exactly rich, was no great burden on the imperial exchequer, was a welcome one.²⁰ Though Grey did not immediately take action on the reports, it seems likely that this favourable account of the Gambia made him raise his terms for a deal when the French put a formal proposal in 1908. It was clear to the Foreign Office that it could gainfully use the Gambia as a bargaining counter to get the French to accede to British desires in certain areas of interest.

First, London tried to get Paris to give up her rights under its Treaty of 1844 to import arms into Muscat. These French arms were being smuggled into Afghanistan causing endless worries for the Indian administration, and the control of this traffic was taxing the Royal Navy to the limit. London wanted to get rid of this nuisance. The French asked for nothing less than the cession of the Gambia for the surrender of these "obsolete rights."²¹

The British Cabinet met twice to consider the French proposals which included *inter alia*, i.e. in return for the cession of the Gambia a promise to give Britain a free hand in Muscat i.e. to proclaim a protectorate or establish direct political control (b) a readiness to agree to the extension of areas of arms prohibition in Arabia and Muscat (c) a willingness to consider favourably the revision of the French treat with Zanzibar.²² Inter departmental Committee meetings were held and the implications of the French concessions were thoroughly discussed.²³ The experts

19. Answers given by the F.O. to enquiries made by groups interested in the Gambia e.g. the Bathurst Trading Company (one of the oldest British firms in the Gambia) and the Aborigines Protection Society, were less than helpful, considering the weight the negotiators gave to public opinion and British interests. Indeed, only one question on the Gambia was asked in Parliament in 1908-1911. And the Cabinet admitted that the Gambia "(is) of little value to this country." My impression is that public opinion etc. were convenient arguments used to gain the most from the other party. See Wyse, *op.cit.*, pp.103, 011-114.

20. See Wyse, *op.cit.*, pp.97-100 for an analysis. P.H.S. Hatton, "The Gambia, the Colonial Office, and the opening months of the first World War", *Journal of African History*, VII (1) (1966), pp.123-131, makes reference to the peculiar trading position of the Gambia vis a vis Britain and French Senegal and also the ambiguous attitude of Whitehall to the British colony.

21. Phrase used by an angry correspondent in his letter to the Editor of *The Times*, July 25, 1911 filed in FO 367/266.

22. Wyse, *op.cit.*, p.100ff.

23. CAB 37/94/99 Report of the I.D.C. Conference held on July 9, 1908. The Committee comprised Sir Charles Hardinge (F.O., Chairman); Sir W. Lee Warner and Sir R. Ritchie (India Office), Antrobus and C. Strachey (C.O.); Major-General Ewart (W.O.); Capt. Slade (Admiralty); Wilson Fox (B.O.T.)

in this committee agreed that the French offer with reference to Muscat was attractive, for it would enable Britain to maintain her ascendancy in the Persian Gulf (against possible German and Italian intrigues). But it was a barbed gift: there was no certainty that Germany might not object to Britain's taking complete control of Muscat; and an independent Sultan freed from French pressure might raise his terms for co-operation with Britain. Moreover, the Gambia was already a British possession with several vested interests such as British trade, the welfare of officers employed in the administration, missionaries, and the moral responsibility to the indigenous Gambians who were hostile to French rule. And if the Gambia was to be ceded at all, the interests of these people must be safeguarded, and an adequate *quid pro quo* obtained that would impress and convince public opinion and parliament. But what galled the Committee more was that Britain was being asked to cede tangible property for intangible rights. In short, desirable as it would be to cancel out these irritating dark spots in the relations of the two countries, the Inter-departmental Committee, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, felt that the French offer was "quite in-adequate."²⁴

To make the deal more equitable the I.D.C. brought in other areas for a more comprehensive arrangement. The British government asked their French counterpart in August 1908 to agree to: the renunciation of French extra-territorial rights in Zanzibar, the extension of the areas of arms prohibition to include Muscat, the British demand for undivided possession (later changed to undivided authority) of the New Hebrides, the cession of the French Islands of Mangareva, and the cession of certain French residuary rights in Newfoundland. All these in return for the cession of the Gambia.²⁵

The British were certainly demanding their pound of flesh. If they wanted an equitable *quid pro quo* for the Gambia, their counter-proposals were excessive. But for reasons already given above, they felt that they were justified. The long delay and the waspish haggling over the deal (which indeed illustrate how difficult it was for one power to cede a territory to another, even if they were friends), revealed certain intriguing aspects of Anglo-French relations at this time.

The French resorted to guerilla tactics in the local scene. Customs posts were erected at certain strategic places on the Gambia-Senegal frontier, although these were withdrawn later because they were self-defeating.²⁶ During an impasse (brought about mainly by French intransigence) in the Arms Conference meeting at Brussels in 1908, called to agree to the extension of the area of arms prohibition

24. Wyse, pp.102-104. It was estimated that there were 160 white and native officials whose salaries totalled £26,000 p.a. And this was exclusive of pensioners. On Cabinet decision see R. Hyam, *Elgin and Churchill*, p.202; CAB 41/51/160 Report of the P.M. to the sovereign, June 24, 1908.

25. CAB 38/91/99 Report of the I.D.C. Conference (July 14, 1908); CAB 37/99/58 August 24, 1908.

26. Wyse, p.99

in Africa up to the Red Sea, France made it quite plain that her co-operation would depend on Britain's flexibility on the question of the Gambia.²⁷

Of course, the F.O. Staff were greatly put out by this French attitude. Tempers began to fray and unflattering remarks were made about the French. Walter Langley, Assistant Under Secretary (1907-1918), was angry at Paris for bringing the Gambia question into the Conference, and he suspected that the move had been instigated by the French Colonial Office, which was not exactly the best of friends.²⁸ On the other side of the channel, M. Louis, political Director at the Quai d'Orsay, riposted, with equal vigour, telling Sir Francis Bertie, British Ambassador to France, that his government "had opened their mouths too wide."²⁹ He asserted that his government had to consider public opinion. The French colonial Minister was hostile to the idea of ceding French rights anywhere in the world. Moreover, the Paris government emphasised that the arms trade was a lucrative one from which French merchants derived considerable income. These men had backers in Parliament who would want to see that their clients were satisfactorily compensated. Lastly, there was also the fear that French influence in that region would be reduced, if they consented to giving up these rights without protests or compensation.³⁰

This did not help matters, for even the Francophil Bertie, annoyed with his friends, suggested putting an article in *The Times*, "not too harshly worded" but saying enough to illustrate how "French obstruction was injuring British interests." Happily, C. H. Montgomery, Private Secretary to Charles Hardinge, advised against such a step; he pointed out that it might endanger the Entente "which we do not want to do on this one question, however important it may be."³¹

This remark is interesting, because in 1908-9 Anglo-French co-operation was at a very low ebb. In economic matters British and French interests came up against each other and it appeared that France valued her financial interests more than the friendship with Britain. Not only that, Clemenceau, the combative Prime Minister of France (1906-1909), was anxious about the military strength of Britain. He believed that the British Navy, though powerful, was not adequate enough (without a strong army) to defend France if Germany was to pounce upon her. Thus, though he had no love for Germany, he felt that because of the rather insecure position of France, there was no need to antagonise Berlin, especially when there were differences between them on certain questions, e.g. Morocco. This line of thought led France to co-operate with Germany in certain areas, e.g. in Morocco. This trend in French policy exercised the British Foreign Office just as

27. CAB 37/93/85 Memo on the Arms Conference at Brussels, circulated to the Cabinet on June 23, 1908. The British delegates to the Conference were: Arthur Hardinge, A.W. Clarke, and H.J. Read (C.O.).

28. Minute by Langley on CAB 37/93/85 June 16, 1908. See Henri Brunschwig, "Anglophobia and French African Policy" in Gifford and Lewis, *op.cit.* pp.20-34 for the attitude of Quai d'Orsay as opposed to that of the French Colonial Office vis a vis Britain.

29. (Grey Papers) FO 800/50 Bertie to C. Hardinge, Oct. 31, 1908.

30. (Grey Papers) FO 800/51 Bertie to Grey, Oct. 7, 1909; Bertie to Grey, Oct. 30, 1908; FO 800/52 Grey to Bertie, May 19, 1910; FO 800/53 Bertie to Grey, Nov. 14, 1912; encl. report of conversation between Saunders, *The Times* Correspondent, and M. Poincaré, Prime Minister of France.

31. (Grey Papers) FO 800/51 Bertie to Grey, Oct. 8, 1909. Minute by Montgomery.

moves for an Anglo-German Naval agreement, or even a visit by a British Minister to Berlin, worried the French. In short, an atmosphere of edginess was created. Grey had to assure Paris that the visit of King Edward to Berlin in February 1909 did not mean a change in British foreign policy. He did not "want any special co-operation which would alter the present grouping of the powers."³²

Valentine Chirol, *The Times* Foreign Editor, was so anxious about the effect which French policy of financial co-operation with Germany and her policy on the Muscat arms question would have on those "professional pacifists" and "liberal idealists" who wanted rapprochement with Germany that he decided "to talk very seriously to the French about their attitude."³³

What this passage and the following illustrate is that when relations were cool, there were those on both sides who endeavoured to inject more warmth and confidence in each other and for reasons of general policy to advocate a less rigid attitude to colonial policy. Quarrels were to be kept within the family as it were.

Indeed, certain elements were at work to bring sanity to the question under review. M. Pichon, French Foreign Minister (1906-1911), cared little about Muscat, and he would have liked to settle the matter were it not for the interests of the arms dealers and the Colonial Office, which of course must be protected.³⁴ But in Paul Cambon, the Anglophil French Ambassador at the Court of St. James, (1898-1920) who, apart from Roume, showed a strong (one is tempted to say obsessive) desire to acquire the Gambia for France, Britain had a persuasive advocate. He kept alive discussions even without official directive from Paris, dashing off to the Foreign Office for a *tete a tete* with one of the senior officials, and appealing to London to moderate its demands. He never let an opportunity pass without making a point reference to the friendship between Britain and France which he felt must not be lost sight of.³⁵

When Cambon presented the French counter proposals in February 1909 he argued the French case forcefully, yet with moderation. He pointed out to Grey that for France to give up her rights, it was equitable that she should demand in exchange the sacrifice of British rights in places where they constituted "une gene pour les interets Francais." In this regard the Gambia, which in any case was an anomaly and anachronism in that part of West Africa, would be an adequate compensation. He warned that France could make things difficult for the British colony, and that once the Senegal railway was completed the Gambia would lose its value, though he admitted that its acquisition would "epargnerait" the budge of French West Africa.³⁶

32. Wyse, pp. 106-107; E.W. Edwards, "The Franco-German agreement," *English Historical Review*, Vol.78, (July 1963) pp.483-513. On British concern about Anglo-French relations and Grey's assurances to Paris, see B.D. VI Nos. 35 and 45 and B.D. VII No. 91 Minute by Crowe on White to Crowe, Feb. 23, 1908; (Bertie Papers) F.O. 800/171 Grey to Bertie, January 9, 1908; (Grey Papers) FO 800/51 Bertie to Grey, Oct. 30, 1909; FO 800/51 Bertie to Grey, Nov. 11, 1909; FO 800/52 Bertie to Grey, Jan. 3, 1910.

33. *History of The Times*, Printing House Square, London (1947) Vol.III pp.678-684.

34. (Grey Papers) F.O. 800/51 Bertie to Grey Oct. 30, 1909.

35. Ministère des Affaires étrangères, *Documents Diplomatiques Français*, 1871-1914 Paris (1929-36) Vol. XI No. 510 Cambon to Pichon, Oct. 28, 1908. Hereafter cited as d.D.F.

36. D.D.F. XI No. 593 Pichon to Millies-Lacroix, Dec. 28, 1908; CAB 37/99/58 Memo from Cambon, Feb. 18, 1909. The French made virtually no change in their original proposals. The only concession offered was their willingness to waive their extra-territorial rights on Zanzibar.

To his government the diplomat was uncommonly frank. He complained to Pichon that the attitude of the colonial Minister would rupture negotiations for the exchange of the Gambia. The cession of French rights in Muscat and Zanzibar, he urged, might not be enough; it was necessary to give "une soulte" to satisfy and calm public opinion in Britain. He even made an oblique reference to the entente. He pointed out that a liberal Minister (Grey), whose foreign policy never inspired entire confidence in England was obliged to set great store on the exigencies of public opinion. In other words, what he was saying was that for reasons of general policy they could not afford to impair the position of Grey vis à vis his critics by being rigid on a question which was of some importance to their British friends.³⁷ Cambon went on to elaborate on his complaints. He cared less for the remaining rights of France in India or her possessions in the Pacific which "ne sont susceptibles d'aucun avenir," but he was very much interested in the Gambia, which was "en forme en plein couer de nos colonies." No doubt the importance of its acquisition, he went on, had been demonstrated by Roume's attempts to get the British colony in previous years. And, as a pointer to Cambon's broad concept of the imperial destiny of France, he argued that his country should concentrate its efforts in Africa instead of dispersing uselessly on "tous les points du globe." Questions under discussion must be dealt with "au point de vue actuel et non au point de vue historique." The latter could only interest "les erudits", he concluded.³⁸

Able and sensible as the arguments of Cambon were, in the final analysis neither government showed a disposition to moderate their terms. Both sides made references to their historic connections with territories (Cambon even recalled the name of Dupleix with reference to India and Grey rejoined that Britain had a sentimental attachment to her oldest colony—the Gambia), and both sought refuge in insisting that public opinion must be satisfied.³⁹ But as I have pointed out if the price had been right, little value would have been given to that imponderable element—public opinion.⁴⁰ The point was that the British felt they were giving away a territory while the French were only surrendering anachronistic rights. But the French considered that by ceding these rights they were virtually ceding territories to Britain.

The British Cabinet put an end to the affair when it decided in March 1909 that "... His Majesty's government were, therefore, reluctantly constrained to consider that the offer of the French government does not contain that adequate territorial or equivalent material compensation, without which they feel it is hopeless for them to expect the approval of parliament to the proposed change."⁴¹

In this way, negotiations were suspended "for the time being at any rate." Nevertheless the question was raised once more a couple of years later. Cambon's singular desire to acquire the British colony and the India Office pressure on the

37. D.D.F. XI No. 510 Cambon to Pichon, Oct. 28, 1908.

38. Ibidem.

39. F.O. 367/264/10375 Grey to Bertie, March 14, 1911 reporting conversation with Cambon.

40. See note 19.

41. CAB 37/99/58 I.D.C. meeting on 24th March, 1909 to consider French counter proposals; CAB 41/32/14. Report of the P.M. to the Sovereign, April 30, 1909.

F.O. to solve the arms question led to the reopening of informal negotiations between the Ambassador and Grey. This time other areas such as certain territories in Nigeria, which France had long coveted, were thrown in to make a comprehensive deal.⁴² Lulu Harcourt, the new Colonial Secretary (Nov. 1910-1915) even contemplated ceding the Gambia "for a big price."⁴³ As before, no headway was made and the talks petered out. By this time the French were getting fed-up. A half-hearted attempt to get the British to implement the terms of Article 5 of the 1904 agreement by demanding certain *points d'accès* after a hydrographic mission had been completed in 1910, was not seriously followed up.⁴⁴

The pre-World War I *pauzparlers* on the Gambia were not the last words on the future of the Gambia. Attempts had been (and the possibility is still being talked about in some circles) before and after the independence of the Gambia for integration with her neighbour, the republic of Senegal, but the obstacles which their erstwhile colonial masters faced were no less strong for the African governments.⁴⁵

In conclusion, what this paper has shown are the problems involved in implementing the terms of an agreement (for often at the Conference table concessions are given without an immediate appreciation of their practical implications) on the one hand, and that there are factors other than friendship which govern the decision of governments to cede territories, on the other.

Secondly, the Entente Cordiale seems paradoxical. It was supposed to put an end to irritating Anglo-French colonial differences. At first glance it does not appear to have succeeded; because these differences continued after 1904. French attitude was even likened to that of Germany in demanding territory for the surrender of "obsolete rights."⁴⁶ But one ought to go, however, beyond the appearance and look at the pulses which govern Anglo-French relations. Certainly, there were differences, but these were mere aberrations which were smoothed over because of the special relationship of the two powers. The Entente Cordiale was a good shock absorber.

In the local scene where things could be expected to get out of hand, the administrations of both territories seemed to have got on well. For example, a dispute over a piece of border territory was settled in such a friendly way to the

42. A record of these talks can be found in F.O. 367/266/28477 I.O. to F.O. July 19, 1911; F.O., to I.L. July 29, 1911; F.O. 367/263/294 Memo from P. Cambon to Grey July 25, 1911; D.D.F. XII M. Trouillot to Pichon May 9, 1910. According to a minute by Langley the African department only knew of these developments in July 1911. Minutes on F.O. 367/263/29409.

43. (Grey Papers) F.O. 800/91 Harcourt to Grey, March 7, 1911; of Harcourt to Grey, April 3, 1911; Wyse p. 112.

44. Wyse, p. 113.

45. *West Africa*, January 11, 1958. An Editorial, after weighing the pros and cons for a Gambia-Senegal merger, noted: "The history of the Gambia with [sic] its people had become too real an entity to be extinguished."

46. "The French have always treated the Muscat arms traffic in much the same way as the Germans are now treating Agadir - as a means of extracting from us concessions of territory the value of which is out of all proportion to what they themselves intend to give up." Minute by C.T. on FO 367/266 28477 I.O. to C.O., July 19, 1911.

mutual satisfaction of both parties, that Langley was led to comment! "The entente seems to be working in that part of the world."⁴⁷ After all that is the significance of the Anglo-French accord of 1904.

47. NS 16/Vol. II Min. de colonies a M.A.E. August 4, 1905. CO 87/187/41366 Acting Governor to Colonial Secretary Dec. 16, 1911; F.O. 367/226/17067, F.O. to C.O. April 20, 1911. Minute by Langley; Denton, "Twenty-three years", *Journal of the African Society* Vol. XI (1911-12) p. 133 for his comment on Senegambian relations.

REVENUE ALLOCATION IN CAMEROON UNDER THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

WILFRED A. NDONGKO

I. Introduction

It has been pointed out in the literature on fiscal federalism that "imbalance in the allocation of functional responsibilities and financial resources between the central and regional governments is characteristic of all federations."¹ Although this is true, the absence of a well specified formula of revenue allocation between the federal and State governments to enable them execute those functional responsibilities, can generate disaggregative forces which may lead to the instability of any federation.

To this extent, the former Cameroon Federation existed for eleven years without any rational criteria for allocating revenues between the Federal and State governments. It is in the light of this unsatisfactory situation, that this paper will be devoted to examining how the system of revenue allocation in the Cameroon Federation operated; with a view to suggesting some principles on which the division of revenue between the different tiers of government in old and new federations could be based.

To this end, therefore, the paper will be divided into seven sections. Section II is a general introduction to the former Federal Republic of Cameroon. In Section III, an examination of the pre-Federation governmental financial situation with respect to the former Federated States of East and West Cameroon is undertaken. Section IV looks at the constitutional provisions relating to the division of financial responsibilities and revenue sharing between the Federal and State Governments. In section V, the 'ad hoc' systems of revenue allocation and its evolution is analysed. Section VI is concerned with a critical appraisal of the revenue allocation system. In Section VII, some principles that can be followed in reaching a formula for future allocation of revenue are suggested. The concluding remarks are made in Section VIII.

II. The Former Cameroon Federation

The Federal Republic of Cameroon was formed on October 1, 1961. It was composed of two states—East Cameroon, formerly known as French Cameroon, and West Cameroon, which was the former Southern Cameroons under the United Kingdom Trusteeship. French Cameroon became independent first, on January 1, 1960, as the Republic of Cameroon, and later on in 1961, the British Southern Cameroons reunified with the new Republic. At the same time the British Northern Cameroons joined Nigeria.

1. A.T. Eapen, "A Critique of Indian Fiscal Federalism", *Public Finance*, Vol. XXIV, 1969.

The Cameroon Federation was the direct result of the plebiscite conducted by the United Nations in both the southern and northern sections of the British Cameroons on February 11 and 12, 1961. Faced with the choice whether they preferred union with Nigeria or with the Republic of Cameroun, voters in the Northern Cameroons opted to join Nigeria while those in the Southern Cameroons voted overwhelmingly to join the new Republic.² The figures for the plebiscite³ were as follows:

Southern Cameroons:	for Cameroon Republic	— 235,571
	for Nigeria	— 97,741
Northern Cameroons:	for Cameroon Republic	— 97,659
	for Nigeria	— 146,296

III. Pre-Federation Governmental Financial Situation

In order to understand, the magnitude of the financial needs of each State at the time of Federation, it will be pertinent to examine the financial situation of former West and East Cameroon. To this end, the absence of a strong financial foundation for the State of West Cameroon was one of the elements that produced a reunification movement in that State. This was because before 1954 when West Cameroon was administered as an integral part of the Federation of Nigeria, no separate budgetary or public accounts were maintained for the former.

Government revenues from West Cameroon were included without any distinction in the budget of Nigeria as a whole and expenditures were allocated to it not on the basis of need but on the basis of a general criterion that was applied to the various regions of the Nigerian Federation with which it was administratively and economically integrated.⁴ As a consequence when West Cameroon became a separate administrative unit in 1954; a fiscal commission studying the financial implications of the change reported that the State could not be viable without external financial assistance although large surpluses were claimed to have accrued to the territory some six years prior to separation. In fact, the budget of West Cameroon during the first financial year 1955-56, showed a deficit of about £286,000 (197,912,000 francs CFA).⁵

Consequently, the Federal Nigerian government constitutional grant was instituted with a view to paying to the West Cameroon government every penny (sterling) which that government (Nigerian) got from the territory and did not

2. The Northern Cameroons became part of Nigeria on July 11, 1961. It had been hoped that the Northern Cameroons would opt for Union with the Republic to make it the third member of the federation.

3. A full description of the plebiscites including the breakdown in voting for all the Southern and Northern Cameroon electoral districts is found in the *Report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration, plebiscite in the Southern and Northern parts of the Territory on February 11 and 12, 1961*. U.N. Doc. A/4727 (New York, 1961) originally issued as U.N. Docs. T/1556 Appendix and T/1556/ Appendix/ Add 1 and 2, April, 11 1961.

4. United Nations Official Records, *Reports of United Nations Visiting Missions to Trust Territories in West Africa*, Mission Supplement, Doc. No.2, 7/798, New York, 1949.

5. Southern Cameroon, *Budget Estimates, 1955-56*, Buea, March, 1955.

expend on Federal services in that territory.⁶ This system of revenue allocation was deemed more adequate and satisfactory to the West Cameroon than that applied to the Eastern Region of Nigeria. Apart from the constitutional grant, a special advance of £300,000 was also earmarked for West Cameroon.

In regard to capital expenditures in West Cameroon, the Nigerian Federal government made significant contributions towards the operation of this item of expenditure. Financial allocation by the Nigerian government averaged £3000,000 per annum between 1955 and 1958.⁷ The development and construction of road net work in the West Cameroon also depended heavily on financial support from Nigeria. In this respect, the 1959 Economic Programmes of the Nigerian Federation earmarked an additional sum of £1,200,000 for the completion of the Victoria-Bamenda road.⁸

With respect to East Cameroon, this state notwithstanding the greater diversity of its economy, a higher per capita income of 30,000 francs as compared to 18,000 francs for West Cameroon and a relatively larger budget than that of West Cameroon, (10,000 million francs as against 1,800 millions francs), it had its own financial needs and problems too. Indeed, the post-war development of that State was accompanied by heavy doses of both French public and private capital investments much more than Nigeria and Britain together had invested in West Cameroon. For example, during the first decade of the trusteeship rule in East Cameroon, France contributed some 71.5 billion francs CFA (\$286 million U.S.) towards the budgets of that State - over 95% of the total government expenditures.⁹ In particular, during the period 1946-1958, France contributed some 77 billion French Francs towards the capital budget of East Cameroon.¹⁰

In addition to direct French public aid, there was also investment by para-public agencies such as the Bureau de la Recherche des Petrole, which poured 5 billion francs into East Cameroon during the same period. Furthermore, private investment in that State from France was about 2 billion French francs.¹¹ An

6. United Nations *Report on the Cameroons Under British Administration*. (New York: 1956) U.N. Doc No. T/1239 p.25, para. 214. The 1954 system of revenue allocation for the then Southern Cameroons is embodied in Section 163 of the Nigerian (constitutional) order in Council, 1954.

7. Sir Sidney Phillipson, *Report on Financial Economic and Administrative Consequences to the Southern Cameroons of Separation from the Federation of Nigeria*, Lagos: (Federal Government Printer 1959) passim.

8. F. Okotie-Oboh, *Speech to the Nigerian House of Representatives*, Lagos, February 17, 1959.

9. United Nations Document, No.T/1441 p.10, paragraph 41.

10. The administration of these funds was done by the French Agency for external aid: d'Investissements pour le Developpement Economique et Social des Territoires d'Outremer (F.I.D.E.S.). It was later named Fonds l'Aide et de Cooperation (F.A.C.).

11. Esiil Anderson, *op.cit.*, p.29

analysis of the total French public capital flows to East Cameroon, and which (including private investment) represented more than 10% of the GDP of that State, during the entire Trusteeship period is presented in Table. 1

Table 1: French Aid to East Cameroon, 1950-1958 (in million French Frs)

Year	Metrop. Budget*	French Treasury	FIDES	CCFOM	BRP	Total
1950	2,570	—	25,841	3,222	—	31,633
1951	1,248	—	7,721	2,060	180	11,209
1952	2,246	—	3,873	3,454	217	9,419
1953	1,925	—	7,772	3,393	253	13,343
1954	2,188	780	4,731	14,359	398	22,447
1955	2,504	1,259	8,509	3,355	1,536	17,164
1956	3,432	2,506	6,817	2,009	1,080	15,843
1957	8,632	1,393	7,084	3,924	775	21,809
1958	8,792	2,000	4,997	318	454	16,560
Total	33,545	7,938	76,956	36,094	4,874	159,426
Grants	33,545	—	56,428	—	4,874	94,847
Loans	—	7,938	20,547	36,094	—	64,579

Source: Kjeil Anderson, *op. cit.*, (Passim)

Assuming that the heavy doses of French public and private capital accounted for the rapid rate of economic growth in East Cameroon, then the maintenance of that rate of development was much dependent on the continuous flow of French aid, even after independence and reunification. However, the increasing disapproval from the French tax payers that France's economy could not stand the strain of such a philanthropy, led to a drastic reduction of the French contribution towards the first East Cameroonian prepared budget in 1958. As a consequence, it was balanced only after capital expenditures were cut back.

But this action was only for an interim period, for France continued her generous policy towards East Cameroon even after independence. For example, her contribution to the 1960 Cameroonian budget was about 600 million CFA in the first three months,¹² twice the amount in the year before independence. In addition to the normal budgetary subsidy, a special grant was given (Aide Exceptionale du Budget) which amounted to some 1.3 billion francs CFA for the whole fiscal year. The total French aid to East Cameroon in 1960 was about 3.2 billion francs CFA.¹³ In fact by 1965, when French budgetary subsidies ceased, France's aid to East Cameroon had reached nearly \$80 million (U.S.)¹⁴

In view of the foregoing analysis of the background to the public finances of the Federated States of West and East Cameroon and the extent of their dependence on foreign aid, it is clear that the Cameroon Federation had to depend heavily on external assistance. Adequate finances had to be provided in order to meet the increasing needs of the less developed State of West Cameroon. This meant the

12. Republic of Cameroon, *Budget 1960-61*, Yaounde, July 1960, p.20.

13. Gilbert Comte, "La Coopération avec la France", in *Europe France-Outre-Mer*, No. 379, Paris.

14. United Nations, *Industrial Development in Africa*, (New York: Doc. No.1D/CONF. 1/RBP/1, 1967) p.254.

establishment of a proper and rational allocation system of both domestic and external resources between the Federal and State Governments, so that problem arising from the Federation could be immediately arrested, particularly in West Cameroon where a disruption of the pattern of production and trade had taken place. Furthermore, the reunification of East and West Cameroon implied a drastic change in the financing of West Cameroon capital and recurrent expenditures, since that State left the Sterling zone to enter the Franc zone and had to revise its new revenue sources and expenditures in the context of the new Federation.

IV. Federal Constitutional Provisions

Under any kind of federal system the division of legislative and executive powers, economic and social responsibilities between the various tiers of government is carried by means of a bargaining process which leads to the fashioning of the constitutional provisions and instruments designed to enable each government carry out its own functions. To this end, therefore, the provisions of a federal constitution relevant to economic policy and development are those which define the allocation of fiscal and financial powers between federal and State governments and in some cases indicate the extent of the extreme control and guidance of the economy by the former. These constitutional provisions, which are an essential part of the political bargain that is struck when a federation is established, go to ensure that no tier of government affects the federation or any individual State's economic destiny, independently.

However, in the case of the Cameroon Federation, it is surprising to note that little was mentioned in the Federal Constitution of 1961 regarding finances and in particular, revenue allocation between the different tiers of government. Rather, Article 5 (8) empowered the Federal Government to regulate "Currency, the Federal Budget, Taxation and other Revenue to meet Federal expenditure." This was a wide, although necessary mandate, considering the range of responsibilities that the Federal Government had, constitutionally, to shoulder. Specifically, there was no formula in the Federal Constitution outlining the method of allocating revenue between the Federal and State Governments, as in the case of say the Nigerian Constitution, to enable them meet their respective social and economic responsibilities as spelled out in the Constitution. Rather, grants from the Federal to State Governments were made purely on "ad hoc" basis as will be seen in Section V.

V. The System of Revenue Allocation

It is clear from Section III, that there was no agreed formula or principle for allocating revenues between the Federal and State Governments in the Cameroon Federation. The absence of such a formula was never explained nor was it understood. As a consequence, the federated States of East and West Cameroon depended exclusively on 'ad hoc' subventions from the Federal Government to balance their budgets. However, the extent of the financial dependence by West Cameroon on the Federal Government was greater than that of East Cameroon. This is revealed in Table 2.

Table 2: Federal Government Subventions to State Budgets.
1962/63—1970/71 (in millions of francs CFA)

<i>Year</i>	<i>West Cameroon</i>	<i>% of State Budget</i>	<i>East Cameroon</i>	<i>% of State Budget</i>
1962/63	1,150	67%	283	3.9%
1963/64	1,270	68.5%	890	23.5%
1964/65	1,440	55%	1,371	19%
1965/66	1,350	51.5%	1,285	14%
1966/67	1,950	70%	1,280	10%
1967/68	1,800	64%	1,000	-9%
1968/69	1,640	69%	650	6.4%
1969/70	1,400	50%	none	0%
1970/71	1,700	63%	none	0%

Source: *Federal Republic of Cameroon: Estimates, 1962-63 to 1970/71.*

It can be observed from Table 2 that Federal subventions accounted for about two-thirds of the recurrent budget of West Cameroon, and only a little over one-tenth of that of East Cameroon. This arrangement continued till 1970/71, despite the fact that for the 1962-63 financial year, a provisional arrangement for the allocation of revenues was agreed whereby all customs receipts as well as revenues in respect of other Federal Departments in both States became Federal, and in turn, the Federal Government was to meet this gap between the remaining revenues which were at the disposal of the States and the planned expenditures of the State Governments.

It was emphasized at the time and was accepted by both sides, however, that this arrangement was on a provisional basis and should not be regarded as continuing system of revenue allocation. However, nothing was done to replace the 'ad hoc' system, with a well spelled out principle. This was certainly continued to plan their yearly revenues and expenditures, under uncertainty.

In the particular case of West Cameroon, it may be helpful to analyse the system as it worked in practice during the years 1962-63 and 1963-64. Table 3 presents the actual figures with respect to Federal -West Cameroon financial relations.

The harsh realities of this situation were that whereas under the Nigerian regime, the Southern Cameroons got less than her fair share of the distributable revenue, West Cameroon was being heavily subsidized by the Government of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. On the other hand, the relatively lower dependence of the East Cameroon State on the Federal Government subvention was due mainly to the fact that that State had a higher taxable capacity than West Cameroon. As a consequence, a greater percentage of East Cameroon's revenue was derived from taxes. Indeed, yearly average percentages of total revenue accruing to East Cameroon attributable to taxes were 76% as compared with only 25% for West Cameroon.

Table 3: Federal-West Cameroon Financial Relations: 1962-63 — 1963-64

	1962-63	<i>Frs. CFA</i>	<i>Frs. CFA</i>
Total Revenue collected by Federal Departments in West Cameroon			1,195,353,212
Federal Expenditure on Federal Departments in West Cameroon	701,053,393		
Federal Government Subvention to West Cameroon	1,150,000,000		
Total Federal Expenditure on West Cameroon			1,851,053,393
Excess of Federal Expenditure on West Cameroon over Federal Revenue deriving from West Cameroon			655,700,181
1963-64			
Total Revenue collected by Federal Departments in West Cameroon			1,668,109,000
Federal Expenditure on Federal Departments in West Cameroon	666,882,213		
Federal Government Subvention to West Cameroon	1,270,000,000		
Total Federal Expenditure on West Cameroon			1,936,882,213
Excess of Federal Government Expenditure on West Cameroon over Federal revenue deriving from West Cameroon			268,773,213

Source: West Cameroon and Federal Budgets 1962-63 and 1963-64.

Appraisal Of The System

It will be agreed that in any federation, it is necessary that an orderly and acceptable arrangement regarding the allocation of financial resources of the entire federation between the Federal and State Governments should exist. This is essential if all tiers of government are to function smoothly and efficiently. To this extent, the system of 'ad hoc' Federal subventions to the federated States in Cameroon was definitely unsatisfactory, because it limited the financial autonomy of the States particularly in regard to those decisions which relate to the proper size of their budgets which were expected to be drawn up in the light of expected or actual revenue for that financial year.

The Cameroon Federal Constitution, as indicated earlier above, defined the responsibilities of the Federal and State Governments in the sphere of public services and development. If the Federation was expected to work in accordance with the conception of a federation, both the Federal and State governments must have been assured of stable revenue resources with which to finance the services

for which they were responsible as laid down under the provisions of the Constitution.¹⁵ It was clearly virtually impossible for each State to be responsible since it could not rely on receiving a certain section of the revenue resources available in the Federation.

For the State Governments to have depended on 'ad hoc' grants from the Federal Government was highly dangerous as it rendered the State Governments almost entirely dependent upon the attitude of the Federal Government at any given time for the funds with which to carry out their responsibilities, whereas the funds necessary to carry out these functions were not similarly allocated to the State Government by an agreed formula. Secondly, for all practical purposes, such an arrangement detracted from the fiscal autonomy of the State Government and that was contrary to the spirit of federalism.

From the point of view of each State Government, it was almost impossible in those circumstances to plan, in a coherent fashion from year to year or even within any year. The implication was that, each time additional unforeseen expenditure became necessary in the course of any year, the State Government had to apply to the Federal Government for an increase in its subvention. This virtually placed it in the position of suppliant begging for charity. This did not engender a proper sense of responsibility in the State Government as it tended ultimately to encourage the State Government to ask for a great deal more than it really required in order to secure adequate funds for its real needs.

From the Federal Government's point of view, the situation was unsatisfactory, since there was no fixed division of resources between the Federal and State Governments, for the former was placed in a position whereby it was virtually obliged to accede to any requests for subvention to cover expenditure proposed by the State, assuming such proposals were of a reasonable nature. In other words, the Federal Government could not know from year to year, what its own commitments, with regard to the subvention to the States were going to be and clearly this also mitigated against any orderly and coherent planning.

VII. Principles for a Revenue Allocation System

Whatever the rationale might have been for being silent on this very important question of revenue allocation system in the Federal Cameroon Constitution, it is clear from the foregoing analysis of the 'ad hoc' system, that the framers of the Constitution consciously or unconsciously left unsettled this major problem that has plagued both new and old federations alike. The allocation of revenue on 'ad hoc' basis in Cameroon was definitely not in the best interest of the federated States. It is in view of the necessity for reform, that the present section of this paper will be devoted to suggesting some principles that could be followed in arriving at a more rationale and stable system of revenue allocation in old and new federations.

15. Federal jurisdiction cover nationality, external affairs, national defence, internal and external security; development planning, money supply, determination of taxes to meet federal expenditure. (e.g all customs and excise, import duties, etc. are federal), secondary and higher education, external aid, justice, penal law, labour regulations and health. All other areas fell within State jurisdiction, including primary education and local government.

To this end, in any federation, it is true that the revenue resources to be allocated to the Federal and State Governments are normally regarded as of two kinds:-

- (i) Revenues declared to be State revenues over which the State has full power of regulating;
- (ii) Revenues collected by the Federal Government of which some are retained by it either in whole or in part and some which are divided according to fixed principles and formulae between the States.

In assessing how such revenues should be divided it is normal to take into consideration the following factors;

- (a) The existing level of expenditure on Federal and State services with an assessment of future prospective levels for such expenditure;
- (b) The principle of derivation - that is giving to a State a sum related to that State's contribution to Federal Revenue;
- (c) The principle of national need and State of development of the various parts of the Federation which must be set against (b) as this affects the well being of the Federal Republic as a whole.

Consequently, it can be argued that in a permanent system of allocation of resources between the Federal and State Governments, it is quite usual for the Federal Government actually to collect the greater part of the revenues available but for part of these to be returnable by law to the State Government in accordance with an agreed formula accepted by all the Governments concerned. The most obvious example of this is usually customs revenues which must clearly all be collected by the Customs Service but some of which could subsequently be split on a basis of derivation and need between the State and Federal Governments.

However, if an entirely equitable and satisfactory arrangement for the division of resources is to be evolved, it would be desirable that this complex and important problem should be studied by a specially appointed commission. It would be the function of such a commission to examine fully all the aspects of the problem including the resources available to the governments in relation to their responsibilities, the need of certain areas for special attention where the development of such areas has been neglected in the past, the possibility of raising new sources of revenue or increasing present sources and the general development needs of the government of a federation.

It is not contended that the mere appointment of a revenue allocation commission for the establishment of a more orderly arrangement for the division of resources, whether consisting of internal or external experts, would in itself result in an increase of the resources available. Rather, an agreed formula for division of revenues would greatly strengthen the foundations of the machinery of government in a federation and would enable orderly and coherent planning to proceed. Further, it would indicate the awareness of the governments of a Federation of the necessity for establishing sound principles on which the division of revenue

resources should be made. As this is a key factor in the functioning and development of a vigorous and forward-looking federal system, it would undoubtedly work to the advantage of the different tiers of government and the public as a whole.

VIII. Concluding Remarks

The fundamental necessity for careful and thorough examination of a revenue allocation system in an orderly and systematic fashion is beyond doubt. The system ultimately devised for the allocation of resources between the federal and state governments does have a very great influence on the manner in which the Federal constitution develops. Since harmony and mutual confidence are to be engendered, it is essential that the State governments know precisely their responsibilities and are provided with the necessary funds with which to carry out those responsibilities. Indeed, any revenue allocation system which depends on arbitrary or 'ad hoc' grants or subventions is bound to be unsatisfactory because it mitigates against full understanding and confidence between the State and federal governments and the growth of a full sense of responsibility on the part of the State government.

SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES ON IGBO IDEOPHONES

E. NQLUE EMENANJQ

PERHAPS there are two types of ideophones¹ in Igbo, the static ones and the non-static ones. Among other things, the static ones are those with fixed lexical tones, with fixed and determinable meanings and begin either with a vowel or the syllabic nasal. Examples of static ideophones include *mkpūtamkpū* 'stoutedness'; *ngl̩̀ngl̩̀* 'tortuous', 'winding'; *ogbodogbo* 'width', 'broadness'. The non-static ideophones, on the other hand, neither have fixed lexical tones nor fixed determinable meanings - their elusive tones and meanings being 'syntactically' and 'semantically' conditioned. Again unlike the static ideophones, the non-static ones begin with a consonant. Finally while the static ideophones seem to have been fully assimilated into the nominal class, the non-static ones superficially appear to be peripheral to the Igbo verbal system. Examples of non-static ideophones include *gwom* 'with a crashing bang'; *gegelegem* 'depicting erectness, stiffness, turgidity'.

This paper will pay attention to the non-static Igbo ideophones, because these constitute an interesting speech phenomenon in the language. Primarily predicative in significance these words are used to describe and/or dramatize and/or comment upon actions, processes or states. While some ideophones predicate sounds, movements or gestures, others refer to colour, size, taste, smell, temperature and even silence. In terms of meaning, ideophones lend vigour, colour or precision to an action or state that is being described, dramatized or commented upon. In some cases, especially in the description of motion or gait, the ideophone is often accompanied by expressive and characteristic gestures of parts of the body which help to lend greater precision and concreteness to the narration or description. In some instances the ideophone is completely replaced by such expressive movements when in the opinion of the narrator such a movement describes the action better than the ideophone would!

Syntactic Features of Ideophones

In some African languages like Southern Sotho as described by Kunene (1965)², it is not possible to talk about the 'syntax' of the ideophone because 'from the

1. We shall use the term 'ideophones' for what in some of the popular grammars are called 'onomatopoeia'. Ideophones are words which are suggestive of qualities processes, actions or states. We use the term 'ideophones' as a term of convenience after Doke's *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, Longmans 1935 and not because we do not see 'paternalistic' or 'imperialist' overtones in the word. After all words like 'higgledy-piggledy', 'wishy-washy', 'tintinabulation' exist in English and yet they are not called ideophones in modern English grammar books. Examples in this paper as given in the Igbouzo dialect of Igbo. Igbouzo is spoken in Ibusa in the Bendel State of Nigeria.
2. Kunene, D. P. 'The Ideophone in Southern Sotho', *Journal of African Languages* Vol. 4, Part I 1965, pp. 19-39.

syntactic point of view the ideophone... stands aloof from any structural connection between itself and any part of the sentence ...' In Igbo, however, one can discuss the syntax of ideophones. For Igbo ideophones are nominals because like all nominals they can function in a 'minimal nominal phrase'.³

(1) Ọ dà gwòh

It fell very heavy bang 'It fell with a very heavy bang.'

Igbo ideophones are a sub-class of Igbo nominals. Green and Igwe (1964)⁴ correctly realized this when they treat them (though they do not use the term 'ideophones') as a sub-class of 'nouns of restricted (syntactic) behaviour'. Igwe and Green⁵ (1970) use the term 'ideophones' and enter them as an [ideo] i.e. nouns [ideophones]. Igbo ideophones neither belong in the marginal class of Igbo words which Carnochan⁶ calls 'Interjections', nor do they constitute elements which Igwe⁷ (1971) calls Igbo 'adverbs'.

Further syntactic evidence to show that Igbo ideophones are nominals are the following:

(i) Some ideophones can function as 'head' of a nominal phrase.

(2) Belebele yā asōrọ m
fragileness its does not please me

(I don't like its frail nature.)

(ii) Some ideophones can be qualified by some nouns or adjectives.

(3) ịte à nà-àsụ ezigbo kpùtùkpùtù
Pot this is boiling goodness slow bubbles
(This pot is boiling very slowly.)

(4) Aka gī dī ajọ mụlị
Hand your is bad coldness
(Your hand is very cold.)

In (3) the noun ezigbō 'goodness' modifies the ideophone kpùtùkpùtù while in (4) the adjective ajọ 'bad' qualifies the ideophone mụlị.

(iii) Some ideophones can be topicalized i.e. they can be followed by a relative clause.

3. Emenanjo, E. N. 'Nominals in Igbo', *IKENGA* Vol. 2, No. 1 Oct. 1974 pp. 100-104.

4. Green, M. M. and Igwe, G. E. *A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo*, Akademie-Verlag and O.U.P. 1963, pp. 29-30.

5. Igwe, G. E. and Green, M. M. *Igbo Language Course Book III*, O.U.P. 1970, p. 139.

6. Carnochan, J. Igbo: *Lingua* 17, No. 1/2, 1967 pp. 1-23.

7. Igwe, G. E. 1971. 'Adjectives and Adverbs in Igbo' Paper presented at the Seminar on the problems of the Igbo language and literature, Institute of African Studies, U.N.N. 1971.

- (5) Gegelegem ọ kwù, sọ m
 Straightness it stands pleases me
 (I like its erect and straight posture.)

(iv) Some ideophones can be used after the verb -dị have the qualities of'. -Dị is used for marking [+concrete] nouns in the language.

- | | | |
|--------|------------------|-------------|
| 6(a) Ọ | dị | dùlìlì |
| It | has qualities of | dampness. |
| (b) Ọ | dị | kọkọlọkọ |
| 'It | has qualities of | dryness.' |
| (c) Ọ | dị | kịlịkịlị |
| 'It | has qualities of | smallness.' |

Ideophones and The Verb Phrase

As we have argued elsewhere,⁸ the Igbo verb is inherently transitive i.e. the Igbo verb always takes an object. This object may be a direct object or a special object with which the verb is always used.⁹

- | | | |
|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| 7(a) Ọ | gò nni | 'He bought food.' |
| (b) Ọ | gbà ọtọ | 'He is naked.' |
| (c) Ọ | wù èwùu | 'It was rumoured.' |
| (d) Ọ | kwù ọtọ | 'It is standing erect.' |
| (e) Ọ | kènè èkènè | 'He greeted.' |
| (f) Ọ | rì nnè | 'It is much.' |

Nni in 7(a) is the direct object (D.O.) of its verb while each of the nouns used after the verbs in 7(b)-(f) is a special object (S.O.) which is always used with the verb. Such S.O. may be cognate with the verb as in 7(c) and (e). Such cognate nouns may be bound as in 7(c) or free as in 7(d). (Bound i.e. cannot be used outside the verb phrase).

8. Emenanjo, E. N. (i) 'Aspects of the Igbo verb', *Igbo Language and Culture*, O.U.P. 1974 pp 160-173

(ii) 'Igbo Nominals' *IKENGA* Vol. 2, No. 1, 1974.

9. When we have sentences like:

8(a)	Ọ	go ọsiisọ	'He bought quickly'
(b)	Ọ	wū ọfūma	'It became popular well'
(c)	Ọ	kwū nwọyọ	'It is standing quietly unruffled.'

We know that we are dealing with the surface forms of sentences like 7(a), 8(c) and 8(d), where the D.O or the S.O. has been deleted.

In the verb phrase, the ideophone occurs in the (O.O.) i.e. Oblique Object slot
See the table below.

Noun Phrase		Verb Phrase				
NP(s)	Verbal	I.O	D.O	O.O	P.P	
8. O	nyè	m̩	nni	ènye	n'ùtùtù	'He really gave me food in the morning'
9. O	kènè	ya	èkène	òfuma	n'ànyasì	'He greeted her well in the evening'
10. Akwā à	wùlù	fa	èwùu		nà gboo	'This style was in vogue in the olden times.'
11. Q	gbàbà		qsq	qsijisq		'He began to run quickly.'
12. O	lisl		nni à	zàm	n'èfiflè	'He ate up every thing in the afternoon.'
13. Q	kwùsì		qtq	gegelegem		'He is standing quick erect.'
14. Afele afù	dà		ada	gwòh		'The plate fell with a bang'

NP(s) = Noun Phrase functioning as Subject

I.O = Indirect Object;

D.O = Direct Object;

O.O = Oblique Object?;

P.P = Prepositional Phrase.

We shall only concern ourselves with the elements in the Oblique Object slot of the above table. The interesting thing about all the nouns which are used in that slot is that the nouns here are used as 'comments'. According to Longacker (1972)¹⁰ 'comments' are 'things that contribute new information about the verb'. And the elements which occur in this slot are ideophones, bound cognate nouns and nouns like *qsijisq*, *òzìgbo*, *òfuma* which gloss as 'adverbs' in English, 'quickly', 'immediately' and 'well.' The other significant thing about the nouns in the Oblique Object slot is that they are mutually exclusive, i.e. there is either an ideophone or a bound cognate noun or a noun like *qsijisq*, *òzìgbo* etc.

10. Longacker, R. W. *Fundamentals of Linguistic Analysis*, New York, 1972. p. 175 ff.

Ideophones: Sub-Classes

It seems to me that one can conveniently divide up the ideophones into two broad classes:

- (a) The bound ideophones
- (b) The free ideophones.

The bound ideophones are those that can only be used in the Oblique Object slot of the verb phrase e.g. *zàà* 'thoroughly' in (12) and *gwòòm* 'with a bang' in (14).

The free ideophones, on the other hand, are those that can function elsewhere than in the Oblique Object slot. For example, *belebele* 'fragileness' is the head of the NP(s) of (2) while *gegelegem* 'straightness' is the NP(s) of (5). It is also found in the O.O slot of (13).

Ideophones: Other Features

Among other syntactic and semantic features which have been observed about ideophones are the following:

(i) Ideophones have the feature specification (-CONCRETE). A good number of them, especially those referring to state, colour, size, etc. can be used after the verb *-dị* 'have the qualities of'. The verb *-dị* is used in this dialect for marking (-CONCRETE) nominals.

- 15(a) *Q dị niganiga* 'It has the qualities of emaciation.'
- (b) *Q dị niginigi* 'It has the qualities of tininess.'
- (c) *Q dị gwugagwuga* 'I has the qualities of roughness.'
- (d) *Q dị gbàà* 'It has the qualities of brightness.'

For the other ideophones especially those referring to sound and movement which cannot be used after *-dị*, we can regard them as (-CONCRETE), on the basis of analogy. It seems that the restriction on such ideophones occurring after *-dị* is largely semantic.

- E.g. 16(a) **Q dị gwom*
 (b) **Q dị gbim*
 (c) **Q dị gwòdòm*

(ii) Ideophones select their verbs, but in a way that is more flexible than the bound cognate nouns. While there is a one-to-one correspondence between the bound cognate noun and the verb which generates and selects it, what seems to be happening in the case of ideophones is that clusters of semantically related ideophones often go with a group of semantically related verbs. For example, ideophones which describe 'states of brightness' can only be used after verbs which describe 'shine', 'give off light', be bright.'

- e.g. *gbàà*) (associated with light
fàà) 'with brightness' (" " whiteness
zàà) (" " water
 17(a) *ite à nà-ènwu gbàà* 'This pot is shining with the brightness associated with light.'

(b) Akwā à nà-àcha fàà

'This cloth has the brightness of white materials.'

(c) òmili à nà-èke zàà

'This water has the brightness associated with very clean water.'

The verb -nwu 'shine (as a result of vigorous cleaning)'; -cha, 'shine (as a result of ripeness for fruits or washing for things)' and -ke 'be bright (an inherent quality)' are all semantically related to the idea of 'brightness' which the three ideophones (17) in illustrate.

(iii) Ideophones have what one can call, for lack of a suitable term 'multiplicable synonymy'. Multiplicable synonymy is used here to refer to the tendency whereby there exist in the lexicon ideophones with identical phonological shapes and identical semantic ranges, the difference between the ideophones being in their segmental phonemes i.e. vowels and consonants. For example, the ideophones in (17) are an example of 'multiplicable synonymy'. In (17) the only difference between the ideophones is in their initial consonants. Vowels and tones are the same. Semantically, however, while these three ideophones are synonyms the types and degrees of 'brightness' which they describe do differ as the glosses show:

- gbàà 'describes brightness associated with a large range of things including cloth, light'
 fàà 'describes the brightness associated with cloth, light'
 zàà 'describes brightness associated with clean liquids'

(iv) Ideophones referring to one concept seem to differ from individual to individual. We have noticed that among the things which determine the ideophones used by a particular individual are his experiences, age and sex. We find that older people use more and varied and exotic ideophones than younger ones and that women use more ideophones than men. We have also noticed that often the differences between the different ideophones used for one's concept may lie mostly in the consonants and vowels. Word structure seems to be invariably the same. When once I asked three different informants to give me an ideophone which describes a state of 'tautness', 'stiffness' and 'tightness' I got the following responses:

gegelegem
 gagalagam
 kpakpalakpam

All these three ideophones have a C₁V₁-C₁V₁-C₁V₁-C₁V₁N structure. All the ideophones begin with plosives and end with a syllabic nasal. All the vowels are [- High]. In each ideophone there is one set of vowels throughout and all the vowels are high tone. The unmarked C in all the ideophones is a lateral.

(v) From the above comes one point which must be made about ideophones. It is that there is some correlation between the word-shape as well as the segmental and tonal constituents of an ideophone with the meaning it conveys. Ideophones in (iv) above seem to be used to describe a state of tautness among other forms of

stiffness, erectness, rigidity, turgidity etc.; just as the ideophones in (17) describe different types of brightness.

We observe, also that ideophones with a $C_1V_1-C_1V_1-C_1V$ ($-C_1V_1$) seem to be used to refer to repetition.

e.g. $k\dot{i}k\dot{i}k\dot{i}(k\dot{i})$ 'describes a type of continuous ticking sound'

$s\dot{i}s\dot{i}s\dot{i}(s\dot{i})$ 'describes a type of continuous hissing sound'

$f\dot{u}f\dot{u}f\dot{u}(f\dot{u})$ 'describes a type of continuous sound of wind blowing slowly'.

Again we notice that ideophones with a CVCVN, where all the C are plosives seem to be used to describe the noise indicating irregular, falling, crashing sound, e.g. $gw\ddot{o}d\ddot{o}m$ 'describes the sound which results when a heavy body falls on to the ground'

$g\ddot{i}d\ddot{i}m$ 'describes the sound of a light-heavy body falling on to the ground'

$k\ddot{a}d\ddot{i}m$ 'describes the sound of pounding a stuffed object'

$gw\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}m$ 'describes the sound of collision of metallic bodies'.

Thus even though two speakers may not use the same ideophones to refer to one thing, there is no question of ambiguity or lack of communication. An ideophone describing auditory sensation (sound) may never be mistaken for one referring to tactile sensations. In the light of this, therefore, Green and Igwe's observation that 'some... (ideophones) are used by different speakers with rather different shades of meaning, for one the imagery may be auditory, for another it may be predominantly tactile...' does not seem to me to be quite correct. The point is that while it is true that a given ideophone might have a wide semantic range, it is still possible to use ideophones to communicate. It is interesting to note that when a native speaker uses an ideophone whose meaning is likely to be obscure or whose meaning as intended in a particular context is different from one of the 'known' meanings such a speaker often uses a more concrete image after the phrase 'd\dot{i}...k\ddot{a}' 'just like' postposed after the ideophone.

(18) $lhu\ y\ddot{a}\ d\dot{i}\ gwugagwuga$ 'His face is rough.'

We know that there are shades and degrees of roughness. Now in order to specify the particular shade of roughness intended by the narrator, greater detail and precision can be achieved thus:

18(a) $lhu\ y\ddot{a}\ d\dot{i}\ gwugagwuga\ d\dot{i}\ k\ddot{a}\ \ddot{u}z\ddot{o}\ \ddot{o}f\ddot{u}\ddot{u}$
'His face is rough like a new road'

(b) $lhu\ y\ddot{a}\ d\dot{i}\ gwugagwuga\ d\dot{i}\ ka\ agad\dot{i}$.
'His face is rough like an elder's.'

In 18(a) 'the roughness of face' is due to pimples, scabies and rashes just as the roughness of a new and untarred road is due to uneven surfacing, stumps etc. here and there. On the other hand the 'roughness of face' in 18(b) is that associated with age.

(vi) The last point worth noting is that more than other nominals (and perhaps only like suffixes among Igbo lexical items) ideophones are difficult to translate or paraphrase. So fluid and myriad are the semantic ranges of ideophones that it is difficult to translate or paraphrase them faithfully into other languages. Besides

some ideophones are amenable to certain internal adjustments which have attendant semantic overtones. And this operation makes it very difficult assigning what one might call 'basic' meanings to such ideophones (see the treatment of gwom below). A lexicographer who means to include ideophones in his entries really has problems determining the 'basic' meanings, as well as the 'basic' shape and form, and the 'basic' tones of ideophones.

Morpho-Phonotactic Features of Ideophones

In Igbo, as in other African languages which have this phenomenon, ideophones have distinctive morphological, phonological, tonal, as well as syntactic features. (In the above paragraphs, we have treated some of the peculiar syntactic features of ideophones.)

Morphologically, all ideophones begin with a consonant, unlike most nouns which begin either with a vowel or a syllabic nasal. (The only other nouns which begin with a consonant are a few monosyllabic nouns and some loan nouns.) While most nouns and ideophones end in a vowel or a syllabic nasal (for a few nouns like *ubòṛṛ* 'sand bar') there are certain groups of ideophones that obligatorily or optionally end in the syllabic nasal. For example, in the ideophone: *gbim* 'with a light thud' the final syllabic nasal is obligatory. But in the ideophone: *kpàwù(ṛṛ)* 'with a splash', the final syllabic nasal is optional. It must, however, be said that the presence of the optional syllabic nasal adds details of "termination" to the action of 'falling with a splash'.

Thus: *kpàwù* '(fall) with a continuous splash'
kpàwùṛṛ 'stop after having fallen with a splash'

In terms of word-structure ideophones have structures which are not recorded elsewhere in the language.

For example, the ideophone:

dùàì 'describes the noise associated with beating with the palm of the hand or of hitting something, with a flat wide surface'

This ideophone has a CVVV structure. A succession of three vowels is not possible except in ideophones in Igbo.

The shortest ideophone recorded has two syllables, e.g. *duu* 'with calmness' while the longest one has five syllables: *kpakpalakpam* 'with tautness, stiffness'. (We are of course, referring here to the length of the ideophones as they would appear in the lexicon, for syntactically some ideophones can be longer than they are lexically.) Ideophones have a great variety of word-structures. In fact, as has been demonstrated earlier, there are, in some instances, correlations between the structure of the ideophone and the meaning it conveys. Other things which contribute to the meaning of the ideophone include its consonantal and the vocalic constituents. Of some 500 ideophones studied, some 409 (91.8%) begin with plosives, 63 (12.6%) begin with consonants and 28 (5.6%) begin with fricatives.

Of the ideophones considered, it seems that there is some relationship between the vowels used and the meaning expressed. Often but not always (some) front vowels are associated with smallness or 'lightness (in weight)', while (some) back vowels are often but not consistently associated with largeness and/or heaviness.

- e.g.* *pilipilī* 'smallness and thinness'
 belebele 'smallness and lightness'
 tuputupu 'sound of boiling associated with large objects'
 tuputupu 'associated with big soft/weak objects'

We have also noticed that in some cases the difference in the vowel qualities leads to slight semantic differences

- e.g.* *kpokokpoko* 'describes dull, heavy sound associated with some hollow objects made of metals'
 kpokokpoko 'describes light fairly sharp sound associated with some hollow objects made of metals'.

One other striking phonological fact about ideophones is that the principle of vowel harmony may be violated in them. Notice *gwugagwuga* in (18) and *dūā*. Vowel harmony seems to be violated most in ideophones like *gwugagwuga* 'roughness' or *kadim* 'with a thud' which seem to be compounded from two otherwise different morphemes *gwu + ga* (which is then reduplicated); and *ka + dim*. In the case of *ka + dim*, we can recognise *ka* - as a recurrent prefix in other phonologically and semantically related ideophones:

- kagbim* 'strike or fall with a light-heavy reverberating sound'
kagbam 'strike or fall with a sound like that of hitting with the palm of the hand or with wide flat surface'
kadum 'strike or fall with a heavy and dull sound as if striking a stuffed object'
kagwom 'fall with a dull crashing sound'

Outside the prefix *ka*-, the other elements *dim*, *gbim*, *gbam*, *dum* and *gwom* are ideophones in their own right. We can see, therefore, that the absence of vowel harmony in these is due to the fact that they are compounds. This should not be surprising because the absence of vowel harmony is noticeable in other Igbo words which are compounds.

Ideophones and Tones

As far as tones go, it seems to me that one has to divide up ideophones into:

- (i) those that have inherent tones *e.g.*
 kīlīkīlī 'smallishness'
 and (ii) those that do not have inherent tones.

Those in (ii) and they are quite many, seem to have their tones 'semantically' conditioned. For example, by the use of different tone patterns, among other gimmicks that can be played with the internal structure of some ideophones, the ideophone *gwom* 'with a bang-like type of crashing noise' can be used to express a wide range of meanings:

- (19) (a) Ọ dà gwòṡṡ 'It fell with a heavy bang.'
 (b) Ọ dà gwòṡṡṡ 'It fell with a continuously dull heavy noise.'
 (c) Ọ dà gwom 'It fell with the noise of a metallic object dropping quickly.'
 (d) Ọ dà gwoom 'It fell with the drawn-out noise of a metallic substance falling quickly.'
 (e) Ọ dà gwom It fell with a dull irregular noise'.
 (f) Ọ dà gwòṡṡ gwòṡṡ 'It fell with two heavy dull sounds.'
 (g) Ọ dà gwòṡṡ gwòṡṡ gwòṡṡ 'It fell with repetitive dull sounds.'
 (h) Ọ dà gwòṡṡ gwom 'It fell with two irregular sounds.'
 (i) Ọ dà gwoom gwoom gwoom 'It fell with a rapid, drawn out reverberating and repetitive noise.'

Here by the manipulation of 'semantically' conditioned tone patterns, together with the lengthening of vowels, as well as the duplication or triplication of the ideophone, we can bring out minute but significant changes in the use of gwom. These features, especially that of lengthening the vowel of certain ideophones to indicate 'continuation', are among the distinctive features of ideophones.

Finally, it is noticed that as the above examples testify, low tones seem to be associated with 'heaviness' and 'dullness' while high tones seem to be associated with 'lightness' and 'rapidity'.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS AMONG THE IGBO OF NIGERIA

EDMUND ILOGU

An effort is made in this paper to show what Christian ethics contends with in the attempt to become relevant to the Nigerian situation as seen through the study of the Igbo. This Nigerian situation consists of traditional religious concepts and practices as well as Islamic culture. Our main concern now however is to examine Christian ethics in the light of Igbo traditional ethical attitudes, concepts and practices so as to indicate what impulses and attitudes influence an Igbo who becomes Christian, and by deduction many other Nigerian or other African Christians in their daily behaviour as members of the Church and citizens of a country undergoing rapid social change.

The aim of this kind of study is to create a point of contact and understanding from which we can appreciate not only the weaknesses of traditional morality in the light of Christian ethics but also the inadequate approach of the Christian Churches in the moral education of their adherents by neglecting the social and ethical milieu in which their converts lived before conversion and in which cultural setting they continue to live today.

The Igbo who number about 7½ million people occupy parts of South Eastern Nigeria in the newly created Imo and Anambra States and parts of the Bendel and the Rivers States of Nigeria.

Christian Ethics Defined

The first hurdle to clear in this study is what one means by Christian ethics as there does not seem to be an acceptably body of teaching that can be termed "Christian ethics". I suppose that there is what one can call vaguely Roman Catholic ethic distinguishable from what can again be called vaguely Protestant ethic. The widely differing body of Christian worshippers who may be lumped together under the name "Protestants" are not in agreement as to what should constitute Protestant ethic. Yet one can speak of a Protestant ethic to imply that way of life as is emphasized by such ideas as justification by faith; whilst the Roman Catholic ethic refers to a way of life as is emphasized by such ideas as moral and natural law, and revelation as well as the Church and its leadership.

Apart from these two possible lines of emphases by these two groups of widely scattered church bodies, one can still argue that there is a basic Christian ethic - basic in the sense of the main Christian motif being expressed in such ethic. Every group of people who genuinely believe in Christ and can be called Christians in Nigeria as well as elsewhere, believe these facts:

- (1) that God is the Creator and the Redeemer of the world,
- (2) that God is the Final arbiter and ruler in the affairs of the world,
- (3) that the measure of the importance of man's worth is determined by the fact that Jesus Christ died to save him and finally
- (4) that sin is a reality in man's experience.

It is from these four basic concepts of Christian teaching that Christian ethics emerged. Hence specific church emphases can not destroy the fact of the existence of what can be called Christian ethics. It is about this general Christian basic behaviour pattern together with their guiding principles that we define as Christian ethics - a way of life agreeable to the ethos, teaching and the level of existence brought into human possibilities by Jesus Christ. Described in one word Jesus introduced to man's behaviour pattern and principle the dynamic ethic of love. This love principle is distinct from altruism, universal love of mankind and self discipline which were fully contained in Stoic ethics. Before Christ, nothing in the form of self giving love had appeared.

Therefore Christian ethics in Nigeria as well as in other places, must come to be understood in terms of self emptying or the self sacrifice that enriches the life of others. The principal Christian teaching is that God in love of mankind came as Jesus Christ into man's life and in the course of such life died in self giving love. Man's response to this act of God is gratitude to God for this singular act of his in drawing man to the knowledge of his (man's) true need. And here, the nature of the good that man should seek after is God's kind of self giving love. "In the thought of Jesus men are to be loved not because they are equally divine, but because God loves them equally; and they are to be forgiven (the highest form of love) because all (the self included) are equally far from God and in need of His grace."¹ God's love for us becomes not only the power for our individual life of "goodness" but also the basis of our right relationship with our fellow man.

Four propositions can be made from this definition of Christian ethics. (1) Christian ethic demands a life of love which is essentially social and demands from the individual clear understanding of the Christian's relation to others. (2) Christian ethic educates Christians to accept that each person, by faithfulness to his own special function in society, promotes the welfare and advances the happiness of others. In this social concern, love the main motive force of Christian ethic, provides the bond of sympathy and the motive to service. (3) The exercise of love as the main virtue in Christian ethic does not ask what is easiest or most pleasant, but what is best. Hence the Christian can say "no" and bear the misunderstanding and reproach which refusal may bring. (4) Individual merit is not sought after nor general principles indiscriminately applied as a quick and ready way out ². By this statement we do not deny the usefulness of casuistry as guide to Christian action. Rather we seek to bring out that characteristic of Christian ethic which insists on trouble being

1. Reinhold Niebuhr, "An Interpretation of Christian Ethics", SCM Press, London, 1948, p. 60.
 2. Cf. W. A. Brown, "Christian Theology in Outline", New York, Charles Scribner, 1912, p. 388.

taken to understand patiently the desires and capacities of the individuals to be helped so as to help them as individuals.

Basis of Igbo Traditional Morality

Traditional society everywhere exhibits a unity in the expression of its political, economic and cultural life with religion and morality as the unifying force.³ In Igbo traditional society religion is the basis of morality both through the beliefs of the people as well as through the sanctions imposed by custom and prohibitions. The world is believed to be created by Chineke (the God that creates) or Chukwu (Chi-Ukwu, the Great God). This Chineke is believed to be the author of heaven and earth who makes animal and plant life grow. He as the Source of life and sustenance, which to an Igbo man is the chief god, becomes therefore the source of goodness and benevolence. He gives to each man at the time of his birth that man's particular portion of his divine essence known as Chi. Hence the Igbo name for the Supreme Being is Chi-Ukwu meaning the Great Chi or the Over Soul in whom all human life and the sum total of individual Chi are gathered up. This Chi is like the personal spark of Chineke given to each person to guide him all his life. The diviner can be consulted to indicate the nature of the Chi a youngman has and who among the dead ancestors has influenced the Chi.

The magnanimity or ignominy of human activities and successes are often attributed to a man's Chi.⁴ Some Igbo proverbs indicate ideas associated with this concept of Chi which bear on ethical considerations. "Ebe onye dara obu Chi ya kwaturu ya" (The place where one falls is where his Chi has pushed him down). "Chi onye adighi nizu onwu anagh egbuya" (one does not die unless his Chi has consented to his death). It is further believed that because Chineke gives to each person good and active Chi all that an individual has to do to succeed in life is to co-operate in activities and adventurous schemes with his own Chi so as to make such success of life. But if, after all the drives of strong achievement and motivations, he fails to reach the high level mark of success and prosperity, he consoles himself by saying that he has not got a very good and fame winning Chi. One can detect some traces of ethical determinism and belief in fate, mixed with activism in this Igbo concept of Chi.

Another religious concept that is very important in Igbo morality is Ala (The Earth Goddess). Ala is the most important divinity in Igbo social and moral life. She is the guardian of morality, the source of fruitfulness in women, vegetation and agricultural products. She ensures health and well being to the community by preventing the incidence of plagues, famine, droughts, and barrenness among women. Because the dead ancestors are buried in the earth, the earth goddess is believed to work in close conjunction with the spirits of ancestors to produce the moral code by which the community lives and regulates its affairs. The moral code as sanctioned by Ala and the ancestral spirits as given in prohibitions and customary

3. M. J. Herskovits, "Man and His Works", A. A. Knopf, New York, 1952, pp. 551-553.

4. A. A. Nwafor Orizu, "Without Bitterness", Creative Age Press, Inc. New York, 1944, p. 115.

taboos is spoken of in Igbo as *nsọ-ala* - abominations against this earth divinity. What could ordinarily be regarded as moral injunctions and social behaviour and decency acquire religious flavour through belief, in the earth goddess.

Among the moral prohibitions regarded as *nsọ-ala* (abominations against the earth divinity) are homicide, incest, stealing of yams (the staple food of the people). Any person known to have committed any of these abominations is severely punished, sometimes by being sold into slavery or by being dedicated to a divinity as an *Osu* by which one becomes the slave of such a divinity, thereby subjecting himself and his offsprings to the most humiliating status in Igbo traditional society. In minor offences against the earth goddess the individual and his extended family pay for the many things with which sacrifice is offered to propitiate *Ala*. What is important here is that the moral lapse of an individual constitutes an offence against the earth goddess and the ancestral spirit. This results to punishments for all the members of the commune unless the proper propitiation and restitution, where necessary, are carried out.

The ancestors are also believed to be offended by the moral lapses of their offspring. So that, unless proper propitiations are offered to them calamity would befall the community. Thus the function of upholding public and private morality in any given Igbo society is the concern of the community rather than the concern of the inner motive of the individual. It is believed that the spirits of departed members of the extended family are never far away, and that they are ready to take active part in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the "family" or of the community. On account of this, the cult of *Ndebunze* (ancestral spirits) plays very important part in Igbo traditional morality. Dr. G. Parrinder is of the opinion that this strong belief in the continuity of the group with its past members found in most parts of West Africa is the basis of much of the ethical consideration of this people.⁵

The cult of the ancestral spirits has another ethical dimension. Not all dead ancestors automatically become "saints" to be revered. Those who lived bad life and died in uncommon circumstances never qualified for such place of honour. Therefore what one does in his life time helps to create what place his spirit would occupy among dead ancestors. This helps in rooting moral life into the cultural web of the people in a manner that discourages simple and individual selfseeking relativism in ethical considerations. As long as the ancestral spirits are pleased with proper sacrifices, propitiation and ceremonial attention, they are believed to guarantee life and amicable relationships in the community. They can even intervene with the gods of the spiritual world on behalf of the living and prevent the evil divinities from carrying out their diabolic designs against the living. Because these ancestral spirits want the perpetuation of good behaviour and peaceful social order, and because they had lived good moral life in their lifetime, they are believed to come back in subsequent re-incarnations by influencing the *Chi* of newly born children. It is believed that the spirit of those who lived evil life in their time would be exterminated in aimless wanderings. Only goodness, it is believed, could ensure continuity of the spirits after death.

5. E. G. Parrinder, "West Africa Psychology", Lutterworth Press, London, 1951, p. 223.

Characteristics of Igbo Traditional Ethics

Igbo morality is characterised by three main features:- prohibitions, taboos and customs. Prohibitions include general prescriptions which we have mentioned earlier on such as (1) Do not take the life of a member of the commune (2) Do not steal, especially yams, the staple food of the people (3) Do not commit incest (note that it is not adultery as such that is condemned) (4) Do not defraud strangers (5) Do not hide abominations that pervert the course of nature for example hiding twins or children born with teeth on, or goats that deliver at night. These prohibitions as we have already noted, although partially moral in content, are rooted in religious beliefs and observances connected with Ala, the earth divinity.

These Taboos are classified under general and specific. General taboos are applicable to all persons and include also all such taboos as are observed at moments demanded by tradition or divination, irrespective of time and place. Example of a general taboo is that a newly born child is not taken to visit the family of its mother unless a sacrifice of a hen has been offered to the ancestral spirits of its mother's family. The sacrifice is meant to announce to the ancestral spirits about the birth, and to alert them to receive the child on arrival. Specific taboos apply only to certain persons and locations as well as restricted to specific periods. For example, no *nwadibia* ("medicinemán" who also is a diviner) eats the special palm tree fruit called *ojukwu* because its yellowish nut contains very juicy oil that renders the *nwadibia*'s "medicine" powerless.

Most taboos are means of social control and do not strictly come under ethics. But because contravention of any taboo results in disturbance of the equilibrium between the living and the dead, between the sacred and the profane, leading to disruption of the life of the community, taboos have acquired moral dimensions in Igboland and have therefore become one of the three features of Igbo morality. By the clear cut prescriptions, taboos make any given society, they do provide for such society structures of social expectations by which norms of social behaviour are generated.

Customs make up the third feature of Igbo morality. The word *omenala* (the traditions of the land) is used to describe a great mass of cultural and normal activities which are commonly referred to as customs. These customs range from very serious subjects like the moral sanctions used in social control, to the more minute demands of etiquette and polite behaviour. Like prohibitions and taboos, customs are additional means of enforcing conformity. The values of society are said to be summed up in these customs which are also believed to have had their origin and sanction from the ancestral spirits and Ala (the earth divinity). It is the "custom" for any passerby to pick fruits that have fallen down from fruit-trees such as *udala* (*chrysophyllum albidum*), *ube* (*Decryodes edulis*) but not from some other fruit-trees such as *ukwa* (*Treculia africana*). Anybody found carrying an *ukwa* fruit which has fallen down is guilty of stealing if he were not the owner. But picking the fruits of *ube* (*Decryodes edulis*) is not regarded by "custom" as stealing. What determines theft in this instance is not the act of appropriating what does not belong to one but

what "custom" lays down as stealing or not stealing, as lawful or as unlawful. Another moral significance of "customs" is that breach of any one of them requires lawfully prescribed procedures and sometimes propitiations by which the evil effect on the community are averted. Breach of customs normally earns for the community some evil and disharmonious reaction from the ancestral spirits as do prohibitions and taboos. Such evils are plagues, unproductiveness among women and in the farms and gardens as well as premature death among the youth.

Apart from these three features of Igbo morality which we have been discussing as prohibitions, taboos and customs there are the practical things which are definitely regarded as immoral such as poisoning others' food by the use of concocted potion or witchcraft, plotting to deprive a person of his rightful possession, duplicity, deep rooted anger that has the quality of poisoned relationship, inability to restore what has been given to some one for safe custody, the wagging tongue that indulges in evil speaking against others and by so doing the person becomes one in whom no confidence can be reposed or to whom no words of honour and counsel can be addressed.

The picture of an Igbo gentleman of good character can now be drawn:- (1) He is one who does not indulge in wickedness but rather through respect to elders and dead ancestors observes the customs for hospitality, generosity and kindness especially to the less fortunate members of the community. (2) He does not break covenant nor defraud nor deny debts he owes not even after the death of his creditors (3) He is not greedy in the sense of wanting to deprive others of their possessions but is highly emulative in competing, and strongly motivated in achieving more and more and giving out more and more to less fortunate relations and others. (4) He should draw young people as well as his age grade members to himself by reliable qualities so that at his death people will point to the great following he had.⁶

Some Philosophical Guide Line or World View that underlies Igbo Traditional Morality

The Igboman believes in the reality of the spiritual world. From this spiritual world he derives "power" or "force" and injected with this sort of life-force, a sort of *elan vital*, he is more able to share successfully in the supreme value which is "goodness". This goodness is believed to be achieved through cooperation with the "vital force" which exists in the *cosmos*. He is a very fortunate man who falls in line with this "life force."⁷ It is this sort of belief which has led to the practice of trying to channel this "life force" to individual's advantage through magic, talisman,

6. Cf. the list Idowu got up as components of good character among the Yoruba in E. Bolaji Idowu—*"Olodumare—God in Yoruba Belief"*, London, Longmans, 1962, pages 154–166, and Monica Wilsons' list of what Nyakyusa people of Tanzania regard as wrong or immoral in M. Wilson — *"Religion and the Transformation of Society"*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1971, pp. 77–79.
7. Father Placide Temples in his book *"La Philosophie Bantou"* English Translation — *Bantu Philosophy* and Published in Paris by Presence Africaine 1952, p. 30 speaks of the importance of this concept of "life", "strength", "vital force", "vital energy" among the Bantu. Bp. Stephen Noili also quotes Fr. Vincent Mulago as saying that "the duty of the increase of vital forces, which can only be accomplished in community, is the primal duty of our Muntu ('man', singular of Bantu) and the point on which all his efforts converge", *"Christian Faith and other Faiths"*, London, Oxford Paperbacks, 1970, p. 133.

charms and "power-rings." Many baptised youngmen go about buying and using these rings, charms and "medicine" in the belief that through using them they could live the "good life" which invariably means a life of success in business, profession or career, which secures for themselves and their dependents prosperity, wealth and comfort. A good deal of what European writers speak about magic in Igbo religion and morality relate to the various practices resulting from belief in this "life force".

Furthermore, Igbo world view includes a life affirming philosophy which always hopes that through correctly channelling this "life force" to one's advantage assisted by one's personal Chi success would be possible. Dr. Parrinder observes correctly when he said "the whole tone of the philosophy of most African people is distinctly life affirming. Here is no passivism, or other worldly way of negation. While a "spiritual" world and a life after death, are most surely believed in, yet the aim of religion is positively this worldly."⁸

This Igbo world view which has so much influence on the people's traditional morality suggests that an attempt be made to indicate some theoretical frame work into which the mass of information gathered about Igbo traditional morality can be fitted in. This is necessary for the purpose of clarifying and organising the vast body of information, and thus be able to relate Igbo traditional morality to some already well known systems and philosophically classified types of ethical analysis. The traditional ethical patterns in Igbo society can be described as theistic in the sense that what is of moral value relates to the Creative Source of man and that the higher moral values of the society could be known from their pre-existing order.

The argument between transcendentalists and evolutionists in ethical theories do not seem to be present in Igbo experience. It might be argued that all primitive societies do lack the philosophical explication that could have contained the distinction. Nevertheless the experience of the Igbo to which expression is given in the ethical prohibitions, taboos and customs allows that the moral values which the earth goddess and the ancestral spirits guard must have been ordained prior to the time of the generation trying to live by such values (which is transcendentalism). But the way each succeeding generation actualises the moral values of the tribe is the response of that generation to the desires and strivings of that society towards evolving more harmonious and consistent way of life relative to its own circumstances and the capacities of its people. (This is the relativism of evolutionists).

Secondly Igbo traditional ethics can be described as teleological in the sense that the community insists that social actions and relationship must be guided by the consideration that the moral purposes of the universe must be maintained by such actions. Taboos for example are observed because to contravene their prescriptions sets in motion a chain of reactions that destroys the moral and harmonious relationship between man and the cosmos.

8. E. G. Parrinder, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

The third kind of classical ethical system that can be discerned from Igbo traditional morality is utilitarianism, Bentham's famous formula of utilitarianism that the good is "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" is perhaps interpreted by the Igbo to mean the greatest happiness of the tribe rather than mankind as a whole. Whatever the twist, it is easily noticeable that Igbo traditional morality emphasizes what is prescribed in the sense that it is what works, what gives happiness and what had enabled the tribe to survive. Individual altruistic considerations of motive and self-sacrifice do not seem to enter into such considerations.

Furthermore Igbo traditional ethics can be described as customary morality. In his "Two sources of Morality and Religion" Bergson describes customary morality as that social obligation which functions as a cohesive bond within an existing social order.⁹ There is habitual conformity to mores, duty is done in obedience to social sanctions and pressures. Every ethical action could be influenced by any or all of three emphases namely rules, goals and motives. Igbo traditional morality tends to respond mainly to rules and goals and less to motive. It is prescriptive and relational, enforcing its norms through the institutions of society like the family, the age-grades class, secret societies and groups like the masquerades.

The Problem for Christian Ethics Stated

The foregoing analysis of Igbo religious life and traditional morality together with the world view supporting such ethic is to enable us give the perspective in which to view the problem Christian ethic has to contend with in influencing Igbo converts with its own ethos and value systems. In our introduction we defined Christian ethic simply in terms of love, that self emptying or the self-sacrifice that enriches the life of others in response to the gift of God to mankind in the life and death of Jesus Christ.

There are already many behaviour patterns and social practices of ethical nature in Igbo way of life as lived by Christians which contradict the meaning of this love ethic. Let us mention only two of these trends: nepotism and enlightened self-interest. These are practised in European Christian countries. But the difference which we want to point out in the Igbo situation is that the practices are culture bound. Nepotism is the practice of filling all existing vacancies in public services with members of one's own relations. Among the Igbo, relationships go back to twenty or more generations of both mother and father and all relations by marriage within the long line of extended family system. Someone therefore who happens to occupy a public office of high standing from where he can employ people into jobs, will be persuaded by pressure from all these hundreds or thousands of relations to employ first and foremost members of this "family" of his. Public opinion seems to justify him and where he goes out of his way to employ any one who is not so related to him, he is considered as showing special favours for which the newly employed should express special thanks.

9. See Edward LeRoy Long, Jr., "A Survey of Christian Ethics", Oxford University Press, New York, 1967 p. 22 where he gives a summary of Henry Bergson's analysis of Customary morality.

One of the ways in which such thanks are expressed is by giving some bribe. The family of the boy giving such bribes do not seem to see anything wrong in doing so because the top executive giving a job to a person who is not a member of his own extended family has shown great favour. Despite the official provision that jobs are open to every qualified candidate, the cultural background of the people still holds to the old and traditional concept by which bribery for example is not seriously condemned and nepotism as a social evil is not frowned upon. We do not need to say anything more before realizing that this contradicts the Christian ethic of love.

Take the second trend - that of enlightened self interest. Many uncles, cousins or other distant relations endeavour to send their relations to colleges and universities and pay quite large expenses towards their education. On thorough investigation, it is discovered that there is not much generosity associated with this. Behind it all is the calculation that the one benefitted by this higher education is going to be in a position to help both the benefactor and his own children. There is so much generosity among our people in giving dinner parties, money and other forms of present. Again careful investigation shows that great expectation from the people so benefitted is at the back of the mind of the donors. This again shows up so much that is different between the practice of the Christian ethic of love and the traditional ethic of the Igbo as well as in the ethic of the Stoics. Here, the self is at the centre; whilst in Christian practice, according to the New Testament ethos, the self is submerged in gratitude to God. Whatever is done to the neighbour for his well being is done not in anticipation of return of equal or greater favours, but rather in thankful response to the love of God which He has shown in Christ.

Apart from these behaviour trends in traditional morality of the Igbo which militate against the exercise of Christian ethic within this type of culture, there are basic beliefs together with their norms and orientations which we had mentioned in passing when describing the religious beliefs and world view of the people which we now wish to underline because they add up to the problem. The belief in the spiritual world, the place of the ancestral spirit in it and the influence of one's Chi in his moral decisions detract from the Christian emphasis on individual accountability before his God. Christian ethic emphasizes motive and this is difficult in the face of a kind of determinism and fate built into the culture by its traditional beliefs and world views which lie very deep in all Igbo Christians as well as non-Christians alike. Another culture bound moral attitude that militates against the Christian ethos is the emphasis on the group. It is the group that is important. Obedience to the laws and the prescriptions is to maintain the harmony between the group and the cosmos. The desire to do as others do creates "shame oriented ethics" rather than "guilt oriented ethics" of the Christian faith. So all the traditional, cultural set-up is on avoiding detection rather than avoiding the wrong actions. The desire to do as others do perpetuates the status quo and destroys the chances of rearing people with prophetic voice and insight by which society is enabled to start afresh along more deserving route.

Despite the foregoing, there are some elements in the traditional culture which could be built upon by Christian moralists. Take the point we have just made about the importance of morality being centred on the group. A virile doctrine of the Church and the place of the Holy Spirit in the ecclesia (the called out and separate people of God) can develop a strong re-orientation towards the group responsibility in upholding the ethos of the Church in all moral decisions and actions. It will then be easier to internalise in the individual Christian conscience, the Christian moral convictions and practices.

Again the belief that the secular and the sacred ought not to be separated by an unbridgeable gulf fostered by belief in the ancestral spirits can be capitalised on by Christian moralists. In their sense of continuity with deceased ancestors, young Igbo are taught to regard moral consciousness as a perpendicular root that belongs to the realities of the age other than their own. Again through the pressure, sanction and the demands of their age grades and secret societies, these young people also acquire horizontal rootage in their moral education. Thus secured, morality becomes something more than the whims and caprices of an individual. The Church in its New Testament characteristics can be resembled to this Igbo cultural background and when the new thing - the individual person before his Maker and Redeemer is added to this from the Christian faith, Christian ethic could become easier in this type of culture.

Having made these preliminary observations, we can now state the problems posed for Christian ethics by Igbo traditional morality and culture. We will discuss this under four headings: (1) polygyny, (2) attitude towards magic, medical innovation, life force etc. (3) Destruction of traditional sanctions without clear substitutes. (4) Existence in older Christian nations of moral problems such as racial discrimination and apartheid in the face of Christian doctrine of God's universal love and the equality of all men before God.

First is *Polygyny*: European and American countries which have been Christian for many centuries have maintained monogamy by two sanctions, state and Church laws. If the civil sanction against polygyny were to be removed in these older Christian countries one would begin to wonder whether the Church sanction would still remain. However in Africa it is only the Church that maintains sanction against polygyny. Both traditional law and public opinion approve it. It was a factor in the economic life of the Igbo in the past and added very much to one's social prestige. With the shift in emphasis of what brings prestige in the new Igbo society centring on education, commercial, political or public office held and wealth accumulated in landed properties and the kind, the economic and prestigious attraction for polygyny has disappeared.

But other attractions for it still persist especially the desire for male heirs and the social preference for boys in Igbo society, have induced Christians apparently happily married as monogamists to turn polygynists. When this happens all the wives of the man continue as communicants of their church, only the man is "punished" with excommunication from the rite of holy communion. But he retains his membership of the church by paying the church dues. If he is a man of wealth

and high social standing and some leadership qualities and personal charm, he continues as a very much sought-after member of his church. Public opinion does not condemn him and his church, for practical purposes, does not either. Sex relation with all his wives does not qualify as adultery in traditional law and practice. So the lapse into polygyny from Christian monogamy does not qualify for ridicule in the "shame oriented" morality of the Igbo and does not apparently earn from the "offender" prick of conscience in the "guilt oriented" morality of Christian ethic. Pressure does not seem to come from the women either as quite a large number including the educated ones tend to accept that it is better to have a husband even shared with other women than die a spinster.

The last bastion through which the Church enforced monogamy in the past only very recently was destroyed, namely, Church school teachers, as the State has taken over schools in Igboland and supposedly Christian teachers boast to parish priests that they can now marry as many wives as they could. It now becomes clear that in this matter as in any point of Christian behaviour the inner conviction is not there, for that alone is the effective sanction the Church can apply. Deprivation of holy communion does not seem to mean much and in any case most Protestant Churches do not build much teaching on the Holy Communion either by the dignity of the liturgy or by the frequency of the celebrations.

How then does the church solve the moral problem created for it by polygyny and its carryover from Igbo traditional culture? Commenting on this same problem in 1960 we said "To the writer it seems like an occasion for letting both the wheat and the tares grow together until ... There are many vices in the religious and social spheres which are eating up the Church much more devastatingly than polygamy."¹⁰ Messenger observes that among the Anang, a neighbouring people of the Ngwa Igbo, that "a staunch Christian is likely to practise polygyny, if prosperous enough, yet he believes that his soul will go to heaven when he dies."¹¹ In the face of this persistent moral problem completely at variance with Christian teaching, what can the Church do? The situation is being complicated by various "African" groups of churches including the Apostolic, Prayer-Healing, and Prophetic group of churches which do not insist on monogamy. Can both monogamy and polygyny grow together till the harvest? If so shall we not need new theological approach to the problem?

Attitude towards magic, medical innovation, "life force" fortune and misfortune

Secondly, we should examine the Igbo attitude to magic, medical innovation, life force, fortune and misfortune. Here we may ask the question: Why do some educated Christians consult diviners or still wear charms or submit to prophets/prophetesses of the healing and vision seeing churches? It is because neither science

10. Edmund Ilogu, "The Problem of Indigenization in Nigeria" in the *International Review of Missions* Vol. XLIX, No. 194, April, 1960, p. 181.

11. John C. Messenger, "Religious Acculturation Among Annang Ibibio" in *Continuity and Change in Africa* edited by W. R. Bascom and M. J. Herskovits, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, Phoenix edition, 1959, p.293.

nor the Christian faith has succeeded in explaining the causes of fortune and misfortune to an Igbo. His traditional culture had given him a more satisfying explanation namely that there are all sorts of chance situations in this world controlled by spirits; and that the more successful person is he who can channel this spirit force to aid in bringing in more fortune and warding off more misfortunes. It is science that one goes to hospital and takes drugs. But for the same kind of disease for which A went to the hospital and was cured B went in and could not be cured by the same doctor and so he died! So if by additional knowledge, such as the one given by the diviner and by additional energy such as the one concocted by the native medicine-man and to be worn as charm, one can be the fortunate patient A that was cured. Some of the educated Igbo Christians do not see any harm in mixing Christianity, Science and traditional spirit force (call it magic or pagan practices if you like) to become the fortunate Mr. A. In the same way, two equally qualified youngmen can go into a commercial organisation and one shines more than the other. It may happen that the Christian employee may be the one neglected by the department. If he is obedient to his religion, he may not bother to find out the spirit controlled reason why the other person is more fortunate. Often relatives - some "auntes" or cousins insist on consulting the diviner, especially the modern ones in the form of prophets and "jesuses", to find out why. Here another question arises: Is there any way we can accommodate these practices in the Church, in order not to brand them pagan and consign their patrons to the group of Christians not living out their life according to the demands of Christian ethic? Again to do this we will need a new type of theological insight to cope with the problem.

Traditional Sanctions versus Christian Sanctions

Thirdly we should examine the conflict between the traditional sanctions and this Christian sanctions.

Oath taking at the shrine of a chosen divinity is one of the methods employed by traditional Igbo society in obtaining sanctions against "destroyers" of traditional norms and moral provisions. Christian teaching rightly brands this practice of oath taking supersititious. Even the Christian substitute of swearing on the Bible is opposed by a great many of Protestant Christian bodies. What then will take the place of oath taking or any other disused traditional sanctions against deviance of moral prescriptions? In the past a young girl newly married could be sent back to her parents by the relatives of the husband if she was found to have broken her virginity. The sanction here is loss of face and in itself it became a good means of restraining young girls from sexual abuse. Of course Christian conscience would revolt against this type of differential morality, because the husband is never subjected to such "loss of face" if he had indulged in a good deal of sexual licence before marrying his young bride.

Nevertheless the crux of the matter here is what alternative sanctions can the Church provide, for instance, to replace oath taking and loss of face which had played useful part in enforcing morality. Is it enough to argue that Christian ethic provides for the check of the individual conscience through grace and the working of

the Holy Spirit? Furthermore if by the culture of the people it has become ingrained in their unconscious that they become more sensitive to some form of external pressure rather than to internal sanctions of conscience and the Holy Spirit, how can we adjust our theological concepts to accommodate this fact of the Igboman's culture? In other words can Christian ethic that is already "guilt oriented" be reformulated so as to take in morality that is already "shame oriented"?

Fourthly we should examine the contradiction of the universalism of christian ethics by the existence of practices that have particularistic and sectional application.

Examples that are very often quoted in this context is how can an Igboman faced with these ethical problems seek for help or draw inspiration from older Christian nations who after preaching the universalism of Christ's work of redemption, practice racial exclusiveness or legalise apartheid, or turn round as in America and say that the Negroes or other minority races could never aim at the highest office in the nation even though all men are created equal by God? This does not really constitute a problem for Christian ethics in Igboland in the same manner as the first three problems discussed above. All that this issue can contribute to our present study is to sharpen the question as to how much relationship is there between the universalistic Christian doctrines and their application to the practical issues of daily life in the history of older Christian nations, so as to serve as guide to the Church in Igboland, and most of Africa for that matter, faced with the culture bound ethical problems analysed in this study and others like them? We do not intend to discuss this question further here but hope that it might provoke some discussion towards better understanding of our main concern in this concluding part of this study namely the adjustment that can be conveniently and reasonably made in theology so as to take account of the problems raised for Christian ethics by the facts of Igbo traditional culture and morality.

We can now turn to the question that has recurred in this paper. In Igboland as well as among quite a few other African peoples we are acquainted with the approach of Christian ethics which, theoretically speaking, has been through transcendental system of ethics, Roman Catholics by the use of natural law as the ultimate norm and rational human nature as the proximate norm do arrive at a system of ethics in which the norm is established and given once and for all.¹² Some Protestants starting from the days of Calvin use the Decalogue as the basis of the given norm of morality.¹³ Both of these approaches do emphasize a rigidity of ethical norm which when applied to mission fields like Igboland turn out to include the Western culture and social habits as parts of the given norm in Christian ethics.¹⁴

12. See John P. Noonan, S. J., "General and Special Ethics", Loyola University Press, Chicago, 1947 especially Chapters 5 and 6 pp. 53-81.

13. Emil Brunner in his "The Divine Imperative". — A study in Christian Ethics, defends Calvin against the charge of legalism and yet the charge still remains. See the translation by Olive Wyon and published by Lutterworth Press, London, 1949, p. 99 ff.

14. See Victor C. Uchendu, "Missionary Problems in Nigeria Society" article in Practical Anthropology, No. 3, Vol. II, May-June, 1964, p. 114, where he argues that the missionaries expect the mission countrise to accept fully the traditions of Western Culture as part and parcel of Christian ethic.

Both of these approaches do emphasize a rigidity of ethical philosophers in their attempt to define precisely the nature of the good.¹⁵

We have already accepted in our definition of Christian ethic the centrality of the love principle of Christian teachers from St. Paul to Augustine, Brunner and Niebuhr and, if we may add, Joseph Fletcher and J. A. T. Robinson (as representatives of the "New Morality"). Even then the acceptance of love as the central content of Christian ethic does not do away with the difficulties of interpreting precisely what is meant, so as to be able to develop a working system of ethic and a theological frame work useful and capable of taking in the problems posed by Igbo traditional morality and culture. Although writers like Edward Westermarck rejects "the theological argument in favour of the objective validity of moral judgments which is based on belief in all-good God who has revealed his will to mankind" because such an assumption cannot be proved scientifically,¹⁶ Christian moral philosophers still accept the validity of revelation as the basis of man's knowledge of the good. We do not however see any reason why this revelation ethics should exclude evolutionary considerations. The given is love, but the practice and exercise of love is localised in a given time and place, that is, in a concrete situation. In Europe could not love for example be expressed in monogamous home life whilst in Igboland following the realities of the cultural milieu could the same love not be expressed in polygynous homes?

Thus the theological interpretation that insists that the transcendental ethical philosophy of the givenness of love for example must remain so rigid and therefore the same expression in all climes and cultures in our opinion demands to be challenged. Perhaps the challenge is already coming from the demands of "situation ethics" and the "newmorality" and it is the inescapable duty of theologians working in African countries to bend their energies and resources of scholarship and intellect to discovering the new philosophical as well as theological frame work which will take in the experiences we have been analysing in this paper. What about enlarging the theological concepts of the saints to include the good ones among the ancestors. The Igbo have a way of knowing the good ancestral spirits; and in the traditional religious beliefs not all the patriarchs of the family or clan who had died, had become part of the hierarchy of ancestral spirits. Such enlarged theological framework will save the Christian who pours libation to the ancestral spirit, from the problem of existence in two worlds, one Christian and the other traditional.

Again can there be no way whatsoever of developing pastoral theology which will include training in hearing confessions, giving counsel with the insight of the prophet and the diviner, and the usefulness of mystical discipline developed collectively in retreats and individually in periods of "come ye yourself apart and rest with me awhile." This will bring into the mainstream of the Christian faith the Igbo cul-

15. Edward Westermarck, "Christianity and Morals", Kegan Paul, London, 1939, pp. 31 & 32, especially where he cites moral philosophers disagreeing with one another "According to Sidgwick the assertion that pleasure is the only rational ultimate end of action is an object of intuition; according to Moore also a Professor of moral philosophy, the untruth of this proposition is self-evident."

16. *Ibid*, p. 32

tural emphasis on the "spirit force" and man's attempt to channel such force to meet the realities of fortune, misfortune and chance, realities with which life is lived daily in this part of the world. The development of such theological framework and moral philosophy is bound to be full of pitfalls and possible intellectual and systematic contradictions and yet is a task that must be performed one day. The growth of innumerable native churches and the fact that there are many elements in the changing Igbo traditional culture which resist change, the usual problem anthropologists find in acculturation studies,¹⁷ demand that one day theory will be made to accord with the realities of the situation.

But we quite realise that the new moral philosophy and the readjustment in theological framework which we advocate can be seen by some as an attempt to destroy what ought to be by conformity with what is. What ought to be will always remain the ideal for man. But the realisation of "what ought to be" in practical daily life is the only means of making real the ideal, no matter however imperfectly, otherwise it remains as mere abstract theory. May be that we can learn much from refusing to keep the narrow straight jackets of Idealism and Realism and see what a combination of the truths contained in both can give towards the solution of our moral and theological problems. Brunner seems to see this approach as basing ethics on the philosophy of history which certainly does not solve the problem of ethics, rather it evades it."¹⁸ Our answer is that what we are asking for may not be able to answer the ultimate problems of ethics but it will at least save the Igbo Christian and all peoples of African countries in his kind of situation from the unnecessary either/or of choosing between the traditional way of life and culture and Christian way of life but rather to give to them the better stance which is a combination of both the traditional and the Christian. And although every one who becomes a man in christ must become a new creature, yet his being a new creature need not include being a stranger in his own environment, in his social and cultural milieu which, in fact is to him the only reality in which he can love his neighbours as himself.

17. Victor C. Uchendu, "Missionary Problems in Nigerian Society", *op.cit.*, p. 117.

18. Emil Brunner, "The Divine Imperative", *op.cit.*, p. 41.

TRADITION IN REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

OGBU U. KALU

TO start from the obvious: the word "tradition" means what one generation hands over to another. This could be socio-political structures, ethics, religion, arts etc. Tradition is what we pass over from one generation to the next, in every way, both good and bad. Contemporaries refer to it as their "past" of heritage. Every notion of change becomes an inevitable confrontation with traditions. Each generation leaves her footprints on the sands of time by confronting her traditional heritage and in that confrontation create her own tradition. Thus, tradition is both inherited and created by any generation.

Revolution, on the other hand, is not easy to define. For one, the meaning of tradition has stayed closely to the Latin root. But modern usage of the word, revolution, has shifted from the root.

The word comes from Latin *volvere* (to turn, to whirl) and the prefix *re-* (again) modifies the word into turning again and again. The word refers not to occurrence of something new and something different, but rather the continual occurrence of the same, a cyclical motion.

In this sense, the seventeenth century English man saw the crisis of the period as a turning back to the proper, natural rhythm. The constitution (meaning the regime not just the political arrangement) was interfered with by the excesses of some unscrupulous men like the Earl of Stafford and William Laud who had ill-advised the monarch to step beyond bounds, tilt the balance of the constitution and to infringe on the right of the citizens. The Parliament moved to restore the balance or turn back the hands of the clock. In the same way, the Glorious Revolution was a bloodless restoration of the ideal rhythm of cultural life when a monarch, driven by the ill-wind of property, presumed to meddle with the tradition which guided the body politic.

Of course before the revolution was over, a new dimension emerged on the fringe. The Levellers raised questions of the origin and responsibility of power. They saw the revolution as a means of creating something new by force. Their demand for a re-distribution of power and the Diggers' platform of a redistribution of wealth constituted an innovative, iconoclastic conception of a revolution. While the restorative goal looked backwards, these innovative ones looked forward. The breakdown of the old structures provided an opportunity for innovation of new social-political relations, a clarion call for the dispossessed to shatter the powers which had enchained them.

The Levellers had in the heat of the civil war discovered a new conception of what true humanity meant. As "The Mournfull cries of many thousand poor" put it in 1648:

Our Flesh is that whereupon you Rich men live, and where with you deck and adorn yourselves. Ye great men, is it not your plenty and abundance which begets your Pride and Riot? And doth not your Pride

beget Ambition, and your Ambition Faction, and your Faction these civil broyles? What else but your Ambition and Faction continue our Distractions and Oppressions? Is not all the controversie whose slaves the poor shall be?

Cromwell and his republican cronies had hesitated in following the logical conclusions of their rhetoric. He still clung to the restorative rather than the innovative dimension of a revolution. The Levellers chose the latter. Henry King was incoherent with rage at what appeared to be monstrous disregard for traditional conception of order. He wrote two poems which were really rhymed curses on what he call "A Behemoth! a Crime Leviathan". He aptly entitled the poems "A Deepe Groane".

What emerges from all these is a spectrum in our conception of change, moving leftward from reformist, radical change to rebellion and revolution. Rebellion could be considered an unsuccessful revolution.

Revolution is a radical change that is carried out with force and which is cataclysmic. Even when it aims at restoring a past traditional order, that is usually at the expense of other ingredients of the traditional past. Generally it takes a negative posture towards tradition because of a commitment to destroy the old in order to build the new.

It is precisely this double-edged attitude towards tradition that constitutes the problem for this paper. What relations are possible between tradition and revolution? What functions can tradition serve in revolutionary change? Is there a possibility for tradition in an age when the dominant tradition is orientation to the future?

Yet my concern is not a theoretical one. Behind these questions lie urgent ethical issues. One: as an African, what attitude should I take towards my traditional culture in the midst of the advocacy for revolutionary modernization and cultural transformation? Two: as a christian, how do I avoid glorifying every revolutionary movement and yet participate? Three: what are the powers and resources from my heritage, religious or otherwise, which offer a hold in the midst of cultural breakdown?

II

It is easy to see why revolutionaries take a negative posture towards the traditional structure. First, revolutions often arise from situations of acute frustration, when there appear to be no other exits. Admittedly if the frustration turns into depression then you get the type of inertia portrayed in Garcia Marquez's novel, *A Hundred Years of Solitude*, where solitude and madness become the only options. Aurelius Buendia kept crying from door to door that three thousand were shot in cold blood at the railway station of the banana plantation, carted away and dumped in the sea. He himself recovered consciousness before reaching the dumping site. No one claimed to know about it or in fact wanted to know. He went home, locked himself in the cobweb-ridden room of the old gypsy alchemist and conversed with the dead, spending all his days studying the elixir that turns the philosopher's stone into gold. That is an enervating frustration. The opposite reaction is to break out in a

revolutionary fervour in order to smash all suffocating traditional systems. Fanon views it as a therapeutic act by which oppressed man severs the umbilical cord that binds him to exploiters and there by heals his psyche by a renovative act which purges him of his inferiority and helplessness.¹ Institutions are not seen in terms of what they preserve or maintain but in terms of the goal which a revolution is striving. There is a certain intoxicating quality in a revolution which Blanqui relished as he joined the crowd in 1848 in the streets of Paris. Immediately all his problems vanished; he drank in the stink of the unwashed and pranced along past-caringly.

Secondly, the task of the revolutionary is to perceive reality from a different base in social experience, namely, that of the victims of the process, the dehumanized and poor. All tradition, all truth is measured by its faithfulness to the drive to overthrow existing power and structures of life.

Third, the revolutionary does not believe in the balance of powers, democratic goals or piecemeal reform. He does not brook Burkean dialogue with tradition whereby change evolves in slow degrees. Admittedly, Mao claims that his revolutionary government uses "the democratic method for resolving contradictions among the people."²

In practice, his democracy is not one of dialogue but a method of persuasion designed to educate the individual of his fault.

Fourth, revolutionaries, especially Marxists, are full of confidence in their omnipotent doctrine, in their hope of success and triumph of scientific method. As Lenin said,

"The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provide men with an integral world conception".³

Perhaps modern revolutionaries are less cocksure and triumphalistic. Yet the revolutionary is a man of hope. It is this which gives meaning to his negation of tradition. Scientific method must be used to rationalize and wipe out the obfuscation of mythical past. He clings to the idea of progress - the belief that a better way of life can be obtained through violent change. This erodes traditional social regulation and stability. The apathy, fatalism and constricted outlook typical of traditional societies are supplanted by a more optimistic, wide-ranging view of life.

This attitude that the traditional structures must be destroyed in order to innovate can be illustrated with Mao's reaction to Chinese culture. As Levenson, West and Schwartz have analysed the background to Mao's rise, Chinese traditional culture had become incapable of meeting the challenges of foreign intrusion and yet obstructive to industrial modernization. "Concepts of family loyalty corrupted effective governments at every level and undermined good business practice. Respect for age, status and scholarship made reforms in the interest of effective functioning and technological development often impossible".⁴ The erosion of order went apace as the intelligentsia sought to cling to a core of traditional values while lapping up new scientific methods. Mao's basic platform was a head-on attack on tradition so as to implant a new ideology. The spasmodic diatribes on

1. Fanon, F. *The Wretched of the Earth*, Grove Press, 1966.

2. Mao Tse-tung "On the correct handling of contradictions among the people" in *Four Essays on Philosophy*, Peking, 1966, p. 80.

3. "On Marx and Marxism", *The Essentials of Lenin*, 1, 59

4. West, C. C. *Ethics, Violence and Revolution*, New York, 1969, 32: "The Missionary Context of Christian Ethics", *PSB*, 18, 1 (Oct. 1964), 29-30.

Confucius and his disciples as "buffoons who had a place only in the garbage of history" is a part of the attack. Confucius is now a symbol of China's traditional culture, but of the mounting ideological attacks on the "four olds" (old thought, old culture, old customs and old habits).

Magist strategy has been to inculcate new values by (1) weakening long-standing norms of social conduct through the uprooting of old settings, habits and commitments, (2) inducting of individuals into relatively stable new patterns of group membership, organization and commitment. The redistribution of land, establishment of agricultural co-operatives and development of political cadres were the instruments of this revolution based on negation of traditions. Mao recognised that increased popular participation in politics and greater identification of individuals with the political system as a whole breeds disengagement from traditionalism.

III

But transformation could come without total negation of tradition. It could come by exploiting favourable aspects of traditional belief in order to change these beliefs in a gradual fashion. Tradition may eventually be undermined but certainly transformed.

The examples of Meiji Japan and the kingdom of Buganda illustrate how traditional values and institution can be invoked to hasten change. In Japan after 1868, reverence for the Emperor was inculcated systematically to bring rapid industrialization while ensuring the tranquility, obedience, and loyalty of the countryside. As Robert E. Ward notes, "the control devices utilized were almost without exception traditional... the rapid development of Japan... rested ultimately on the effective enlistment of traditional institutions and appeals in the service of the modernizing process."⁵

In the East African Kingdom of Buganda, a similar process occurred. The innovations of modernization were readily accepted if a "real or mythical traditional counterpart" could be found for each. The "blanket of tradition" could be spread over most change.⁶ Hence, traditionalism — the validation of current behaviour by long-standing prescriptive norms — can be a powerful weapon of humanization.

Thus, the traditional is not necessarily antithetical with the revolutionary. Rather, tradition mediates between the forces of change and the acceptance of change. It provides the means of domesticating revolutionary changes — a control that keeps revolutions within the goal of humanization. This is especially congenial since Marxist ethic is presently in disarray over the problem of escaping the cycle of destruction and negativity. How does a revolutionary escape the cycle without sanctifying the old structures? How does the negation of negation come and oppression end in socialist communities?

5. Ward, "Political Modernization and Political Culture in Japan", *World Politics*, XV, 4 (July 1963), 570.

6. Apter, D. E. "The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda", *World Politics*, XII, 1 (Oct. 1960), 62.

The relation of tradition and revolution is evident in the fact that a revolution has two dimensions: restorative and innovative. It affirms traditional values which have empowering and liberating effects while creating new values. The mistake in the English Revolution was that each party mistook one dimension for the whole.

Often revolutionaries have realized that their new values must be traditionalized for acceptability. In Tanzania, President Nyerere has attempted to traditionalize certain socialist values within the Ujaama symbol. These values were not originally African but have been traditionalized as prerequisites for the modernization revolution. Chairman Mao had in the same fashion traditionalized Marxism which was a foreign instrument for defeating foreign capitalists. The implications for christian mission are great — liberating christian values must be traditionalized (not indigenised) so that christianity will cease to be foreign.

The relationship of tradition and revolution is therefore a dynamic one in two senses: (1) since what was new and viable yesterday might become suffocating tradition tomorrow, the revolution must continuously re-appraise its values and systems. Feudalism once served a liberating effect before it became an oppressive political structure serving the rich. The same goes for manorialism, the economic underprop of feudalism. Revolution must be a continuous whirling as the root of the word implies. There can be no conservatives in a revolutionary situation, says George Grant of McMaster University, except those who wish to stop the revolution once their ends have been served.⁷ (2) Certain traditional values are reaffirmed against modernizers while others are discarded for non-viability. The revolution continuously places traditions under the anvil, critically appraising their viability in solving man's needs in his confrontation with nature. Neither will there be a place for romantically clinging to a tradition which has become a dead wood nor will the baby be thrown away with the bath water. As Peter Berger put it in his eaves-dropping into *Rumours of Angels*:

History provides us with the record of man's experience with himself and with reality. This record contains those experiences in a variety of forms, that I have called signals of transcendence. All traditions must be confronted in search of whatever signals of transcendence may have been sedimented in them.

This relativizes all traditions and yet grants them sediments of "signals of transcendence".

IV

The pattern of relationship which we have sketched can be validated in biblical theology.

Time and again in the biblical story God's purposes could only be achieved through the disruption and destruction of the established order; the qualitatively new emerged only as the old is negated and overcome. The revolutionary motif runs through the records in the affirmation of God's sovereignty, powerful condemnation and suspicion of economic power, radical historicizing of man's outlook, attacks on political structure and the hope in the coming of God's kingdom (which provokes men to resist the institutional stabilization of the present conditions and

7. Rubinoff, L. (ed.) *Tradition and Revolution*, Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1970.

functions as a catalyst of imaginative planning). The paradigms of the exodus, death and resurrection are the staple diets of contemporary theology for revolution.

Invariably the attitude of Jesus has become central to the discussion. It is obvious that he was a revolutionary though not a zealot. More to the point is his attitude towards the Law, *torah*.

The key passages are:

- (1) Matt. 5 : 17 "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfil them.
- (2) Matt. 15 : 3 to Pharisees "And why do you transgress the commandment of God for the sake of your tradition ?
- (3) Matt. 23 : 2, 3 The doctors of the law and the Pharisees sit in the chair of Moses; therefore do what they tell you; pay attention to their words. But do not follow their practice; for they say one thing and do another.

It is apparent that Jesus and the Pharisees differed on their attitudes to the Law. The Pharisees clung to the *seed* and not the *semen* of the law, thus atrophying the true essence of the law. To Jesus, the semen represents the signals of life in tradition, expressing the promise which the covenant contains. As C.C. West put it,

"the law is and should be man's heuristic vision, his ideology, of the new life promised to the world by God's acts, and of the death and transformation of the old life which this promise requires. This is in fact the function which the law has performed in biblical history and the history of the church, where it has been creative and not the idolatrous hypostatization of one style of life."⁸

Christ set his mission in a tradition that preceded it and pointed toward to it. Fulfilment means change the development of that which was already there.⁹

Tradition, if it must be saved from becoming oppressive, is not something to be inherited and passed on like an heirloom. It is something to possess through under standing gained by way of doubt, decision and conflict.¹⁰

8. West, C. C. "The Problem of Ethics Today", *Theology Today*, XXV (Oct. 1968), 360.

9. Mackey, J. P. *Tradition and Change in the Church*, Dayton, 1968, 3. Note also J. C. Beker's portrayal of Paul's plea to Corinthians not to cut off tradition but cut through it in theology of revolution. "Old and New", *Princ. Sem. Bull*; LXI (Summ. 1968), 74-5.

10. Hamilton, K. "The Essentiality of Tradition" in Peerman, D. (ed.) *Front line Theology*, Knox Press, 1967.

**SOME PROBLEMS IN THE ANALYSIS OF
IGBO POLITICAL CULTURE**

UMA O. ELEAZU, PH.D.

THIS contribution is not addressed to the explication of the political system of any particular area. On the contrary, it is intended to focus rather on what I might call paradigmatic and theoretical problems involved when indigenous scholars study their own culture. On the one hand, the very fact of having been part of a culture, of having grown up with it, may induce a certain amount of complaisance, if not arrogance, that will militate against what is otherwise a scholarly enterprise. On the other hand, because of the denigration and contempt which one's culture has suffered under the impact of colonialism, there is a contrary tendency to extol and glorify to magnify what probably is unimportant from the point of view of understanding and explaining to the outsider the nature of the culture from inside. Those of us who have undertaken the enterprise of translating our cultures, of giving it a sort of self-consciousness and coherence must guard against the kind of pitfalls which foreign scholars made for themselves as well as those which derive from the fact that they were not part of what they were studying. In reading the works of other African scholars, one finds that while some are conscious of these problems, they have not attempted explicitly to deal with them, while others have fallen victim to them. This is because we are still prisoners of the mode of thought which we have learned in British or American Universities. We are still caught up in the paradigms established by European scholars for the study of Africa. Recently, some of these paradigms and frameworks of analysis have been subjects of lengthy scholarly debates (and publishing) which have in turn led to refinement of methods, redefinition of concepts and reshaping of conceptual schemes. Old paradigms like old habits, die hard even among Africans because they touch on questions of the value and purpose of pursuit of knowledge. This subjective aspect of the scholarly enterprise is very important in that the purpose or objective of any research will determine not only the kinds of questions asked, the kinds of information sought, but also the definition of what is important to be studied. One is therefore dismayed to read the work of an Igbo scholar to find that it reads more like an Englishman's thinking and writing on the subject about Igbo rather than something coming from within the culture. In what follows, I intend to examine some of the problems of studying a culture from within and in particular problems related to the analysis of Igbo political culture by Igbo scholars.

Problems Relating to Objectives. Why study Igbo political culture? Every student of Nigerian politics and society knows that interest in studying the culture and social institutions of many Nigerian peoples had as its purpose, the provision of information and basis on which colonial administrators were to control and rule

"peoples committed to their charge" (Meek, 1937, p. XII). The study of the Igbo was inaugurated by the Colonial Government of Nigeria in an attempt to find out how best to govern the Igbo within the context of their imperial objectives. Those who did the groundwork were either administrative officers ill-equipped for ethnographic studies or "official anthropologists" employed for the sole purpose of serving as handmaidens of native administration. Indirect rule was supposed to work through natural rulers, so the first effort (of administrative officers) was to find who these natural rulers were. When the search for natural rulers failed, and following on the women's riots of 1929 "the Government proceeded to retrieve the position by embarking on an intensive campaign of enquiry into the indigenous social and political organization of the peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria, with a view to setting up Native Administrations which would be more in accordance with the institutions and wishes of the people than the bureaucratic system which has so signally failed." (Meek, 1937, p. XI) It was thus the government who needed the information for the specific purpose of improving their performance in governing the Igbo. Again we may take Meek's words for it that "in instituting anthropological inquiries in Iboland, the Government of Nigeria was not actuated by any academic or antiquarian interest, but by the purely practical motive of bettering the administration." (Meek, 1937, p. XV) People who served as official anthropologists, later developed "academic" interests and started publishing their findings as contributions to anthropological knowledge (Thomas, 1913; Meek, 1937/1970 for instance). Some even retired to teach in universities. After the official anthropologists came the academic ones who probably would say that their main objective was to find out how other cultures cohere, and to make analytic generalizations about them and probably to compare them with their own societies. But because of the close affinity between the two groups, it is rather difficult to know where the gathering of intelligence reports for colonial control stops and purely academic interest begins. White Academic anthropologists are still products of the cultures that imposed colonialism and whether they accept it or not, still embody the residue of the air of superiority which animated imperialism. This comes out unconsciously in terms such as "natives", "vernacular"; or in titles of books, such as *Tribes Without Rulers*, *Primitive Governments*, etc. However they have been able to raise the theoretical level of discussion - (witness the controversy over "state" and "stateless" societies) supposedly by substituting words and concepts like ethnic, indigenous, political systems, political culture and elegant frameworks like structural/functional analysis. In spite of all this, they are basically still asking the same questions as the official anthropologists. What is really going on here? What shall we call what we are observing? Do they do things like we do? If not, why not? How can we help them do the things the way we do (e.g., modernize) better, quickly?

When we as "indigenous" scholars study ourselves, what are we really doing? What is the objective of such study? Who are we trying to inform? To what purpose? Of the few things by Igbo scholars, one can mention only Uchendu (1965) and Nzimiro (1973) Nsugbe (1974) which appear to be addressed to the outside audience. There is nothing wrong in that, all I am suggesting here is that before embarking on any study, one should have in mind an audience and then define one's

objectives accordingly. So far we have not started studying ourselves for our own information. Because the above-mentioned works were addressed to academic anthropologists, they tended to follow the same kinds of questioning as outsiders and in the process have added little to what was already known or written by other anthropologists. One would have thought that after the mass hysteria following the 1966 pogroms, the attempted secession of Biafra and the Nigerian civil war, there is a need to understand ourselves in relation to others. The practical need for survival in the more inclusive political system of Nigeria dictates a reassessment of what is known about the Igbo personality and how it interacts with its neighbours. The Igbo have been variously described as individualistic, pushy, arrogant, adaptive, inventive, clannish, excitable, achievement oriented, etc. What are the bases for such assertions? Which of these traits are results of cultural factors; how do they manifest in overt political behaviour? Why did the Igbo adapt so well to modernity? Why did they embrace participatory democracy rather than the Native Administration system? Are they clannish? What does that mean for national integration? Later it will be suggested that the demands of self-government requires a self-analysis and understanding which should direct any attempt by Igbo scholars to study Igbo society. If paradigms are those sets of stated and unstated assumptions underlying any research study, then what we are calling for here is a change in paradigms, a shift in emphasis to matters of urgent concern.

Conceptual problem: The above discussion leads into the question of concepts and conceptual frameworks. Closely related to the assumptions regarding goals and objectives of study are those dealing with the universe of study. Here again we come up against another set of unstated assumptions. Divisions among disciplines have carved up African studies just as imperialists did on the ground. It is assumed that political science studies 'modern' societies or, if stated in terms of process, modernization and social change. Anthropology studies traditional societies; one deals with laws and the state, the other with customs and tribes, kingdoms and the like. Sociology studies urbanization, social anthropology studies village life or peasant communities. And then there are the subdivisions of economic anthropology, political anthropology and social anthropology. Economists study market-industrial economies, economic anthropology looks for folk-communities untouched by change. One gets the impression that what the anthropologists are doing is to 'capture' a snapshot of a disappearing Africa while the disciplines in the "modern" sector are filming the panorama of change and that somehow both things are quite unrelated. Behind these attitudes are further assumptions that once the initial incursion of aspects of an alien culture has been made, change is inevitable. The result of this is that although we have "native" economists, political scientists, sociologists etc., they (including this writer) have so far been uninterested in the "traditional" sector - again because we are prisoners of Euro-American paradigms on the study of Africa. What this suggests is that in our attempt to study and analyze our own society, we should not 'departmentalize' the knowledge or universe of study-division of labour notwithstanding. Rather, joint effort, combining people from various disciplinary backgrounds should be undertaken. In so far as our societies were not differentiated along disciplinary lines, studies of it must be wholistic and interdisciplinary.

Besides, there is the problem of framework of analysis. Western scholars faced with African societies were forced to create typologies within which they could reduce the plethora of African cultural forms. Description and classification is usually considered an important first step in scientific analysis. If one is to carry on any systematic study, one has to identify what constitutes recognizable data or variables in the particular phenomenon studied. Whichever typology is adopted, is thus only intended to be an aid to understanding; a way of ordering data and of simplifying the subject of study. But for Europeans trying to study African social phenomena, they had the problem of translating concrete situational factors or patterns. To simplify matters, they merely adopted European ideation. In discussing the political organization and political process indigenous to Africans, (a task until recently left to anthropologists) they simply used the ideas they knew. Hence, in recent years we have been treated to the debate over "state" and "stateless" societies. It was assumed that the territorial organization called *state* is a necessary ingredient of government and ruling. Variations on this theme have been the argument as to whether authority is centralized in a chief or council or whether authority is decentralized. I have argued elsewhere (Eleazu, 1971) that the questions as usually posed can be misleading since there can be no absolute centralization or decentralization. Besides in the societies that are usually classified under "uncentralized," it can be shown that a certain amount of power is centralized in an age-grade, Ozo or Ekpe Society or some other structure. However, European ideation still pervades much scholarly discourse even among Igbo scholars. For example, Nzimiro (1972) after telling us in the preface that "there is a widespread belief that Ibo societies are acephalous," he goes on to state that it is a misconception to think that "all Ibo cultural groups fall within this classification type." The general tenor of his work is to show that what he calls 'Niger Ibos' had kings, titled chiefs, etc. and therefore were states as opposed to other Igbo areas that do not possess the office of kingship (p. XVII). In dealing with African culture, Europeans wisely stayed close to the aspects that can easily be categorized. In the traditional trichotomy of mentifacts, sociofacts and artifacts, they started with the last and slowly worked back to sociofacts. It is easier to describe socially salient categories but much more difficult to deal with the existential premises that give them meaning. Foreign scholars have been less successful in interpreting mentifacts or the African ideational premises surrounding his artifacts and sociofacts. This is where the indigenous scholar comes in. There is just the tendency to assume that one knows it all and then go on to make a superficial translation by superimposing on the facts being studied some criteria of relevance which it has not. On the other hand there is also the danger of adopting the European ideation rather uncritically. For example, much discussion of the political organization of people in Eastern Nigeria has been mainly institutional. What puzzled the Europeans was how these people governed themselves if they were said to have no states. The problem was then to discover that institutions perform what might be regarded as political and governmental functions. "The social anthropologist has the problem of discovering how, with so little, apparently in the way of authority or familiar forms, public business gets done." (Green, 1947 p. 3) With this scheme, they identify kinship structure and lineage systems, age, grades and age-sets, council of elders, secret societies and status societies as insti-

tutions that perform political and governmental functions. Attention has been focused on the discussion of structures and institutions and avoiding the ideas that give them meaning. The question is not asked as to how different kinds of institution emerged, nor is any attempt made to deduce this from known facts. The institutions of a society are its unique way of coping with situational problems and crises as seen and interpreted by people in that society. In this sense every institution can be considered a sort of social invention. One can then ask, under what conditions did such and such institution emerge or what sorts of problems led to the "invention" of this or that social institution. As we shall show later, the political culture approach is more amenable to dealing with such problems.

A related problem to that of typologies and paradigms is that of theoretical orientation. If we are to approach the study of our traditional political culture scientifically, we cannot avoid attempting to formulate hypothesis the testing of which against empirical data will lead to explanation of socio-political phenomena both in the traditional culture and in the context of modern day Nigeria. For example, we noted in the discussion over classification that the "state/stateless" dichotomy revolves around the issue of centralization or lack of it, of authority. Descriptive studies can show whether authority is or is not centralized. But if the question was couched in the form of: Why did the Igbo not develop centralized authority? One may be driven to consider the nature of centralization and the process that can lead to it. Furthermore, one would be led to formulate hypotheses such as—that the large scale territorial state is a form of political organization based on widespread use of force. States thus emerged where weapons technology permitted the imposition of one group of people over another by force. Armed with this kind of hypothesis one can begin to trace the correlation between widespread use of different kinds of weapons and the emergence of large scale states and probably show that in the case of the so-called uncentralized states such weapons were not available and hence were not used. One can easily falsify the hypothesis by showing that states can emerge without the spread of any weapons of war. Or one can also show that the weapons were available but large scale states did not appear. From this, one can go on to ask why, given the existence of weapons this group of people still did not develop large-scale states. How do all these relate to the attempt to secede from Nigeria? We then come round to the idea of government, the evaluational orientation as an explanation for the existential premise. Here again the political culture approach bridges the gap, because it primarily deals with orientations a people hold toward political objects and political action. It may very well be that the culture breeds a point of view that abhors excessive concentration of power, but that is a matter for empirical analysis, the sort that can only be delved into by indigenous scholars.

Before embarking on the discussion of the political culture approach and the special problems it raises, it will be necessary to mention one more problem that is related to the intellectual tradition of Europe in which we have all been brought up, and that is language problem. Unfortunately we have to discuss African cultural phenomena with words that are foreign to it. So in addition to the analytic constructs which we impose on the thing studied, we also impose foreign words with their connotations and value-loads. Sometimes, the search for equivalents can be

embarrassing. Consider the following passage taken from a paper presented in a colloquium at Nsukka in 1962:

"In our analysis of maximal lineage typical of the patrilineal Ibos, we showed that the maximal lineage is equivalent to a village. Each village is founded by a male ancestor. Groups of these villages constitute a town, Obodo or village group. A town therefore is a federation of patrilineages whose members claim that they are the children of a founding ancestor." (Nzimiro, 1962)

In his latter work (1972) Obodo is referred to as "a federation of dispersed villages." Town no longer has a definite Igbo equivalent but we are told that it subdivides into quarters (*ebo*) and these into wards (*ogbe*) "which are also patrilineages" (p.21). When then is the territorial unit - Onitsha, Oguta, Abo to be called town? Town-state? Uchendu (1965) on the other hand has the basic unit as compound (*Ezi*) which he says is a household with at least a man and a woman (p.40). *Umunna*, he says, is a "a territorially kin-based unit" which subdivides into compounds (*ezi* or *obi*). Although he talks of villages, he has no specific Igbo words for it. The village no doubt is the unit of government but latter on (p.44) he says that a village group is equivalent to a town. Normal use of the word town simply means an urban area larger than a village but smaller than a city. There is no connotation of the lineage relations of those who may inhabit it. For want of a better term, Nzimiro equates town with Obodo. Earlier he had translated village as *Ogbe* or *Ikporo*. Often lineage systems of kinship relations which are principles of organization, and town or village which represent territorial divisions tend to be confused hence he maintains that a village is invariably a maximal lineage. But in many Igbo areas there are villages that have several maximal lineages (i.e., if we can determine the maximal point by reference to who the people in it regard as their epogenous ancestors). There are usually strangers too and late arrivals. So one has to differentiate accurately between territorial forms and representational organizations. Let me illustrate with organization at Ohafia and Umuahia. At Ohafia the lowest levels is *Eze* - Compound. A group of compounds form a section of village referred to as *isi-ogo* (Ekelu Ogo, Eziukwu, Mgbagha); then the whole village - Ogo (e.g. Asaga, Ebem, Amaekpu) there are 25 villages in Ohafia. These 25 villages are dispersed over an area approximately 16 miles across on a North-South axis and 20 miles on an East-West line. In the 1963 census they numbered under 100,000 and together with Aro-Chuku, Abiriba and Abam formed a constituency for federal elections (population-287,000 approx.). Although each village is known as Ogo (*mba*), there is no equivalent concept for Ohafia as a whole. Thus territorially speaking Ohafia divides into Ogo-Isiogo-Ezi each of which refers to definite space. Besides, members of one *ezi* (compound) are called *Umudi*. Usually it consists of several household units who may or may not be closely related. *Umunne* refers to members of an *Ikwa* on the mother's side (*Umunna* - *ikwa* on the father's side). Members of an *Ikwa* normally are scattered in several compounds, (*ezi*) within one *ogo* (village) and often extends into several villages. *Umunne* and *Umunna* (matrilineage and patrilineage) are not territorially based but merely a principle of organization, of articulating members of the society. On occasion, an *Umunne* will be activated over an issue and they will journey to one village (where the issue is based) to deal with the matter. The system of *umuada* (Green, 1947; Njaka, 1971) does not exist here.

Ohafia as a whole is linked together by this ikwu relation on a social level. As far as political activities are concerned, the ogo (village) is the effective unit and decision or representation is rarely on basis of ikwu but of compounds, age-grades and titled statuses. Likewise in Umuahia area one finds territorial or spatial units such as uhu (compound/household) onuama (sections of a village) and obodo (village)s. Beyond this is the village group - Okaiuga, Ossa, Umuopara with no specific Igbo term. Sometimes they are referred to as Umunna but I think this is unsatisfactory even though they recognize such agnatic affinities.

In the analytic scheme of anthropologists this is the level they call clan. According to the Ottenbergs a clan is:

"a unilineal descent group whose members claim common descent from an original ancestor but are not able to trace all the generational steps between the living members and the founder." (Ottenberg, 1960).

Actually, following the above definition an ikwu in Ohafia is a clan and which, like the lineage is not a territorial unit, but exists only in the minds of people and politically, are only intermittently used. In most of Igbo land, these clans had a common name, Umuopara, Ohafia, Ibeku, Owere but no Igbo categorical term such as Obodo ala or ezi. Both Mazi Njaka (1971) and Dr. Nzimiro (1962, 1972) have called it town, a term I find very unsuitable much as clan is unsatisfactory. If we must find an English name for this level in political organization, I would suggest "country" which usually has urban clusters and rural areas. We need, therefore, a thorough description of the political organization of the ogo (obodo) in much the same way as the Greeks described political life of the city state or M. M. Green for Umueke, but first we must agree on terminology.

Problems Relating to Research Situation and the Scholarly Tradition

We are all familiar with the usual ditties of foreign scholars in Africa - about how they arrived at their respective research locations with pen, pencil and paper, only to find that their 'respondents' were 'shy,' 'reserved,' 'suspicious' or simply 'ignorant'. We also know about the injunction given to young researchers venturing out for the first time to Africa, to try and learn the language of the people, know about their customs and mannerisms and generally try to be as well informed about his exotic environment as possible. He is exhorted to cultivate a favourable climate, or a personal relationship that will make him acceptable to the people he is about to study (Robert E. Ward, ed., 1964). Besides these issues about research environment are those related to scholarly tradition. Social Studies, especially American social studies, aspire to be scientific because the scholarly tradition of America puts emphasis and premium on scientific procedure and analysis. Hence, in addition to creating a favourable research environment, the foreign scholar is exhorted to prepare a good research design, construct the necessary "instruments" such as questionnaires, tables, scales, etc., that will be used for testing the validity of 'hypothesis' usually generated before the study begins. One consequence of studying the African situation is the fact that Western scholars have been forced to face up to the fact that they have not as yet achieved a universal social science, and that a lot of research techniques deriving from the paradigms considered earlier are themselves

also culture bound, and therefore, what may appear as objectivity and validity, may not necessarily be so in the African case (William O'Barr, et. al., 1973). But to say that the study of African social phenomena cannot be systematic or scientific, it only demands that we define what we mean by systematic and scientific; that we be careful in adopting methods of judging the validity and objectivity of studies by indigenous scholars. To do this we must be careful not to throw the baby out with the bath water. Having been brought up largely in the western tradition of scholarship, it is for us to do some sifting and by a process of selective adoption extract what is good in the tradition and mix it with what we consider as African or Igbo epistemology. I have, myself, for sometime grappled with the question of whether there is an African way to knowledge, which I have narrowed down to Igbo way to knowledge, upon which can be built a theory of methods (epistemology) directly applicable to social science. Is there a way to reach down into the collective unconscious of the Igbo so that an Igbo scholar, studying the Igbo will be an advantage rather than a liability? At the same time, we have to recognize that this may be futile or too restrictive if the epistemology so discovered is useless in, say, understanding that Ewe of Ghana, or Kikuyu of Kenya in so far as our world and their world are more akin to one another than they are to the European or the Arab. On the other hand, there is the nagging question of overreaction to European culture-bound epistemology, to the extent of constructing an Afro-centered epistemology. What does this mean to the quest for universal knowledge? These are theoretical issues which I have simply mentioned, if for no other reason than to stimulate thinking and discussion. My own view of the matter is that culture is universal to man even though different communities separated in time and space will develop different components of what constitutes their culture. Irrespective of the actual content of the culture, every human society has one. The process of observing and describing and later of comparing aspects of these cultures can be systematic and "scientific" otherwise there will be no anthropology or sociology. Admittedly, there are limitations. (1) One such limitation is that of ethnocentrism which we have already mentioned. On the face of it, it would appear that when an indigenous scholar embarks on a study of the aspects of his own culture, his work cannot suffer from this limitation. That is so only if he is not using the same instruments that a foreigner would use or if he modifies it to suit his own environment. To the extent that the ethnocentrism in western paradigms and research designs can be neutralized, they can be useful to the indigenous scholar. (2) There is the limitation imposed by human nature - the bio-social aspects of the scholar and his people who are not scholars. Earlier I mentioned that of one simply assuming that because one is part of the culture one knows it all and therefore would not take time to enquire into details, or he would take certain things for granted which for an outsider need explanation. Besides there is the natural inclination to glorify and extol thus exaggerating and distorting facts. Should one take notes while interviewing people? Should you use a tape recorder? How does the interviewer proceed? There are a lot of people who once they realise they are being recorded, forget everything they wanted to say. The fact that an Igbo is interviewing an Igbo does not minimize the biases that arise in the interface between the two. If one is going to use the participant-observer technique, should one announce before hand that one is actually doing some study? How do we then reduce the

limitations imposed by human nature? (3) A third kind of limitation is that imposed by the complexity of the society. Igbo society has never been quite the same since it started being impinged upon by forces from outside. No one knows for sure, when it all started in time. People therefore live their lives without necessarily taking cognizance of the changes around them. This is not peculiar to Igbo society. How many Americans understand, still less can give account of the economic history or economic system of America? The present oil crisis has shown how little the ordinary Americans understand the workings of the corporate structure of American business. Surely the Galbraiths, Friedmans, Khans and Daniel Bells, can, not only tell you the structure yesterday and today, but what it will be in the year 2000. In the same way we must realise that if we are going to study and analyze our own society, some people are more likely to understand it in abstract terms than others. To use informants who have not developed the abstract mode to thought, we must use techniques that will make the maximum use of their knowledge as well as minimize observer-imposed biases. (4) This leads to the limitations imposed by time and multivariate causation of change. There is hardly any part of Igbo that has not been affected by what has been variously called modernity, westernization, development, and (I prefer) social change. Yet when some people say that they are describing traditional Igbo society, presumably they want to abstract it from an existing society. I am a bit doubtful of the utility of such studies unless we can establish a base line that cuts off external influences. If we cannot do this, how can we separate out one factor causing social change from another?

If these limitations exist, then we must not assume that an indigenous scholar facing his society is necessarily at an advantage. We need therefore to develop our cannons of validity and reliability. As I understand it, every research must aim at answering some questions or finding out something and by validity is meant the process of finding out whether the answers given after the research are complete, and are good. On the other hand, one may set out to gather some information about something and return with a boxful of data. How does he know, or how do others know whether they should depend on his method of collecting the data? In other words if another person went over the same grounds will he come up with similar information? The above discussion suggests therefore that while we must be weary about transfer of undiluted research techniques developed in Europe and America we still need a good research design so that (a) we will be sure that the effort of many researchers will be directed towards the generation of findings to similar kinds of questions. Between the works of Northcote W. Thomas (1913), C. K. Meek (1937), M. M. Green (1947), Forde and Jones (1950), Ottenberg (1970) on the one hand and Olaudah Equiano (1837), Uchendu (1965), Nzimiro (1972) and Nsugbe (1974) on the other, there is a realization that Igbo society is very complex and within it there are varieties of subcultures. Besides, no study that I know of has tried to determine the precolonial dispersal of the Igbo and the influences of neighbouring cultures on the dispersing Igbo. But all available evidence suggests that there has been a measure of borrowing and incorporation, e.g., the Obi-ship of Onitsha and Ekpe in Aro-chuku. To construct or reconstruct the Igbo political culture would

therefore require many researchers in the field armed with the same kind of research design.

That way it will be easy to compare and contrast different areas and find out what is common, and what is not. Attempt can then be made to formulate hypothesis explaining such variations which can be checked against a body of substantive knowledge of the same sort gathered from other areas. (b) By using one kind of design, it will be possible to minimize the biases and ambiguities that may arise out of individual differences of approach. A good example of the kind of ambiguity I am referring to can be seen by comparing the use of the word *eze*. Uchendu (1965) translates it as chief (p.46) Nzimiro (1972) sometimes translates it as king as in Umueze Chima (p.41) and Obi as king (p.43). But at other times *eze* becomes priest as in Ezeani (p.42) Ndichie Ume are referred to as 'heads' and sometimes as "chief" (p.42 and 46). *Okpala* has no direct translation but he says "the ritual head of an ebo is the Okpala of its senior ogbe" (p.43). A good research design would have tried to settle such little questions and to arrive at not only conceptual clarity but unanimity on terminology. As the matter now stands, we are not even agreed on spelling of words. (c) A good research design will ensure that minimum expenditure of time and energy will be rewarded. In a country that does not put a premium on research, the little money available for it must be wisely spent. To start off knowing what one is looking for and how to go about looking for it will tend to minimize the cost in terms of time and effort.

In developing the research design, we have to constantly ask the question - what is the goal of the study? What is needed now is to read critically the works on the Igbo already in existence and then carry out exploratory and descriptive studies in the areas not yet covered so as to have at hand a body of substantive knowledge upon which to stand and venture into mid-level research, e.g., of processes of change or persistence of tradition in the face of intrusive alien factors, or comparative studies between Igbo and other Nigerian peoples or other Africans, etc. As suggested earlier, the goals of study must be relevant to present needs and problems otherwise we will be even more antiquarian than foreigners. If I have spent these pages on problems of methodology, it is because I believe in the pursuit of excellence and the least we can do for those coming after us is to set a standard that demands the best in scholarship. In what remains I intend to sketch the outlines of a research design based on the 'political culture' approach to understanding the Igbo political system.

Outline of a Research Design for the study of Igbo Political Culture Definition of a Problem:

Here we have to deal with the issue of why we want to study the Igbo political culture. Since the end of the civil war and the creation of the twelve state structure in Nigeria, there has grown the need to reorganize local government. The Administrator of the East Central State has initiated some new approaches in field administration based on primordial communities, but chances are that the success of any new scheme will depend to a large extent on its acceptability to the people. People tend to resist novel ideas, but if it is presented in a way that is familiar, or in a manner

that does not go very much against the grain of their habitual mode of doing things, then they will give it a try. If we are to build the new society on the experience of the past, there is a real need to have as accurate information as possible on what the past was. Then there is the larger question of the relationships of the various peoples of Nigeria. We know very little about each other beyond stereotypes - how the Igbo characterizes the Ibibio or Yoruba or Tiv or Hausa is presently stereotyping and vice versa. To understand each other, we need in-depth analysis of the various culture types and traits that have to be welded into a Nigerian National character. What is unique about the Igbo that other Nigerians need to learn? What aspects of Igbo character needs improvement? Needless to say that the same questions ought to be asked of all the other ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. Levine (1966) made a start in this direction, but some of the conclusions were tentative and even tendentious; but rather than dismiss them out of hand, we need to subject them to further analysis. Research, therefore should be directed towards some problems or policies in the making. What is suggested above only shows the range and scope research into the political culture of the Igbo or any other group can be directed.

Theories, Concepts and Approaches

Here we have to define our unit of analysis. It is now generally agreed (thanks to the study of "primitive" societies) that every human society that persists as an on-going unit through time must have means of maintaining itself externally in its environment and internally among its members. This implies that certain choices have to be made, decisions about what choices to make also have to be made binding on the members of the community. Politics is therefore defined as the process of making binding (i.e., authoritative) decisions for a community (Easton, 1965), such decisions can be made by an individual (king, eze, konig, roi, president, oba) or a collection of individuals (council, elders, parliament, cabinet, national assembly). The inclusive unit concerned may be called (state, kingdom, ogo, obodo, realm) but the universal thing is authoritative decision-making. Political activity consists in all those actions related to the making of such community decisions and political institutions are those engaged in one way or another, intermittently or wholly in his process. The system of interaction of individuals in roles and institutions that are engaged in authoritative decision making for a community make up the political system. According to Almond, "The task of describing a political system consists in characterizing all the patterned interactions which take place within it. It takes us beyond the legal system into all the roles which occur and involves our defining these roles in action or behavioral terms" (Almond, 1956/1970.) The unit may be large or small, an empire or a village. In the case of the Igbo, we are dealing with a large number of political systems. Each political system is embedded in its own environment and milieu and the way things are generally done tend to make those living within each have particular attitudes or orientation towards the political system and its rules of action. Such orientation involves *cognition*, that of knowing what's what and who's who as well as the rules of the game in the unit; *affection*, that is, the feeling one has towards the way things are done - acceptance, rejection or indifference and *evaluation*, the means for judging outcomes of the system in

terms of one's preferences. (Almond, 1956, Almond and Powell, 1966). This orientation is what has been called political culture. How do people come to have the kind of orientation. They have toward political objects such as kings, oba obi, elders, age group, ekpe and political action such as voting, initiation rites, *ilu ikoro*, *iji ofo*, etc. How do people learn the appropriate political behaviour? What kinds of data do we need to determine the Igbo orientation to politics and political activity?

One advantage of studying political culture is that it helps us to see what holds the Igbo together in spite of explicit structures or institutions. To answer some of the above questions, we need data to determine (1) Who are participants in the political process as defined? What sorts of issues can they deal with, what sorts can they not deal with? What are the stages and processes by which decisions are made (2) How do participants come to the role they play? What is the basis of their power? authority? influence? Are there any limits to the power, authority or influence attached to any role or institution? (3) What are the processes by which people learn about the political system or the functions of particular roles? (4) How do we characterize the general attitude, outlook or world-view within the political system, in other words - what is the nature of their political culture. The presumption made here is that held by most proponents of the political culture approach; that each culture tends "to manifest definable syndromes that are related either to recognized patterns of personality development or to general patterns of historical development or to both." (Pye, 1971).

Types of Data Needed and Method of Collection

This is where we have to adjust our research design to suit our purpose and object of study. Studies using the political culture approach have utilized public opinion polls, attitude surveys, depth interviewing and the psychological techniques to gather data. This is then supported by an analysis of the content of myths and legends, folklore and literature as well as observation of individual and group behaviour. In our case, we may combine observation techniques with interpretation of focused, unstructured interviews of selected individuals. In addition we have to gather data on child-rearing patterns, types of peer groups and socialization processes in general. Another data sources would be the proverbs and folklore. These need to be collected and analysed for their political ideological content. In so far as history is collective and individual, we need the skills of the historian in collecting oral history of different areas, then checked and rechecked for consistency and validity. In this respect I may mention that, I think African historians have done more in terms of developing a scholarly tradition toward the indigenous society than any other group of African Scholars. Uchendu (1965, chapter 2, has provided a lead into how one can reach down into the Igbo belief system, but this time one would be looking for the politically socializing content of the belief system. In dealing with folklore and oral tradition, one has to have the patience to go back several times and collect the same kind of information from the same source - to check on the consistency of its rendering. Myths of origin or what some anthropologists call 'social characters' are also sources of data that

need to be collected. There is a value in simply collecting these and preserving them either as tapes or transcribed so that interpretations given to them at one period by some group of researchers can be compared with what a different group of scholars at a later period may make of them.

Here one has to deal with the problems of validity and reliability. Who does one select as informant? If one is going to use focused, unstructured interviews, how does one select those to be interviewed. A few criteria can be stated.

1. As much as possible one should tap the reservoir of experience and knowledge in the community one is studying. Any sample should include "authorities" on the subject as well as non-authorities. It should reflect a variety of views and opinions on the same issue.
2. Issues to be explored should be formulated and rehearsed before hand so that if one takes the relaxed conversational approach, one does not lose track on the theme. A tape recorder is preferable to taking notes.
3. If names of living persons are mentioned, arrange to talk to them too just to check on the informants version of the same events.
4. Structured yes questionnaire types of interview should be avoided.
5. Observation with keen, alert and questioning attitude is the best approach.

Analysis of Data

I suggested earlier that this kind of research should be a team effort. Since the kind of data to be gathered are not likely to be one for computers, nor will they be easily categorized according to academic disciplinary interest, each team should comprise of people with different academic and disciplinary preparations. This will ensure that interpretation or analysis will draw from the insight of the various disciplines. After each group has collated materials and analyzed them for each community studied, these will then be brought together and subjected to a comprehensive analysis and reconstruction of what can be called Igbo political culture. Without this kind of comprehensive effort to cover all *ala Igbo*, we will never be able to find out just what constitutes *omenala Igbo* which is applicable to all Igbo. The present staccato method of one person describing one village and labeling it Igbo will not do. If we must undertake Igbo studies as a sort of "revitalization movement" (Wallace, 1956) then let us do it properly and reconstruct Igbo culture not as some antique to be exported and sold, but as something to enrich our lives now and in the future.

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**THE FACTOR OF AFRICAN RESISTANCE IN
BRITISH LAND POLICY IN WEST AFRICA:
THE IBADAN EXAMPLE IN NIGERIA**

BY J. A. ATANDA
*Department of History,
University of Ibadan.*

IN the literature on colonial land policy in Africa,¹ the impression is created that the relatively non-exploitative policy pursued by the British in Nigeria in particular and in West Africa² as a whole was due to either local climate or British desire to safeguard African interests in these areas or a combination of both of these two factors. It is generally believed that because of the "hostile climate" which for long was believed to have made West Africa the proverbial "white man's grave," European settlement and, consequently, large-scale European expropriation of land in West Africa were considered unprofitable. And when, in spite of the "hostile climate," a few Europeans made attempts to expropriate land on a large scale in parts of West Africa, the failure of their efforts has usually been credited solely to the liberalism of the British or of their agents on the spot. Thus, when in the 1920s, the application of the Leverhulme interests for oil-palm plantations in Nigeria was rejected, it was seen as another evidence of British liberalism in land policy in West Africa. Accordingly, British officials particularly, Governor H. Clifford, have received much praise.

The purpose of this paper is not to deny that climate and British liberalism played an important part in determining British land policy in West Africa. Rather the purpose is to call attention to another equally important but usually ignored factor, namely, the opposition of the indigenous population to the expropriation of their land by foreigners, and the probable effect of this on official attitude in land matters. Although this factor had been at work since the early days of colonialism in West Africa, it was hardly publicised by those in authority. This partly accounts for the situation which Casely Hayford described when he wrote about land question in West Africa in general and on the Gold Coast in particular in 1913 that:

The opinion is current in certain quarters that West African intelligence is incapable of grasping the danger of the economic pressure which the influx of the European capital into the country must produce. It is even assumed that such intelligence would willingly minimise the evil for pecuniary gain.³

1. For general reading, see various sections on land matters in R. L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa* published in 1928, second impression, Frank Cass, 1965) Vol. I, and Lord Hailey, *An African Survey* (O.U.P. 1957), chapter XI, particularly pp. 685-775; while pp. 812-14 contain useful bibliography on the subject.
2. As compared with say East, Central and South Africa.
3. J. E. Casely Hayford, *The Truth About the West African Land Question* (1st published in 1913, 2nd Edition by Frank Cass, London, 1971) p.1.

The truth, however, as Hayford rightly declared, is that such an opinion was mistaken.⁴ West Africans not only saw the danger of European economic pressure on their land, they did all that was possible to resist the pressure.

The case which occurred in Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1904–1909 was a good example of such local resistance. It emphasized the role of African opposition as a factor guiding British officials in their attitude to land problems. In this particular case, it showed, as we shall see presently, that this opposition, rather than considerations of climate or any liberalism on the part of officials, made it impossible for European agents to expropriate the vast area of land concerned.

It happened that about 1903, there was an attempt to encourage cotton growing on a commercial scale for export purposes.⁵ To this end, the British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A.), whose origin and purpose are implicit in its name, made a request the following year for a lease of land of up to 15,000 acres for the establishment of a cotton plantation in Ibadan. This request was carried to the Ibadan City Council by the British Resident in the area. But after carefully considering the request the Council felt "unable to grant the lease of land required by the B.C.G.A." for a number of reasons. Firstly, the area affected "was a thickly populated area and contained over 70 farms", implying that leasing it would result in the destruction of valuable crops. Secondly, it was difficult for the Council to ask the occupants of the area to leave, as such occupants had used the land "for generations." Thirdly, and most important, the area required was too large.⁶

From the discussion by the chiefs at this meeting and from subsequent events, it is clear that what the Ibadan chiefs opposed was not so much the lease of land to Europeans as such, but a lease that would involve large expropriation of land such as the B.C.G.A.'s cotton plantation proposal would involve. After all, they had leased land to individual firms in Ibadan.⁷ But such firms had been granted small portions of land, largely for building purposes. On the other hand, they discovered that 15,000 acres which the B.C.G.A. wanted would amount to a piece of land "which would take a day's journey to circumambulate."⁸ To grant such a vast area was to them unthinkable. They therefore opposed the request. They categorically stated that they were prepared to meet the wishes of Government in any other way they could, short of giving "such a large acreage [of land] as the B.C.G.A. required."⁹

Apart from opposing a European-type plantation system because of the amount of land it would involve, the Ibadan chiefs were further exasperated by the fact that such a plantation system would be destructive of peasant agriculture which was so vital to the economic welfare of their people. Their fear in this regard was justified, even at the initial stage of negotiations, by the over-enthusiasm of the B.C.G.A. officials. For example, before negotiations went far, one Mr. Martin, the B.C.G.A.

4. *Ibid.*

5. C. H. Elges, *The Evolution of Ibadan* (G.P., Lagos, 1914), p.14.

6. Ibadan City Council minutes for 6 Sept., 1904. These and similar minutes cited are taken from *Council Minutebook* available at the I.C.C. Record Office, Mapo Hall, Ibadan.

7. See Elges, *op. cit.*

8. I.C.C. minutes for 6 September, 1904.

local boss, had assumed that the required land lease would be granted and had therefore ordered the clearing of the part of the land involved without regard for the existing crops. Thus, when the chiefs went to visit the area required by the B.C.G.A., they were horrified to see that "Mr. Martin was cutting down their [people's] palm trees right and left"¹⁰. The promise made by the Resident to rectify this situation did not and could not satisfy them, being an ambivalent one. The Resident expressed his intention to insert a clause in the proposed lease agreement "that no trees of commercial value should be cut down except those actually necessary for the proper cultivation of cotton."¹¹ Obviously the exception made nonsense of the guarantee given in the main part of the proposed clause; for, there was no limit to the number of commercial trees that it might be "actually necessary" to cut down "for the proper cultivation of cotton." The danger the exception posed becomes more obvious when it is borne in mind that it was the duty of the expropriating body, the B.C.G.A., and not that of the Ibadan chiefs or their people, to determine how much cutting down was necessary for the proper cultivation of cotton.

It was therefore not surprising to see that when negotiations reopened, the chiefs refused to yield to pressure from the Resident and from Mr. Martin of the B.C.G.A. to reconsider the council's decision on the lease.¹² Instead, they began to express their regret for the lease they had granted at Mamu as forest reserve, saying that it had led to their people suffering.¹³

In view of the adamant position taken by the chiefs, the Resident had to take counsel with the Governor of Lagos on the lease requested by the B.C.G.A. Although the writer has not been able to trace a record of the discussion that took place between the Resident and the Governor, it is clear from the report which the Resident brought back to the Council that the stiffness of the Ibadan opposition to the European plantation system was one of the determinant factors in the Governor's decision on this matter. The Resident reported that the "Governor agreed with the Council's protest against the cutting down of palm, kola, orange, iroko and other valuable trees."¹⁴ Firm promise was then given to prevent this from happening under any circumstances. Besides, it was reported that the Governor also upheld the objection of the Council to granting the vast area of land requested by the B.C.G.A. and he even decreed that the council should no longer "be required to lease the 15,000 acres in lot."¹⁵ However, the Governor insisted that, with the safeguard given, the Ibadan chiefs "should lease the land" required by the B.C.G.A.¹⁶

But neither these so-called safeguards nor anything else would make the Ibadan chiefs agree to grant such a vast acreage of land in any one area to the B.C.G.A.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Council minutes for 16 September, 1904 para. 21.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Council Minutes for 27 September, 1904.

13. *Ibid.* Mamu lease was granted in 1899

14. Council Minutes for 16 October, 1904

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

Thus, when the Resident reported the Governor's terms and pressed the chiefs to agree, there was a violent reaction. The Balogun, speaking for the other chiefs, said:

We cannot lease the land. This is the most important matter that has been before us since we signed the Treaty of 1886. That [treaty] was clutching at our hands and feet, this [request for the grant of 15,000 acres of land] is clutching at our throats. What we can give [i.e. much smaller plot than 15,000 acres] we have given if we are forced to give more our whole country will be broken.¹⁷

The Resident was stunned by this reaction. He pleaded with the chiefs. "But your two great objections have been safeguarded i.e. palm trees and reservation of land for farmers."¹⁸ The plea fell on deaf ears, as the Balogun quickly retorted that their "people will not consent."¹⁹ He, in fact, went on listing other objections like the nearness of the land chosen to Ibadan town, etc.

In spite of these other objections, however, it was clear that the greatest objection was the plantation system which required the appropriation of vast and compact acreage of land. The compactness of the land appeared to be the most offensive irritating aspect of the case. For, at a stage, the chiefs were prepared to grant up to 15,000 acres of land on the condition that "it, must be scattered over different places."²⁰ Part of it, they suggested, could be on the railway plot near Ibadan, while they "will give more at Lanlate, Iwo, Ede, Oshogbo, Ikirun and Otan if so desired."²¹ But they would not agree to "the lease of all the 15,000 acres in one lot" not only near Ibadan but in any other place "all over our province." Such a thing, they asserted "cannot be done."²² The Resident pressed them again to agree, recounting all what the Government had done for them. But the chiefs "refused to lease (the land)— en-bloc."²³

At another council meeting held about two weeks later, the Resident re-opened the question of land lease. He did so, very mindful of the stout resistance of the Ibadan chiefs to granting a vast acreage of land. Consequently, he requested the chiefs to grant at least 5,000 acres,²⁴ i.e. a third of what was originally requested. Even so, the chiefs regarded this as too much. Their general feeling was reflected in the Balogun's reply to the Resident's request. He said that:

Some years ago ²⁵, the Government asked us to give them 1000 of our sons to fight for them. We did so. Only 126 returned. We felt that deeply. But we did not feel that so much as [we would feel] what is asked of us now. Must we do it?²⁶

Indeed, must they do it? That crucial question summed up the attitude of the Ibadan chiefs. Left to themselves, they were not prepared to lease any more land. Much more so were they unwilling if it was to be a vast area such as the B.C.G.A.

17. Council Minutes for 22 October, 1904

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. Council Minutes for 5 November, 1904

25. This was most likely to be in 1896 when the British recruited people for their war with Asante.

26. Council Minutes for 5 November, 1904

required for its cotton plantation. It was clear from the regret they expressed about Mamu land that they had come to realise that leasing a vast acreage of land in one place was detrimental to the interest of their people. And if they had had their way on this subsequent occasion, they would have refused entirely to grant any land at all to the B.C.G.A.

But they did not immediately have their way. The Resident's reply to the Balogun's question as to whether they must comply with the request was a threatening "Yes."²⁷ It became necessary for the Ibadan chiefs to gauge the official mood. They feared that further resistance at the stage, especially after Government felt it had granted them some concessions, could lead to trouble. And they had good reasons to take the Resident's threat seriously. Their fathers and even some among them had been bullied into signing "Agreement" of 1893, which had the effect of ending their sovereign status.²⁸ The first British Resident Captain R. L. Bower, stationed among them in consequence of that treaty had dealt high-handedly with them and with the Oyo chiefs between 1894 and 1896.²⁹ Nothing prevented the negotiating Resident from dealing with the chiefs in the way Bower had earlier dealt with Ibadan and Oyo chiefs. In view of all this, the chiefs feared that further resistance could lead to disaster and political suicide. They had to accept to grant the B.C.G.A. a lease of 5,000 acres between mile 118½ and mile 121 on the railway.³⁰ The acreage was to be equally divided on each side of the line with ODO-ONA as one boundary between the town and the plantation.³¹

In spite of this turn of events in the negotiation, it did not mean that the opposition of the Ibadan chiefs to the plantation system as envisaged and proposer, by the B.C.G.A. and supported by the Government achieved no results. Rather, their opposition forced the Government to modify the conditions desired by the B.C.G.A. Consequently the final terms of the lease Agreement³² signed with the B.C.G.A. contained clauses that were inimical to plantation system. The most relevant of these clauses deserve critical examination.

Clause (a) stipulated that the "land leased (must)— be 5,000 acres." This was much smaller than what the B.C.G.A. required for a successful plantation system. What was worse, even this area was bisected by the railway line; and this decreased its usefulness as a compact area. Clause (i) enjoined the B.C.G.A. "to cut down no palm, orange, iroko, kola or other valuable trees except as absolutely necessary in the making of roads." This, in effect, meant that the land could not be adequately cleared, since it contained these valuable trees in abundance and in proximity to one another. It also meant that unnecessary shading by trees detrimental to the growth of cotton had to be reckoned with. The over-all effect was that any attempt

27. *Ibid.*

28. J. A. Atanda, *The New Oyo Empire: Indirect Rule and Change in Western Nigeria, 1894 - 1934*, (Longman, 1973), pp. 51-2.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-74.

30. Council Minutes for 5 November, 1904.

31. *Ibid.*

32. See Council Minutes for 17 November, 1904 for details of the terms.

to grow cotton on plantation basis had been foiled. As if that was not enough, clauses (m), (j) and (g) had the cumulative effect of making it impossible for the B.C.G.A. to derive any benefits at all from the land granted. Clause (m) stipulated that the "owners of the palm, kola, and other valuable trees [must] have full benefit of their product." While the B.C.G.A. was forbidden from tampering with the valuable crops tended or planted by the people it was also forbidden from planting similar crops or any other crop than cotton. For, clause (g) stated that "if land leased be not now [used] for purposes of cotton growing within reasonable time, lessors [were] entitled to re-enter into possession." And to ensure that the land was utilised as stipulated in the terms of the Agreement, provision was made in clause (j) that the land leased would "be policed by Ibadan Council at the expense of the B.C.G.A."

In view of these stringent and obstructionist clauses, it should not be surprising that the B.C.G.A. found it impossible to establish the desired cotton plantation. Indeed, in less than a year, it had started to look for an alternative way of utilising the land acquired. It began to plant corn which was also then in demand.³³

By doing this, the B.C.G.A. played into the hands of the Ibadan chiefs, who were vigilantly watching for any breach of the Agreement of the lease. And before the B.C.G.A. could go far in its plan to grow corn, it was called to order. At the Council meeting held in May 1905, the Otun Bale brought to the notice of Council members "that the B.C.G.A. were not using the ground [land] leased in accordance with their promise," but "were planting corn" in large quantity and thus they "prevented the rightful owners from doing so."³⁴ The Resident had no choice but to order that Council members should visit the site within the next few days to investigate the charge against the B.C.G.A.

It was not clear whether the Council members carried out the order of the Resident, since, in any case, they had no cause to doubt the Otun Bale's report. Whatever the case, the B.C.G.A. was obliged to nip in the bud its plan for growing corn. And since, as has been pointed out, certain terms of the agreement of lease made it impossible to utilise the land for the original purpose of establishing a cotton plantation, the B.C.G.A. had to abandon it. Indeed, the land continued to lie fallow until 1909. In that year the Government of Nigeria decided to establish an Agriculture Department in Ibadan. The "site ultimately chosen for it was that portion of land leased on land". R. Buell's assessment of the situation in the 1920's in Nigeria generally is applicable to the case under consideration. He writes:

Native institutions in Nigeria as elsewhere in Africa are rooted in the land. As long as the land is held for the people and distributed by the chief, his authority has an economic sanction, and his people have a self-sufficient means of livelihood within the boundaries of the tribe. Thus anchored, the bulk of the

33. Atanda, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

34. Council Minutes for 13 May, 1905.

35. Elgee, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

36. See Balogun and Otun Bale's speeches earlier quoted in this paper.

the population is permanent rather than nomadic - the group is held intact. The entrance of the Europeans, requiring both labour and land, disturbs this condition of affairs. If they succeed in securing title to vast expanses of land formerly held by native tribes or if they reduce large numbers to wage earners, living under artificial conditions away from their homes, the whole tribal frame work disintegrates.³⁷

But after showing this deep understanding and giving this brilliant analysis of the importance of land in Nigerian societies, Buell, like most other writers on the issue, makes no attempt to examine what role indigenous opposition to encroachments on their land rights played in determining or modifying land policy in colonial Nigeria. He only praises the British who, in their land policy in the country, according to him:

have proceeded upon the theory that the greater attention shown to tribal institution the larger will be the economic returns. They have believed that the policy of indirect rule, bringing with it a contented peasantry, living on the soil, is a policy that is not only socially desirable but economically profitable. Consequently they have attempted to direct the economic development of Nigeria so as to disturb these native situations as little as possible. The first evidence of this policy is in regard to land.³⁸

The case of Ibadan opposition just examined shows that the facile assumption that British policy in land matters in West Africa was due solely to official liberalism or to considerations of the climate needs critical review. It is clear from the events described above that had the Ibadan chiefs not put up stout resistance, the Government would have allowed the B.C.G.A. to establish a plantation system in Ibadan. And this experiment, if successful, would have been repeated in other parts of Western Nigeria where the B.C.G.A. spread its trading activities. In that case, the danger of European economic interests acquiring land and labour which Buell has so brilliantly pointed out would not have been averted in Ibadan. Here then was a case where climate and liberalism *alone* would not have prevented large-scale foreign expropriation of land for European economic interests.

How far the Ibadan opposition discussed here affected subsequent attitude of the Government in land matters in colonial Nigeria is hard to say in the absence of direct evidence. But the fact that the Governor intervened in this case indicates that policy makers at the Headquarters were aware of the people's feelings. And it would be strange if the lessons of the incident eluded pragmatic administrators like the British.

Be that as it may, the purpose of this paper is to focus attention on this theme of indigenous opposition as an additional factor to be considered in any analysis of land policy in colonial Nigeria in particular and in British West Africa as a whole. It is hoped that further research elsewhere will throw more light on the subject.

37. R. L. Buell, *op. cit.*, p. 750

38. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE IN PROMOTING HANDICRAFTS THROUGH COOPERATIVES: AN EVALUATION

By M. O. IJERE
*Acting Head, Department
of Agric. Management,
University of Nigeria, Nsukka.*

SINCE the early thirties of the present century, cooperatives have been used by various Nigerian governments to achieve a wide range of objectives in the development of the country. Whether in marketing, credit, production, or in processing the cooperative form of organisation was regarded as the best possible agency for change and as a result was legally and financially supported.

One of the notable areas in which such attempts have been conspicuous is the handicrafts. This paper sets out to investigate Nigeria's experience in this sector. It will examine the rationale for government policy, analyse the effects of government patronage, and establish that despite this patronage, cooperative handicrafts have not achieved the success expected of them. It is then our duty to show along what lines possible improvements lie.

I

THE OBJECTIVES OF HANDICRAFT PROMOTION

Handicrafts fall under the category of small-scale industries defined in Nigeria as enterprises with 9 or less employees.¹ These activities converting local raw materials into finished or semifinished products have been carried on in Nigeria from time immemorial. Woodcarving, weaving, basket-making, pottery, raffia-making, wine-tapping, black-smithing and similar occupations are found in almost every locality, either alone or in combination with farming.

Their place in the Nigerian society has been a problematic one. As a consequence there has been no clear-cut policy for their promotion. In one sense they are regarded as necessary for the employment of local talents and products or for artistic and religious considerations. In another, they are relegated to the background because they resemble "infant industries" subsisting and never growing up.

Among colonial administrators, there was the nostalgic desire to preserve the social character of African arts and crafts, which were claimed to be the traditional embodiment of the true spirit of African tribal culture. Nor was the high potential of

1. The terms handicraft, arts and crafts and small-scale industries are used here interchangeably.

these small-scale industries to create employment lost sight of. This view was echoed by Kilby, who himself has made a comprehensive study and analysis of the craft situation. Observes Kilby on the small-scale industrial sector:

It acts as an incubator for the skills of the artisan and the manager. And most important, given the proper environment, small-scale enterprise is capable of greatly increasing its contribution to the region's development . . . Small-scale industry is labour intensive; fixed investment - equipment and building but exclusive of land is about £100 per worker.²

Arthur Lewis had underlined the same motives in a recent lecture on the Nigerian economy. Lewis maintained that:

Small enterprising . . . has a number of advantages. It is less capital-intensive, and so adds more to national income and employment for every pound invested. It is also the normal school of entrepreneurship; out of these thousands of small firms will emerge the Nigerian business leaders of the future ---- Thus, looking ahead, it is more important to lay the foundations of an industrial class by helping small entrepreneurs than it is to build a few large factories.³

Polly Hill, the great protagonist of 'Indigenous Economics' included crafts in the list forming "the basic fabric of economic life."⁴ Hill's stand contrasts with that of Alan Sokolski⁵ and Aboyade⁶ who did not consider them significant enough as capital formation potential. On the aesthetic aspect of the crafts Floyd remarked that "the products of these long established industries reflect the efforts of skilled craftsmen and women combining in cases beauty of form and design with utility".⁷

It is on this basis of the importance of handicrafts that Nigerian governments have at different times, favoured their growth and development. Strickland, who laid the foundation of cooperatives in Nigeria was of the view that "cooperation may be invoked in the entire field of human life".⁸ Although his main concern was how to deal with the problem of export crops, hence his assiduity in setting up Cocoa Marketing Cooperatives in Western Nigeria, he extended his vision to urban and rural handicrafts. For this, he tried to encompass agricultural activities that could be organized cooperatively.

At that time the following handicrafts were not unknown and in fact were mentioned in the said report: Wood-Carving in Awka, Brass-work in Benin and Bida, weaving in Oyo and Kano, Leatherwork in Kano, and basketwork in Gashaka. These represented the traditional or "native arts and crafts", which to Strickland were destined to be obliterated if not protected cooperatively.

2. Kilby, Peter, *Development of Small-Scale Industries in Eastern Nigeria*, Enugu. Government Printer, 1963. p. 1.
3. Lewis, Arthur, "Reflections on Nigerian Economic Growth." Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development Centre. Paris. 1967 (mimeo), quoted by Michad Koll, *Craft, and Cooperation in Western Nigeria, a sociological contribution to indigenous Economics*. Bartlesmann Universitacts Verlag. 1969. p. 17.
4. Hill, Polly, "A Plea for Indigenous Economics: The West African Example", Economic Development Institute, U.N.N. 1965 (mimeo). Also her "Some Characteristics of Indigenous West African Enterprise Conference Proceedings, March 1962, NISER, Ibadan. 1963. pp. 11-123.
5. Sokolski, Alan, *The Establishment of Manufacture in Nigeria*. New York. Praeger. 1965.
6. Aboyade, O., *Foundations of an African Economy. A Study of Investment and Growth in Nigeria*. New York. Praeger. 1966.
7. Floyd, B., *Eastern Nigeria, A Geographical Review*. London. Macmillan, 1969. p. 248.
8. Strickland, C.F., *Report on the Introduction of Cooperative Societies into Nigeria*. Government Printer, Lagos. 1934. p. 3.

They did not, however, include such associations or guilds of craftsmen like carpenters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, tinkers, tailors, shoemakers and bicycle repairers found concentrated in the coastal cities and the immediate hinterland.⁹ There was no intention in the colonial regime to organise these cooperatively, since they were not considered reflecting African cultural heritage. Strickland brought home the government thinking on the subject by recommending "forms of expression, in respect of both material and design, which have a meaning for and are familiar to the African mind and the cooperative organisation of the craftsmen."¹⁰

Using the Awka wood-carvers as an example, he suggested that all cooperatives should set up an industrial school in the neighbourhood of the craft centre to teach genuinely African art while improving technical methods and multiplying African designs. The cooperative, he said should recruit its members from the army of ex-pupils of the industrial school; set up a small shop at the main road to facilitate sales; and run the same by an employed salesman. He catered particularly for the sale of the products, and as a consequence suggested the formation of small cooperative groups for joint purchase of raw materials, the appointment of active representatives in Lagos, Yaba and other big towns to expand the market; production of illustrated catalogues with related prices; the expansion of sales to churches and a schools, native courts and government officials; and the encouragement and encompassing of Africans as buyers and consumers of the products of the Cooperative crafts societies. For these various activities, Strickland insisted on funding by Native Authorities who themselves should also be major consumers.

In this brief survey, we have seen the nature of government policy on handicrafts. One thing is clear, namely that only those forms of handicrafts were to be promoted, which were adjudged to be truly traditional. The other is, that as far as possible these should be banded in cooperative societies as the only acceptable forms of economic organisation.

The desire to promote handicrafts generally and the traditional ones in particular led to surveys which have lasted for about three decades. An insight into these surveys is necessary to understand the trend of government policy and the mixture of the underlying motives.

II

European interest in African arts and crafts can be measured by the degree of investigation into their nature and ramifications. Strickland, whom we have noted earlier on, recommended in his report of 1934 "a full survey of native arts and crafts in Nigeria, without which", he maintained, "it was difficult for government to formulate a clear policy."¹¹ His recommendation was, however, not immediately implemented.

9. c.f. Lloyd, P.C., "Craft Organization in Yoruba Towns", *Africa*, XXIII, 1953. pp. 30-44.

10. Strickland, 1934, p. 4.

11. Strickland, 1934, p. 11.

Koll blames the refusal of colonial administration to implement this recommendation on divergence of aims.¹² While Strickland suggested ways and means by which "the native producer was restored to a position in which foreign competition can be faced, and by which people, instead of filling their rooms with imported furniture, would buy locally-made chairs and tables, the real purpose of colonial administration was to enhance the importation of industrial goods."¹³

In the light of the above, there was no urgent need felt to carry out a survey of native crafts. As a consequence too, there was no mention of crafts in the "Report on the Progress of Cooperative in Nigeria 1935-37", but rather one reads of the indifference of non-agricultural occupations to form cooperatives. A survey had to wait for the eve of World War II, 1938/39 when Great Britain needed Nigerian resources. The war blockade having stopped the importation of foreign goods, gave impetus to the revival of native industries. It also stimulated internal and inter-territorial trade.¹⁴

A study by Vernon-Jackson showed that chiefs as against government promoted rope-makers craft guilds in Nupe and arranged "standardized mass production of rope for regular delivery to large-scale buyers, such as agents of large commercial companies".¹⁵

In Western Nigeria two educationists, K. C. Murray and A. Hunt-Coke pioneered the study of guilds or crafts in 1938. They recommended assistance to the guilds "to eliminate the inefficient and redundant worker, to regulate prices and prevent cut-throat competition, and to guarantee to the public some measure of quality".¹⁶

There was no great enthusiasm on the government side to implement these reports on native craft guilds, but rather industrial cooperatives were established in Ikot Ekpene (the Cooperative Raffia Marketing Society) and Benin (Cooperatives Wood-workers' Society). The Ikot Ekpene cooperative produced raffia for export to South Africa and England, and the Benin woodworkers produced European-type furniture for sale in Nigeria. Thus, cooperatives of local artistic value were left out, while those that catered for the export market were given encouragement.

W. R. Hatch, in his "Industrial Cooperation in Nigeria" recommended Cooperatives for clothing, footwear, roofing materials, furniture not just for private benefit but also for public service.¹⁷ Yet paradoxically, the same government that favoured cooperatives for local people, turned round to train its own craftsmen in the United Africa Company's workshops and those of the government Public Works Department.

12. Koll, M. *Crafts and Cooperation in Western Nigeria*. Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag. Freiburg, 1969. p. 62.

13. Strickland. c.f. pp. 11-12.

14. Forde, Daryll and Richenda Scott, "The Native Economics of Nigeria." Vol. 1 of Margery Perham (ed) *The Native of Economics of a Tropical Dependency*. London, 1948.

15. Vernon-Jackson, Hugh, "Craft Work in Bida", in *Africa*. 1960. p. 57.

16. Murray, K.C. *Native Industries in Abeokuta and Oyo Provinces*. (Unpublished report). 1938.

17. Nigeria Cooperative Supply Association, Ibadan. *Cooperative in Nigeria and the Rochdale Centenary Conference*, 1945.

The investigations on Nigerian crafts which continued during the Second World War are well described in the 1943–44 issues of the journal *Africa*. The underlying motives have been summarized by Daryll Forde as a desire to adapt the traditional with the modern, in order "to ensure that the activities of the more capable and energetic people, who are in the vanguard of economic change, do not become independent of the salutary restraints of group standards".¹⁸

Rather than embark on a comprehensive uplift of indigenous craft guilds, the Cooperative Department went ahead organizing a few craftsmen's societies. There were eight such societies in the whole of Nigeria between 1945–51. The Ikot Ekpene Cooperative Raffia Marketing Society noted above was one of them which, without government continued assistance would not have survived. Others are the Benin Wood-carvers Cooperative and the Akwete Weavers Cooperative, which succeeded because they met a definite need felt by the members. In all, the government threw in all its weight to prop these cooperatives of others, out of the eight registered their failures were similar to those of the Awka carver's union, of which the Cooperative Report of 1951 said that:

the members had no great concern for the future, apparently regarding their Union as an institution which the Government will always sustain.¹⁹

The studies described above were limited to regions or particular localities. Most of the available craft censuses concerned those with establishments engaging ten or more persons.

Buchanan had in 1949–50 conducted a preliminary count of small-scale craft industries in Ibadan. He found 2,700 industrial units distributed among 14 categories. In 1961/62 the Ministry of Economic Planning, Eastern Nigeria, documented 671 industrial undertakings with nine or less employees.²⁰

A more systematic survey was that made by Kilby in 1961, the numerical importance of which is given below. The study gave a full and scrupulous account of method, coverage and reliability of 35 categories of industries.²¹

Kilby's survey was carried out in 14 Nigerian towns, having 10728 firms with 28,721 workers. From the survey, the average firm employed 2.7 workers including apprentices and the manager/owner. Not all important craft centres were included, however. Although Awka appeared conspicuously in the survey, Nsukka noted for weaving was omitted. But the survey is useful for the enterprises studied.

18. Forde-Scott, pp. 30–31.

19. Nigeria: "Annual Report of the Registrar of Cooperative Societies in Nigeria for the year ended 31st March, 1951." Lagos. Government Printer, 1952. p. 15.

20. Floyd, B., *Eastern Nigeria: A Geographical Review*. London. Macmillan. 1969. p. 248.

21. Kilby, Peter, *Development of Small-Scale Industries in Eastern Nigeria*. Government Printer, Enugu 1963. p. 1.

Table 1

	NUMBER OF FIRMS	TOTAL EMPLOY- MENT	FIRMS BY NO OF WORKERS %			
			1	2-5	6-9	10 +
1. Tailoring	3,450	7,288	49	47	3	1
2. Carpentry	3,450	7,173	30	63	5	2
3. Shoe-making (leather)	118	401	25	57	14	4
4. Shoe-making (tyre Sandals)	180	428	35	58	5	—
5. Shoe repair	390	616	59	41	—	—
6. Motor repair	396	2,968	2	41	30	27
7. Welding/Battery char- ging	221	848	25	56	13	6
8. Blacksmithing	369	763	42	55	2	1
9. Printing	146	938	12	59	16	13
10. Banking	221	1,341	—	77	8	15
11. Tin smithing	491	1,029	43	54	3	—
12. Mattress making	266	488	43	57	—	—
13. Radio Repair	236	906	18	61	14	7
14. Photography	157	424	23	73	3	1
15. Corn milling	65	131	29	69	2	—
16. Gold smithing	267	516	50	48	2	—
17-25. Minor Industries	768	1,485	59	38	1	2
—35. Miscellaneous Industries	198	932	11	67	12	10
Total	10,728	28,721				

Source: Kilby P., *The Development of Small-scale Industries in Eastern Nigeria*. Government Printer, Enugu, p. 1.

According to Kilby, there was a preponderance of tailors and carpenters, which also employed the largest number of people. Conversely, the lowest in number and employment were corn-milling and shoe-making. Kilby warns against the use of scale of production alone in assessing the contribution of indigenous enterprises. He rather suggested such benefits as: the ability to lessen the need for foreign enclave - type enterprise; geographical decentralisation, tapping of latent savings and skills and high employment and output.

Another researcher and writer is Archibald Callaway. His survey of crafts and industries in Ibadan (1961) and repeated in 1963 is equally comprehensive. On the basis of these studies he projected that there were about two million craft apprentices in the whole of Nigeria.²² Callaway also demonstrated the achievements of Nigerian arts and crafts, namely; high labour absorption, apprenticeship training for young people, and reduction of dependence on state or government for maintenance. At the same time he evolved certain criteria for estimating the usefulness of craft enterprises: production of high quality products; concern for long-run relations with

22. Callaway, A. "From Traditional Crafts to Modern Industries," *ODU* July 1965 pp. 28-51; and "Nigeria's Education: The Apprentice System", *ODU*, Vol. 1. No. 7, July 1964. pp. 62-79.

customers and use of local raw materials. On the basis of these criteria, Callaway came to the conclusion that:

The indigenous apprentice system works well . . . It engenders loyalty to the master and the craft; it provides low cost instruction passing skills on from one generation to the next, and it instills through years of hard experience the meaning of business competition. ²³

An important government survey on rural cottage industries is that carried out in 1965 by the Federal Office of Statistics in which 199 rural villages were investigated. It revealed that 900,000 households were engaged in the enterprise and that the major areas of production were food processing, textiles, palm oil extraction, clothing, mats and metal products. ²⁴ Another survey took place in 1966 by the International Labour Office on behalf of the Federal Government of Nigeria on crafts in the Ilaro Province of Western Nigeria. 47 crafts were identified and grouped in 16 categories.

The objective of these surveys, of course, was to find out how to transform the crafts adjudged to be traditional into Cooperatives, while possibly giving the modern crafts a semblance of recognition. Though well-documented and researched, the modern crafts continue to operate as cottage or household industries, without the prospect of attracting state assistance.

The problems encountered in the process of transforming Nigerian handicrafts into cooperatives is best illustrated from a case study of the Awka (now termed Amawbia-Awka) Cooperative Carvers Industry Limited which is just one of the many such handicraft societies in the area.

III

THE AMAWBIA-AWKA COOPERATIVE CARVER'S INDUSTRY LIMITED

Amawbia-Awka is a town 40 kilometres on the Onitsha-Enugu Trunk A road. It has a historical tradition of wood-carving, in which a small but influential number (about one percent) of the population, is involved in the trade as a main occupation. Over the decades they have acquired competence and mastery of the art of carving, and their products are well-known and sought after in Nigeria and beyond.

The earliest attempt at cooperative organization of the craft was made by a colonial District Officer, Mr. P. V. Mayne, who in 1939 organized the woodcarvers cooperative society. It was registered in 1946 and the union was located in a house along Onitsha-Enugu road. The Chief of Awka donated the land on which the industry was sited, though the society pays an annual kola rent of ₦4.00 on the piece of land.

23. Callaway, A., *Crafts and Industries*. Lagos. (mimeo). Paper presented at the First International Manpower Conference, March 1964. p. 14.

24. Federal Office of Statistics. *Productive Activities of House-holds*. (mimeo). Lagos. 1966 p. 4.

Objectives of Society

The Amawbia Awka Cooperative Society had the following objectives:

- (a) To organize collective production of members' articles.
- (b) To help carvers find markets for their products.
- (c) To provide employment for members.
- (d) To maintain and preserve the culture of the people.

The society as at May 1974 had 30 member shareholders, 29 of whom were actively engaged in the workshop production. New members were admitted after careful screening and interview, to prevent the infiltration of bad characters into the rather closely-guarded secrets of the carving and carpentry trade. New members, on admission, were subjected to a rigorous training in the society's patterns and work designs.

Another category of membership is the associate grade, made up of interested craftsmen, who do not participate in collective production but bring their own finished articles for collective marketing. The associate membership is open to all carvers in Awka division. Job orders may be forwarded to the associate members through the cooperative society. The advantage of associateship is the freedom to engage in other duties not connected with carving.

Management of Society

The management committee, made up of the president, secretary, treasurer and seven other members, is entrusted by the society's bye-laws with the following responsibilities:

- (a) Consideration of all loan applications to the society and recommendation for approval to the general body.
- (b) Representation on behalf of the society on all public relations.
- (c) Enforcement of the bye-laws of the society.
- (d) Keeping a proper account of the affairs of the society, the record of its assets and liabilities.
- (e) General supervision of the society's projects.
- (f) Execution of the decisions taken by the general body.

Unlike many honorary officers, the secretary originally earned a fixed salary. This was designed to make him efficient and regular in his services. In the place of fixed pay, he now receives commissions on sales of products, which vary with the quantity of items marketed. The only permanent employee of the society is the clerk, who acts as salesman, receptionist and book-keeper.

The cooperative society has an Advisory Committee of eight persons, made up of four representatives of government Ministries of Trade and Industry, the Divisional Administration, Agriculture and Information; the remaining four coming from the society. This body is elected annually, and its deliberations are subject to the sanction of the general house.

Organisation and Production Processes

With the exception of the secretary, all the shareholders are engaged in the carving and carpentry business. The main production processes include carving, carpentry and cabinet work. The carving is made either on planks, or on logs of wood, depending on the commodity being fashioned out. Intricate designs are first pencil-marked on the wood and the impression is etched on it. Patterns are common, traditional forms as dictated by the producers, although in some cases customers can suggest their preferences.

Symbolically, the patterns reflect the natural local background — leaves, trees, bark features of trees, animals and birds. It is significant to mention, that most of the designs are specific, namely, that the design can only be made on certain products, and these have an effect on the price charged.

Wood, the major raw material, is graded, and specific grades are used for specific jobs. Walnut, cedar, mahogany, iroko and ebony are the commonest types of wood used by carvers and carpenters. Purchases are receipted on the basis of fixed prices, and where not possible, valued at the ruling market price. All sales are made at the workshop. This was intended to obviate transport costs for producers. In the same way, no advertising costs are incurred as the society carries out no advertising campaign, relying on the quality and popularity of its products and the system of producing on order.

There is also a system of agency, by which certain itinerant businessmen purchase consignments from the society's workshop and retail at their own prices. But there is an understanding that such agents do not sell the products at exorbitant prices, as such an action might injure the business reputation of the cooperative society.

Three main factors influence the prices of the articles sold - the size of the product; the intricacy of the carving; and the labour input. A 'Chi' stool (a wooden stool depicting the main god), for example, of the size 17" x 7" x 16", and taking eight days to complete is sold at ₦16.80 kobo. To calculate the productive wage deduct the cost of wood (₦4.00), depreciation value (24k), cost of other accessories (50k) and a margin of 20 percent for the society (₦3.36). In the given case, it will then be ₦16.80 minus ₦8.10 or ₦8.70. Calculated on the basis of the eight days spent on the job, the producer receives approximately ₦1.09 kobo per day.

This sum may appear too small as remuneration for each worker, but it should be mentioned that the level of producer wage is also affected by the working capacity of the cooperator. Also the rate of depreciation for the craft's equipment fluctuates every financial year. If the industry's tools are used, the percentage tool depreciation goes to the industry. If on the other hand, a member uses his own tools, the value for tool depreciation goes to him. This applies also to the raw materials. Thus, if a member supplies the raw materials, and uses his own tools, then he takes three-quarters of the sales and gives over one-quarter to the society. Cooperators, therefore, who supply raw materials, use their own tools and work at a faster and more

efficient rate earn larger incomes. They also earn an additional income arising from the shared profits of the cumulative sales of cooperative products.

In addition to the above finances, the cooperative society raises share capital of ₦20.00 per member, although no member is allowed to buy more than one-fifth of total shares. The society was able, through share capital to raise ₦808.42k as at February 28, 1973. Another sources of revenue is thrift savings. At the monthly meetings of the society, each member pays the sum of 50 kobo. From the savings, members are entitled to borrow up to twenty times their contributions at a time.

As an indication of the financial position of industry, the following calculation was made as at March 20, 1973.

Table 2
FINANCIAL POSITION, MARCH 20, 1973

No.	Current Assets	₦ K	No.	Current Liabilities	₦ K
1.	Raw Materials	621.02	1.	Sundry creditors	6.30
2.	Consignment	89.15	2.	Rent	16.00
3.	Cash in hand	122.52	3.	Order Advances	104.00
4.	Stock of finished goods	686.98	4.	Special savings	224.00
	Total	1510.67		Net worth	675.30
					835.37
	Total	₦1510.67			₦1510.67

The above table shows a net worth for the industry of ₦835.37, which is profit or savings after sundry expenses have been met.

The business activities of the society between 1972 and 1973 indicate a rather fluctuating performance, which poses a problem for the future.

Financial Year	Turn over	Increase
1962/63	₦4,971.00	—
1963/64	7,882.00	₦2,911.00
1964/65	9,336.00	1,454.00
1965/66	13,224.00	3,888.00
1970/71 (four months)	568.00	—
1971/72	4,377.00	3,809.00
1972/73	4,785.00	408.00

Source: East Central State Cooperative Newsletter Vol. 1 No. 5. March 1973, p. 11.

According to a Ministry report, the industry at the outbreak of the civil war was worth ₦40,000 in cash and kind. The effect of the civil war was to reduce all this. As B. O. Achu said:

It (civil war) drank the cup and all. The buildings which exhibited beautifully carved pillars; the machines which had been introduced to improve on the carpentry work; the specially designed wood drying shed; and above all, the sweat and hopes of many years - all tumbled and shattered under the weight of devastating warfare." 25

As a mark of its faith in the industry, the East Central State Government made it a grant of ₦1,000. In addition, the Cooperative Division of the Ministry supplies its staff for the reactivation and rehabilitation of the cooperative industry.

By way of summary, the following achievement have been attributed to the Amawbia-Awka Cooperative Society:

- (i) The Establishment of the cooperative has provided an economic enterprise, offering employment to craftsmen and enabling them to earn a living thereby;
- (ii) By means of the cooperative, individual craftsmen have the opportunity of collective and ready use of equipment and tools;
- (iii) The inclusion of loan and thrift sections has enabled the society to meet the credit needs of members;
- (iv) The industry has provided a permanent and concentrated pattern of work for the craftsmen, and minimised delay in the performance of the art, which occurs when handled individually in people's homes;
- (v) The industry strives to preserve the culture of the people, thus extending the historical Nok culture, which ranks second only to Benin and Ife accomplishments.
- (vi) Today, the Amawbia-Awka Cooperative Society has become a tourist attraction, drawing visitors and customers from in and outside Nigeria. As Achu aptly put it:

Demand for its products came from distant Europe (before the civil war); it thundered and reverberated in all Cooperative and business circles throughout Africa and Western Europe. At a trade fair in New York in 1965 a carved table from the industry was sold at ₦900." 26

On the other hand the society is in perennial financial stridency to meet its many commitments. For reasons of poor marketing and pricing policy, it does not bring in enough revenue. Related to this is its dependence on the government rather than on members. This is no doubt an inheritance from the past, in which the organisers, instead of insisting on viability and economic independence gave the cooperators the assurance of government assistance at all times. The fact that the cooperative has no competitors is another contributory factor to its stagnation or lack of dynamism. Had there been similar associations, the Amawbia-Awka carvers society would have no alternative than to straighten up for a war of survival.

25. Achu, B. O., "Amawbia-Awka Carver's Cooperative Industry Ltd. A Monumental Symbol of Courage and Perseverance", Cooperative Newsletter, p.cit., op. 11.

26. Achu, B. O., op. cit. p. 12.

IV

LESSONS OF HANDICRAFTS PROMOTION THROUGH COOPERATIVES

The promotion of cooperatives in Nigeria has been seen as an integral part of government efforts to raise the living standards of the people. Owing to their assumed superior advantages over other economic organisations, one finds that Nigerian handicrafts have also been brought into the cooperative form of association.

What lessons and guidelines for the future growth and development of these handicrafts can we gather from our discussions so far? Policy-implications from our analysis so far, can be discussed under a few criteria: namely, coverage, markets, viability and government patronage.

A Cooperative for handicrafts should satisfy the criterion of coverage, that is, it should embrace as many of the population interested in the particular trade as possible. The Amawbia-Awka Industrial Cooperative is limited to 30 members, which constitutes an insignificant part of the total wood-carvers in the town. In another way there are no corresponding associations of guilds of craftsmen equally supported by the state as the above. The impact of the cooperative is therefore limited.

There also is no evidence that the advice of Strickland for an industrial school in the neighbourhood to draw on was implemented. Perhaps, this is not a necessary condition in a community where there is always an available labour pool. Again, as long as the Cooperative Society is limited in its scope of activity and lacking in funds, the question of setting up an industrial school can be ruled out. The next alternative is the local or central government. Within the period under study, the trend in the country has been for literary education. Commercial or technical education was regarded with contempt, if not neglected. With the Wood-carvers Cooperative remaining a private concern of a few artisans, there was no likelihood of attaching such an institute. Even if that were possible, there was the problem that the trainees might not likely embrace wood-carving, since, according to the societal value systems, few if any parents would encourage their children to embrace the trade.

It is doubtful therefore that handicraft cooperative is the only answer to the acquisition of skill, and generation of employment of local promise. An alternative would lie in the support of craft guilds and individuals as well carrying on similar activities.

The above consideration leads to the question of the status of non-Cooperative societies. As we have seen, although there was a continuous survey and documentation of Nigerian arts and crafts, there was no equal enthusiasm displayed in supporting them. Rather a sharp line of distinction was drawn between the truly traditional handicrafts and others. The result is that a large number of small-scale industries of a modern type does not receive government patronage.

The experience in advanced countries where cooperatives sprang from and developed does not support this policy. As Koll has observed, "it was not coopera-

tives that made industrial countries what they are, but small enterprise and large companies. This is not to say" he continued" that Cooperatives should not be promoted".²⁷

To achieve flexibility in the society it is suggested that the economy should offer a wide range of models for business organisations rather than be limited to one or two types.

2. One of the handicaps of cooperative producers is lack of market outlets. Cooperative pioneers were quite aware of this danger, and as a result built into the framework a system of product display, agency and pricing.

Using the Amawbia-Awka co-operative society as an example, we would be interested in knowing to what extent the marketing arrangements affect the level of turnover of the society.

If the industry does not undertake outside sales of its products, and all sales are made within its premises, the reasonable conclusion is that its market is definitely limited. It might be countered that job orders are high due to the fact that the society enjoys historical fame and good physical location. There is no gain saying the fact, however, that the volume of sales will mount if the market is extended by advertisement. In another way, if the cooperative could produce en masse, rather than on orders as is now the case, it could cater for a wider market. The tendency to limit production to job orders or sales in the workshop appears short-sighted.

As to profits, it was noted that the prices of the products are generally low compared to the labour input and the prices of similar products elsewhere. In the cost structure of the large 'chi' stool sold at N16.80, the daily wage of the producer was calculated to be N1.00. If this is compared with what an average labourer receives, who earns between 50k and N1.00 per day, the cooperator is not worse off. But compared to another artisan, the N1.00 would be regarded a low wage. For example, a private carver could sell a similar product for N22.00 or more. It follows that the wage remuneration of cooperator-worker would be more, the higher the price. A cooperator, no doubt, enjoys other benefits from his cooperative than the sale and revenue of his product. This aspect is important. Yet, an increase in the price level to correspond with prevailing market rates appears to be in the interest of the society and its workers.

For such an industry to succeed, therefore, it needs an extension of market in and beyond its location, and a price structure in line with the prevailing market rate. Neglect of these practical measures will make the cooperative perpetually dependent on the state for grants and loans.

27. Koll, M., p. 94.

3. The viability of cooperatives is advocated in order to make them as self-reliant as possible, and to be able to forge ahead and meet their commitments. Cooperatives which evince no tendency to viability end up becoming appendages of government action programmes only to crash when the prop is removed.

Our survey exemplifies the fact that many, if not all handicraft cooperatives could not have survived today but for the sustenance of the state. The Awka Cooperative Society was reported to be in this plight in 1951, and its situation has not changed since then. The same applies to the Ikot-Ekpene Raffia Cooperative Society and other societies producing for local and external markets.

If, despite the apparent good organisation of the handicraft cooperatives under government support, they still suffer from limited finances and volume of business, one wonders what their fate will be when they have to stand on their own feet. In sum, as long as handicraft cooperatives are part of the free market mechanism, they cannot but compete with other organisations, and as a result must endeavour to be as economically viable as possible.

PRINCIPALS' ASSESSMENT OF THE COMPETENCE OF QUALIFIED HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS IN THE EAST CENTRAL STATE OF NIGERIA

PROFESSOR O. C. NWANA

*Dean, Faculty of Education,
Director Curriculum-Development Centre
University of Nigeria,
Nsukka.*

THE effectiveness of qualified teachers is often taken for granted. This is particularly so several years after certification when it is normally assumed, without varification that period of teaching experience is directly proportional to teacher effectiveness. In developing countries like Nigeria, where effectiveness is generally equated with possession of a required certificate, the problem is immense. Secondary school teachers generally undergo no further training after their certification until they retire. It cannot be over-emphasised that continuous evaluation of the educational system (and this includes the effectiveness of its teachers) is necessary for the improvement of the system. Yet a systematised evaluation of teaching effectiveness has never been undertaken at the secondary school level. Some state schools systems have thought of the idea, but have been too scared to undertake it especially through the use of external examinations. One purpose of this study is to evaluate the effectiveness of qualified high school teachers in the East Central State of Nigeria. By qualified teachers is meant any academic or professional certificate holders that have been approved by the Ministry of Education as appropriate. At present in Nigeria, this term refers to:-

- (a) University graduates
- (b) Holders of the Nigeria Certificate in Education i.e. N.C.E.
- (c) Holders of the Grade One Teachers Certificate or such recognised equivalents as the Senior Teachers Certificate.

The later two classes, (b) and (c) are collectively referred to as "Well-Qualified Non-Graduate Teachers". Within the graduate group, four sub-groups can be isolated namely:- (a) Masters (b) Bachelors Degree in one or two subjects (c) Bachelors Degree and a Diploma/Certificate in Education (d) Combined Bachelors Degree in Education and a school subject(s). Another purpose of the study is to compare the effectiveness of these various types of qualified teachers in the high school.

Instrumentation and Design

A questionnaire consisting of twelve questions, each with structured alternative answers, was developed (see Appendix) to be responded to by headmasters/headmistresses of secondary schools in respect of the qualified teachers teaching in

their schools. Question One enquired about the educational qualifications of the teachers. Six groups of teachers were isolated for purposes of this study as follows:-

- (a) Masters Degree
- (b) Bachelors Degree and a Diploma/Certificate in Education (e.g. Dip. Ed. and Grade II).
- (c) Bachelors Degree
- (d) Bachelors Degree in Education i.e. Education taken with one or two teaching subjects concurrently.
- (e) Nigeria Certificate in Education
- (f) Teachers Grade I Certificate or its equivalents. This includes holders of the U.K. Ministry of Education Certificate, the Associate Diploma in Education, the Senior Teachers Certificate.

Question Two enquired on a five-point scale the extent to which the teacher had a command of his major teaching subject. The responses provided ranged from having 'Full Command' of the subject through 'Knowing just enough to teach' to having 'No Command' whatsoever of the subject. Question Three enquired about the teacher's personal relationship with the pupils. The responses ranged from being 'Very friendly and helpful' through being 'Indifferent and unpredictable' to being 'Hostile and of no help' to the pupils with their problems. Question Four enquired about the teacher's personal relationship with the staff. The responses ranged from being 'Very Friendly and cooperative' through being 'Indifferent and unpredictable' to being 'Hostile and un-cooperative' with staff in work and play. Question Five enquired what teaching style is predominantly adopted by the teacher. Five broad styles were isolated namely:-

- (a) Activity Method — Class work on their own projects themselves
- (b) General Class Discussions — dialogue
- (c) Lecture Method
- (d) Demonstrations — teacher carries out projects for the pupils.
- (e) Dictation of Notes.

Styles (a) and (b) are broadly Pupil-Centred and so innovative and modern, while styles (c), (d), and (e) are Teacher-Centred and so traditional and by and large out moded. Question Six enquired to what extent the teacher makes use of audio-visual aids. The responses ranged from 'Frequent use' Through 'Occassional use' to 'No use' of A/V aids for teaching. Question Seven enquired whether or not the headmaster would let the teacher teach his major teaching subject in the upper Forms of the school (i.e. Forms 4 and 5). For those teachers who would not be allowed to teach in the Upper Forms of the school, Question Eight enquired the reason for such an opinion.

Question nine enquired whether or not the headmaster would let the teacher teach his major teaching subject in the Sixth-Form. For those teachers who would not be allowed to teach in the Sixth-Forms of the school, Question Ten enquired the reason for such an opinion. Question Eleven enquired whether or not more training was recommended for the teacher. For those teachers who would be recommended to undergo more training. Question Twelve enquired the nature of the training recommended.

The complete questionnaires were returned to the secretary of the State School Board under confidential cover.

Results and Analysis

The response to the questionnaire was not good enough namely:- 41 out of 202 schools (i.e. 20.3%) responded to the study. But this low figure is typical of questionnaire returns from Nigerian schools. The supervision of the May/June school certificate examination must have contributed immensely to the low percentage returns of the questionnaires. Another contributor to low returns is the nature of the assignment. As far as is known, headmasters in the state had never before been required to assess the effectiveness of their teachers especially to the depth of details covered. The novelty and magnitude of the task may have scared many headmasters from undertaking the assignment.

Table 1 presents the distribution of teachers of the six groups studied as well as their percentages.

Table 1.
Distribution of Types of Qualified High School Teachers in the East Central State.

	<i>Qualifications</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>%</i>
a.	Masters Degree	2	0.77
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	13	5.00
c.	Bachelors Degree	78	30.00
d.	Bachelor of Education	37	14.23
e.	N.C.E.	102	39.23
f.	Teachers Grade One	28	10.77
	Total	260	

The table was derived from data from 41 schools. The headmasters/headmistresses of these schools did not assess themselves. If these headmasters/headmistresses are added to their teachers the total number of qualified staff will become 301. The frequencies of the six types of qualifications now become 3, 19, 122, 37, 102 and 28 for groups (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f) respectively. The equivalent percentages will now become 1.0, 6.3, 37.2, 12.3, 33.9 and 9.3 for groups (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f) respectively. The table shows that the group with the largest number of members is the N.C.E. while that with the lowest number is the masters Degree. Teachers with university degrees constitute 50% of the entire qualified staff strength evaluated. Within the non-graduate group, holders of the N.C.E. constitute the majority.

Table 2 shows the distribution of command of subject-matter shown by teachers within the six broad groups of qualifications.

The table shows that generally the level of command of subject matter shown by the six groups was high.

Table 2.
Distribution of Command of Subject-Matter

	Qualifications	Command of Subject					Total
		V.Good	Good	Average	Poor	V. Poor	
a.	Masters Degree	2	0	0	0	0	2
b.	Bachelor & Professional E. Cert.	7	6	0	0	0	13
c.	Bachelors Degree	29	40	8	1	0	78
d.	Bachelor of Educ.	14	18	5	0	0	37
e.	N.C.E.	37	44	17	3	1	102
f.	Teachers Grade I.	8	116	4	0	0	28
Total		97	124	34	4	1	260

For purposes of determining whether or not the six categories of staff isolated were similar in the features investigated by the study, the Chi-Squared test of significance was used. To avoid or reduce the use of correction formulae where expected frequencies are low in magnitude, frequencies were appropriately combined in all the Chi-Squared analyses of data. For example, the categories (a) Masters (b) Bachelors & Professional Certificate and (c) Bachelors were combined into a Traditional Degree group with 93 members while the other three groups remained as they were.

A Chi Squared test investigating the hypothesis that there was no relationship between educational qualification and command of subject was accepted (Chi-Squared = 5.62 with 6 degrees of freedom) at both the 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance. In other words, teachers with varied educational qualifications had the same level of command of the subject matter they teach at the secondary school level.

Table 3 presents the distribution of the levels of teacher/pupil relationship for the six groups of teachers.

Table 3.
Distribution of Teacher/Pupil Relationship

	Qualifications	Teacher/Pupil Relationship					Total
		V.Good	Good	Average	Poor	V.Poor	
a.	Masters Degree	1	1	0	0	0	2
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	9	4	0	0	0	13
c.	Bachelors Degree	38	35	5	0	0	78
d.	Bachelor of Educ.	19	15	2	1	0	37
e.	N.C.E.	54	39	7	2	0	102
f.	Teachers Grade One	20	7	1	0	0	28
Total		141	101	15	3	0	260

The table shows that the level of teacher/pupil relationship is highly optimal. A Chi-Squared test investigating the hypothesis that there is no relationship between educational qualification and level of teacher/pupil relationship was accepted (Chi-Squared = 3.78 with 3 degrees of freedom) at both the 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance. In other words, both highly qualified teachers and not so highly qualified teachers were equally well disposed towards the pupils.

Table 4 presents the distribution of the levels of teacher/staff relationship for the six groups of teachers.

Table 4.
Distribution of Teacher/Staff Relationship

	Qualifications	Teacher/Staff Relationship					Total
		V. Good	Good	Average	Poor	V. Poor	
a.	Masters Degree	1	0	1	0	0	2
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	10	3	0	0	0	13
c.	Bachelors Degree	43	26	8	1	0	78
d.	Bachelor of Educ.	19	11	7	0	0	37
e.	N.C.E.	58	30	13	1	0	102
f.	Teachers Grade One	23	5	0	0	0	28
Total		154	75	29	2	0	260

The table shows that the level of teacher/staff relationship is highly optimal. A Chi-Squared test investigating the hypothesis that there is no relationship between educational qualification and level of teacher/staff relationship was accepted (Chi-Squared = 9.60 with 6 degrees of freedom). In other words, both highly qualified teachers and not so highly qualified teachers were equally well disposed towards their fellow staff.

Table 5 presents the distribution of the major styles of teaching adopted by teachers in the six groups.

Table 5.
Distribution of Major Teaching Styles

	Qualifications	Major Teaching Styles					Total
		Active	Discuss	Lecture	Demon	Dictate	
a.	Masters Degree	0	2	0	0	0	2
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	5	5	3	0	0	13
c.	Bachelors Degree	12	23	36	6	1	78
d.	Bachelors of Education	8	12	11	4	2	37
e.	N.C.E.	29	22	36	13	2	102
f.	Teachers Grade One	6	16	3	2	1	28
Total		60	80	89	25	6	260

The table shows that whereas activity, discussion, and lecture methods of teaching are frequently used, the demonstration and dictation methods are not commonly used. A Chi-Squared test was carried out to investigate the hypothesis that there was no relationship between educational qualification and teaching style. For the purpose of this analysis the activity and discussion methods were grouped together as 'innovative' while the lecture, demonstration, and dictation methods were grouped together as 'traditional'. The hypothesis was accepted (Chi-Squared = 7.15 with 3 degrees of freedom) at both the 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance. In other words teachers with high as well as teachers with lower qualifications patronised equally the innovative and the traditional teaching styles.

Table 6 presents the distribution of the extent of use of Audio-Visual Aids in teaching by teachers in the six groups. The column labelled 'Omit' refers to the number of teachers for which no entries were made under this variable.

Table 6.

Use of Audio-Visual Aids:

	Qualifications	Use of A/V Aids					Omit.	Total
		V.Freq	Freq	Occes	Rare.	Never		
a.	Masters Degree	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	2	1	4	0	2	4	13
c.	Bachelors Degree	3	8	25	18	4	20	78
d.	Bachelor of Educ.	1	11	9	3	4	9	37
e.	N.C.E.	11	21	23	16	7	24	102
f.	Teachers Grade 1.	3	4	5	3	3	10	28
Total		20	45	67	41	20	67	260

The 69 omissions constituted 25.8% of the group. Comments by the headmasters/headmistresses show that A/V aids were not available in their schools and so they were unable to assess their staff on that dimension of teaching effectiveness. The table shows that generally, the teachers made occasional use of A/V aids in their teaching. A Chi-Squared test investigating the hypothesis that there was no relationship between educational qualification and the use of A/V aids was accepted (Chi-Squared = 5.78 with 4 degrees of freedom) at both the 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance. In other words highly qualified and not so highly qualified teachers made equally occasional use of A/V aids in their teaching.

Table 7 presents the distribution of teachers who are fit to teach in the upper forms of the school (i.e. Form 4 and Form 5) in the six groups and those who are not fit to teach in the upper forms of the school.

Table 7.
Fitness for Upper-Forms Teaching

	Qualification	Fit for Upper Forms		
		Yes	No	
a.	Masters Degree	2	0	2
b.	Bachelors & Professional Certs.	13	0	13
c.	Bachelors Degree	70	8	78
d.	Bachelor of Educ.	34	3	37
e.	N.C.E.	82	20	102
f.	Teachers Grade One	22	6	28
Total		223	37	260

The table shows that the vast majority of the teachers are fit to teach at the upper forms of the secondary school. A Chi-Squared test investigating the hypothesis that there is no relationship between educational qualification and fitness to teach at the upper forms was accepted (Chi-Squared = 7.15 with 3 degrees of freedom) at the 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance. This means that the highly qualified and the not so highly qualified teachers do not differ from each other in their fitness to teach their subjects up to the school certificate level.

Table 8 presents the distribution of reasons (Deficiencies) why the 37 who are considered not fit to teach at the upper forms of the school are so.

Table 8.
Distribution of Deficiencies for Upper Forms Teaching

		DEFICIENCIES				Total
		Knowledge	Method	Knowledge & Method	Other	
a.	Masters Degree	0	0	0	0	0
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	0	0	0	0	0
c.	Bachelors Degree	2	1	1	4	8
d.	Bachelor of Education	1	0	1	1	3
e.	N.C.E.	8	3	7	2	20
f.	Teachers Grade One	3	2	1	0	6
Total		14	6	10	7	37

The table shows that there is much more deficiency in knowledge and skills than in methodology. The category 'Other' includes reasons other than academic or professional. Having tested and accepted under Table 7 the hypothesis that the six groups were the same in their fitness to teach at the upper forms, and also due to the fact that the total number of deficient teachers is small, it was considered not profitable to test the hypothesis that the six groups were similar in their deficiencies.

Table 9 presents the distribution of teachers who are considered fit to teach in the Sixth Form and those who are not considered fit to teach in the Sixth Form.

Table 9.
Fitness for Sixth Form Teaching:

		Fit for 6th Form		Total
		Yes	No	
a.	Masters Degree	2	0	2
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	10	3	13
c.	Bachelors Degree	50	28	78
d.	Bachelor of Education	29	8	37
e.	N.C.E.	24	78	102
f.	Teachers Grade One	10	18	28
Total		125	135	260

The table shows that generally about the same proportion (48.1%) are considered fit to teach in the sixth-form as are considered not fit (51.9%) to do so. A Chi-Squared test investigating the hypothesis that there is no relationship between educational qualification and fitness to teach in the sixth-form was rejected (Chi-Squared = 52.82 with 3 degrees of freedom) at both the 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance. In other words teachers with higher qualifications (graduates) are more fitted to sixth-form teaching than those with lower qualifications (non-graduates). A Coefficient of contingency was determined and gave 0.41 for the relationship between educational qualification and fitness to teach at the sixth-form. This correlation Coefficient is high when compared with the maximum value of 0.58 obtainable for a 4 x 2 contingency table.

Table 10 presents the distribution of reasons (Deficiencies) why the 135 who are considered not fit to teach in the sixth form of the school are so.

Table 10.
Distribution of Deficiencies for Sixth-Form Teaching

		Deficiencies				Total
		Knowledge	Method	Knowledge & Method	Other	
a.	Masters Degree	0	0	0	0	0
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	2	1	0	0	3
c.	Bachelors Degree	14	3	6	5	28
d.	Bachelor of Education	6	0	1	1	8
e.	N.C.E.	62	6	9	1	78
f.	Teachers Grade One	14	0	4	0	18
Total		98	10	20	6	135

The table shows that there is much more deficiency in knowledge and skills than in methodology. The category 'Other' includes reasons other than academic or professional as for example "he is not interested in teaching and is simply a bird of passage."

Having tested and rejected under Table 9 the hypothesis that the six groups were the same in their fitness to teach in the sixth-form, and also due to the fact that the total number of deficient teachers is small, it was considered not profitable to test the hypothesis that the six groups were similar in their deficiencies.

Table 11 presents the distribution of teachers who are considered to need more training and those who are not in the six groups.

Table 11.
Need for More Training:

	Qualification	More Training:		Total
		Yes	No	
a.	Masters Degree	1	1	2
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	10	3	13
c.	Bachelors Degree	44	34	78
d.	Bachelor of Education	17	20	37
e.	N.C.E.	84	18	102
f.	Teachers Grade One	21	7	28
Total		177	83	260

The table shows that the majority of the teachers (68.1%) are considered to need more training. A Chi-Squared test investigating the hypothesis that there is no relationship between educational qualification and need for more training was rejected (Chi-Squared = 21.94 with 3 degrees of freedom) at both the 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance. In other words, teachers with higher qualifications (graduates) need less training than those with lower qualifications (non-graduates). A Coefficient of contingency was determined and gave - 0.28 for the relationship between educational qualification and need for more training. This correlation shows definite but not so high relationship when compared with the maximum value of 0.58 obtainable for a 4 x 2 contingency table.

Table 12 presents the distribution of the nature of the further training recommended for the 177 teachers who are considered to need more training.

Table 12.
Areas for More Training towards Secondary School Teaching

	Qualifications	Areas For More Training				Total
		Knowledge	Method	Knowledge & Method	Other	
a.	Masters Degree	0	1	0	0	1
b.	Bachelors & Professional Cert.	0	3	1	6	10
c.	Bachelors Degree	4	16	21	3	44
d.	Bachelor of Educ.	5	5	5	2	17
e.	N.C.E.	38	5	38	3	84
f.	Teachers Grade One	11	0	7	3	21
Total		58	30	72	17	177

The table shows that more training in knowledge and skills is recommended than training in methodology. The detailed pattern shows that while more training in methodology than knowledge and skills is recommended for graduates, more training in knowledge and skills than methodology recommended for the non-graduates. The category 'Other' includes training other than academic or professional. To enable determination of the relationship between educational qualification and nature of training required, the frequencies under the column 'Knowledge and Methodology', were equally assigned to the columns 'Knowledge' and 'Method' and added to existing frequencies in those columns.

The column 'Other' was discarded. A Chi-Squared test investigating the hypothesis that there is no relationship between educational qualification and nature of training required was rejected ($\text{Chi-Squared} = 25.71$ with 3 degrees of freedom) at both the 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance. A co-efficient of contingency was determined and gave 0.37 for the relationship between educational qualification and nature of more training required. This value is appreciable when compared with the maximum value of 0.58 obtainable for a 4×2 contingency table. In other words, teachers with higher qualifications need more training in methodology while teachers with less educational qualifications need more training in knowledge and skills.

GENERAL DISCUSSION:

Table 1 showed that about 50% of the qualified secondary school teachers are university graduates. Each school is however known to have a number of teachers defined as non-qualified. Their number varies from school to school according to need. Statistical figures from the East Central State School Board (May 1974) put this group as constituting 44.5% of the teaching strength of the schools. They include the following categories of teachers:-

- (a) Pivotal Teachers
- (b) Higher School Certificate or "A" Level Certificate holders.
- (c) Ordinary National Diploma holders.

Graduates and N.C.E. teachers constitute 30.1% and 25.4% respectively. This means that while only 30% of the teaching staff are graduates, as much as 70% of the teaching staff are non-graduates.

That command of subject matter did not relate to educational qualification seems contrary to expectations. One would have been tempted to expect that the more highly qualified the teacher is, the more command he would have of the subject matter he teaches. That this is not borne out by the results of the study may be due to the fact that the amount of subject matter and skills required at the secondary school level (school certificate) may be considerably less than those covered or guaranteed by the lowest of the groups of educational qualifications (e.g. Grade One and N.C.E.). If that can be assumed to be so, then acquiring much more knowledge and skill through either an honours degree or a masters degree will not necessarily significantly improve command of the school certificate topics. Alternatively, the subject-matter and skills acquired at the higher educational levels may be

unrelated to those at the school certificate level. This can be illustrated with History in which school certificate topics may centre around local African History while degree programmes may branch out into European, American, Asian areas as may be selected by the student. Competence in American History, it can be reasoned, will not necessarily improve the command of the graduate in teaching African History. Another example is the case of English Literature. Set-books for the school certificate course are generally fewer and different from those used for the degree examinations.

The lecture-method has continued to be the most widely used teaching style. Dictation of notes seems to have been scored much lower than is usually experienced in the schools. It is quite possible that the headmasters may have included under the lecture-method some aspects of dictation. Again the question of what constitutes activity-method may be subject to varied interpretations by headmasters. Some subject areas provide opportunities for activities - individual and group projects as in the sciences, while some subject areas provide little opportunities for activities as in Bible Knowledge and History. The responses to this variable (teaching style), is global i.e. general rather than specific to named school subjects. A more narrowly defined study can go further to determine whether or not the teaching styles of the staff assessed were affected to the differences in the subjects.

The response to the use of A/V aids is much more favourable than could actually be the case. The availability of A/V aids in the Schools is most questionable. Audio-aids (e.g. record players, tape-recorders and players, musical instruments etc.) are almost completely lacking in the schools. Perhaps not more than five schools in the state teaching French has a player or a set of pre-recorded courses. Within the visual-aids, the chalk-board has been the only constant followed by a few wall charts hung up more for cosmetic than for teaching purposes. With this background, it is a surprise to observe as much as 10.4% under 'Very Frequent Use' and 23.3% under 'Frequent Use' (if the entries under 'Omission' are excluded). The headmasters are therefore either hopeful that their teachers would use A/V aids appropriately when available, or are uncertain if not ignorant of the full connotation of the meaning A/V of aids in teaching.

That fitness to teach at the upper forms of the school is not related to education qualification is indeed noteworthy. One would have expected that the more highly qualified teachers would be much more accepted for teaching at the upper forms than the less highly qualified. One explanation of the situation has been suggested by some of the headmasters namely, that they cannot help using the N.C.E. and Grade One teachers in the upper forms because they have few graduates to teach the large and many-streamed classes of today's state schools. The Ashby Report which recommended the establishment of the N.C.E. course had recommended that holders of the certificate should teach in the primary schools and the lower forms of the secondary schools. Another explanation is that a sizable proportion of the less qualified teachers handle those subjects in which a less proportion of the more qualified teachers are involved. To give examples, many more N.C.E. and Grade One

teachers teach French, Mathematics, Home Economics, Metal work, Technical-Drawing, Woodwork, than do the graduates. This is because the Nigerian Universities either have small departments teaching these courses (e.g. Home-Economics) or do not teach them at all (e.g. Igbo). Training for these courses has been concentrated within the Advanced Teachers Colleges or through private study. The N.C.E. and Grade One teachers have come to be regarded by most headmasters as the 'sure-horses' of the schools. Studies on teacher attrition have shown that they stay longer in the profession than the graduates and non-qualified teachers. For the subjects Igbo, Short-Hand and Typing, Metal-work, Bible-Knowledge, and Physics, the greater majority of the teachers are non-qualified.

Limitations of the Study

Apart from the first question which enquired about the qualifications of the teacher (a variable that can be objectively assessed from personnel records), the other questions constitute variables in which the personal opinions of the assessors (here headmasters/headmistresses) are very much called into play. There is no doubt that prejudices and biases could have been operative in influencing their responses one way or the other. The extent to which this feature operated is unknown. It was however hoped that the anonymity of the responses, the confidential handling guaranteed by the project, and the appeal made to the headmasters on the importance of the project would have convinced them of the value of valid responses to the questions. As the letter which accompanied the questionnaire stated, the responses would not be used either for promotion or for penalty of the staff assessed. One can therefore assume that much had been done to assure a high degree of validity of responses. This feature notwithstanding, the headmasters are heads of personnel units on whose opinion regarding professional matters the Ministry of Education and the School Boards will have to rely all the time. At the time of the study (April/May/June 1974) all headmasters of boys secondary schools had had no less than thirteen years of postgraduate teaching. Some had had as many as twenty-five years. At the same time all headmistresses of the girls secondary schools had had no less than seven years of postgraduate teaching. Some had had up to sixteen years. From this analysis, it can be inferred that the headmasters and headmistresses can be said to have had enough relevant experience, within the Nigerian context, to enable them evaluate their staff. Their regular administrative role should assume a measure of supervision and inspection of instruction in the absence of state inspectors operating at the secondary level.

APPENDIX STAFF EVALUATION SHEET

Code Number or Letter of Staff.....

Teaching Subject Major Area (s).....

Tick Off or Underline whichever is appropriate.

1. *Educational Qualifications*

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (a) M.A. or M.Sc. | (e) B.A./B.Sc. (Ed) or B.Ed |
| (b) M.A./M.Sc. (ed) or M.Ed | (f) N.C.E |
| (c) B.A. or B.Sc. | (g) Other Equivalent (Name it) |
| (d) B.A./B.Sc. & Dip.Ed | |

2. *Command of the Subject-Matter*

- (a) He is very knowledgeable, that is, has command of the subject
- (b) He is quite knowledgeable in his subject
- (c) He seems to know just enough of what to teach
- (d) He is a bit deficient in his knowledge of the Subject.
- (e) He is very ignorant, that is, has no command of the subject.

3. *Personal Relationship with Pupils*

- (a) He is very friendly with the pupils and quite eager to help them with their problems.
- (b) He is just friendly with the pupils and occasionally helps them with their problems.
- (c) He is indifferent to pupils and unpredictable regarding helping them with their problems.
- (d) He is unfriendly to the pupils and is reluctant to help them with their problems.
- (e) He is very unfriendly to the pupils, that is hostile, and vehemently detests helping them with their problems.

4. *Personal Relationship with Staff*

- (a) He is very friendly with staff and quite eager to cooperate with them in work and play
- (b) He is just friendly with staff and occasionally cooperates with them in work and play
- (c) He is indifferent to staff and unpredictable regarding cooperating with them in work and play
- (d) He is unfriendly to staff and is reluctant to cooperate with them in work and play
- (e) He is very unfriendly to the staff, that is hostile, and vehemently detests cooperating with them in work and play.

5. *Teaching Style*

He teaches mainly through:-

- (a) Getting the class to work on their own projects (Activity)
- (b) General Class Discussions
- (c) Talking to or Telling the pupils (Lecture)
- (d) Carrying out projects for the pupils (Demonstration)
- (e) Dictating of Notes to the pupils.

6. *Use of Audio-Visual Aids*

- (a) He makes very frequent use of audio-visual aids for teaching.
- (b) He makes frequent use of audio-visual aids for teaching
- (c) He makes occasional use of audio-visual aids for teaching.
- (d) He rarely makes use of audio-visual aids for teaching
- (e) He never makes use of audio-visual aids for teaching

7. *Teaching in the Upper Forms*

Would you let him teach his major teaching subject in the Upper Forms of your school (i.e. Forms 4 and 5) ?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No.

8. If the answer to question No. 7 is 'No', what is your reason for saying so?

- (a) He lacks adequate knowledge and skill for that level.
- (b) He lacks adequate method of teaching
- (c) Both (a) and (b) apply
- (d) Other reason (Name it)

9. *Teaching in the Sixth Form*

Would you let him teach his major teaching subject in the Sixth Forms of your school, if any?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No.

10. If the answer to question No. 9 is 'No', what is your reason for saying so?

- (a) He lacks adequate knowledge and skill for that level.
- (b) He lacks adequate method of teaching
- (c) Both (a) and (b) apply.
- (d) Other reason (Name it)

11. *Need for More Training*

On the basis of the above, would you recommend more training for him?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No.

12. If the answer to question No 11 is 'Yes', what type of more training would you recommend for him?

- (a) In his Teaching Subject Major Area
- (b) In the methodology of teaching
- (c) In both (a) and (b)
- (d) Other training (Name it)

TOBACCO PIPES EXCAVATED AT ISOYA (IFE)

BY OMOTOSO ELUYEMI

*Institute of African Studies
University of Ife*

SMOKING pipes have become common finds on many excavation sites in West Africa. They are either foreign or locally made. Shaw first found nearly one hundred fragments of locally made clay tobacco pipes on his excavation at Dawu (Ghana) in 1942 and dated them to A.D. 1580 - 1600¹. This date had since been revised by Ozanne².

The antiquity of smoking in West Africa may present a controversial question unlike the antiquity of the introduction of smoking pipes. They are two distinct subjects. Tobacco is a New World plant which was introduced into West Africa in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. Smoking in general may be earlier. As Ozanne and others have suggested, there is a possibility that some leaves (weeds) unknown to us were smoked before the introduction of tobacco³. If this suggestion is valid there may as well be the possibility that smoking sticks or pipes were used before the 'introduction' of or knowledge of clay pipes.

Ethnographic survey shows that a few decades ago peasants in Yorubaland used a kind of bamboo stick for their rolled tobacco as pipes which they call locally *Káfó*. How old this practice is no one knows. Ethnographic survey strongly suggests that it may be possible that smoking of the leaves of other plants may antedate smoking of tobacco in Yorubaland. One of the *Oḍù* of the Yoruba Ifá Divination, called *Ọsá Méjì* says "*Ọgẹ nì ọ asá fun Ọba Igbónà*", that is "*Ọgẹ* (a woman) was grinding 'tobacco' for *Igbónà* king". (*Igbónà* is the name of a district in Yorubaland). Here, the word 'tobacco' does not neatly interpret 'asa', the Yoruba word for leaves of plants used in smoking. 'Asá' perhaps may be the name of leaves of a plant used for smoking in antiquity. In Ife, there are suggestions that certain leaves called *agemokò-gùn* and *tábà ọgbùgbù* were used for smoking before *tábà àgajì* (*Nicotiana tabacum*) was introduced⁴. Rowland Abiodun of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ife, has informed me that in the past *tábà ọgbùgbù* was said to have been used for smoking in *Ọwọ*. Archaeologically it may be impossible as at present to prove this suggestion. A great deal more of research is necessary before a distinction between

1. Shaw, T. *Excavation at Dawu*, (London, 1961) p. 85.
2. Ozanne, P. 'Excavation at Dawu: A Review in *Transaction of the Historical Society of Ghana* vol. VI (1962) p. 121.
3. Ozanne, P. 'The diffusion of smoking in West Africa' *Odu* (N.S.) No. 2 (1969) pp. 31-32. In this article Ozanne added to the debate on this subject raised earlier on by Wulsin (1931) and Lebeuf (1962).
4. Personal communications with Odewade Olaomi of Amodo Village and Chief Fasogbon of Ife.

smoking in general and the introduction of tobacco into West Africa is made. Recently, I have collected and submitted to the Department of Biological Sciences of this University, the leaves and flowers of the above mentioned plants for purposes of taxonomical analyses so as to determine the nicotine content in them.

Excavation at Isoya

In 1972, I excavated two sites at Isoyà, (7° 21' 22"N, 4° 32' 20"E), a village about 14 km. South of Ife, Nigeria (Fig. 1). The first is the site of an extinct building while the second is a low midden.

The first site was divided into three trenches A (6 x 8m), B (8 x 10m), and C (4 x 10m). Each trench was divided into units 2m. square and each unit was excavated in levels approximately 20cm. thick. A clearly defined floor extending over most of the excavated area forms a useful 'marker bed'. All features earlier than the floor are assigned to Layer 3, features contemporary with the floor to Layer 2 and features later than the floor to Layer 1 (fig. 2).

Site 2 is a midden about 37m. long and 10m. wide. Its crest rises to about 1.5m above the ground surface in the vicinity. It is elongated in a North - South direction and decreases in height from North to South. A trench, 10m long by 3m. wide, was cut through the highest part of the midden. The trench was divided into four units, A, B, C and D. Each unit was excavated in 20cm. levels. Levels were labelled 1 - 12 from the top to the bottom of the midden. From the datum point digging continued to a depth of 2.20m. (Fig. 3).

A total of 64 fragments were found, 63 of white clay tobacco pipes and 1 of ivory. 58 of them at site 1 (fig. 2) and 6 at site 2 (fig. 3). On Fig. 3 G1 - G6 show reference numbers on pl. 1 as assigned to stratigraphic levels and numbers in bracket show specimens. All that can be identified are of English manufacture dating to nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

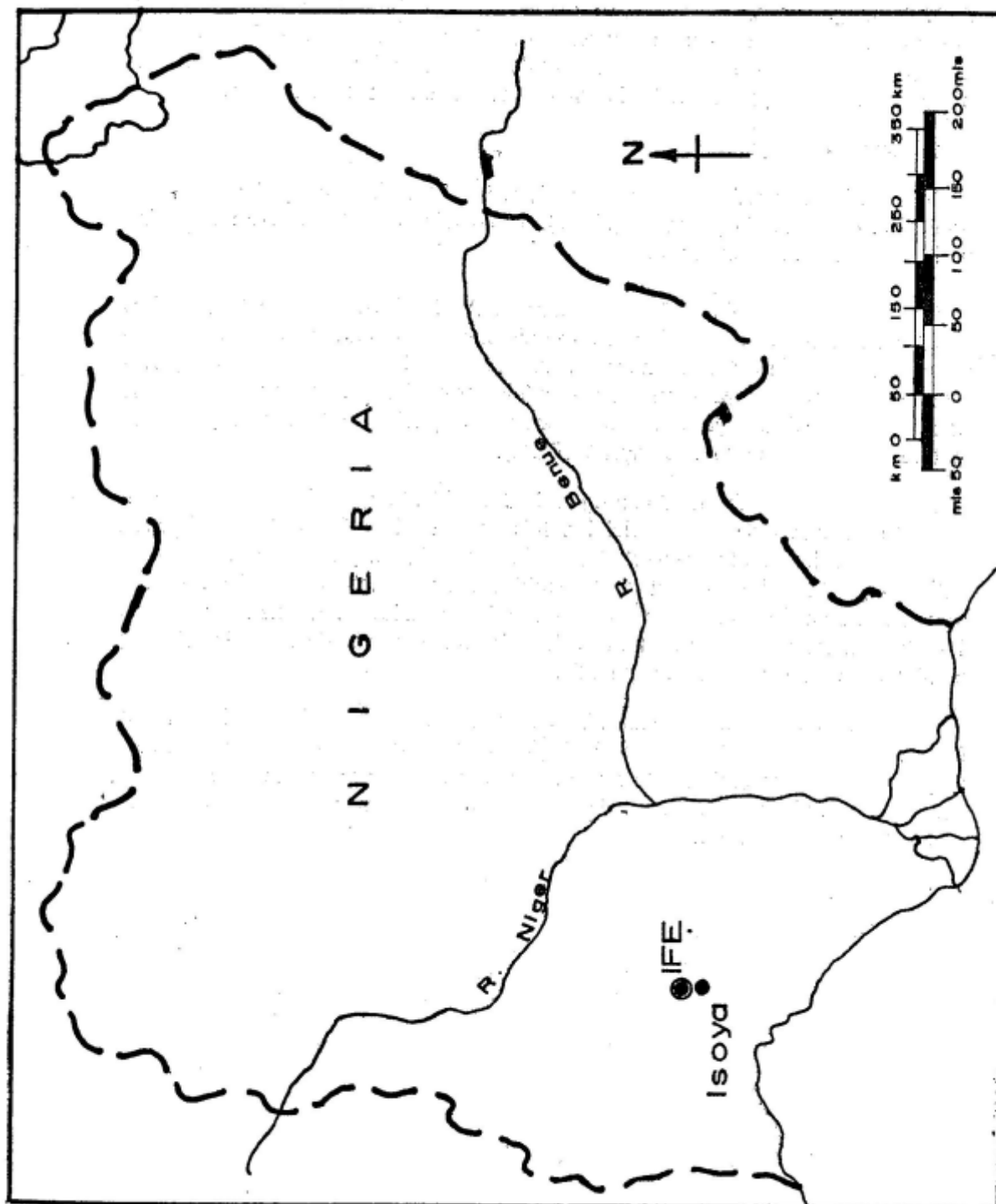
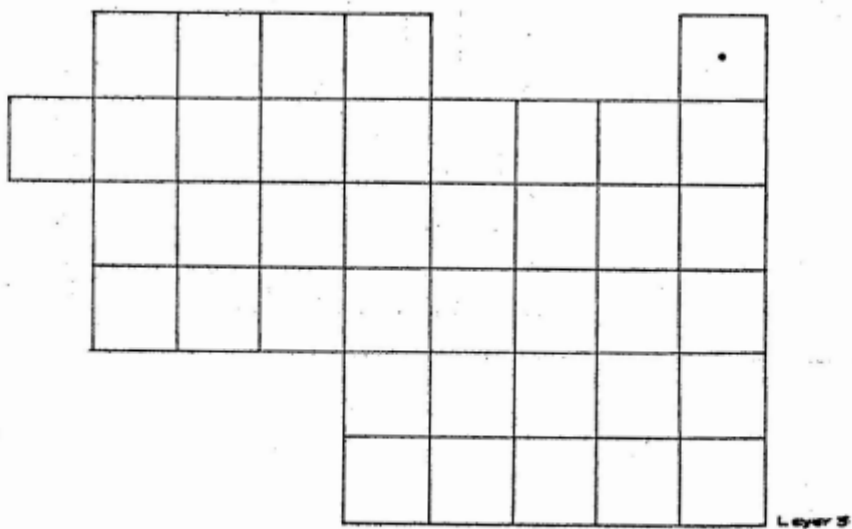
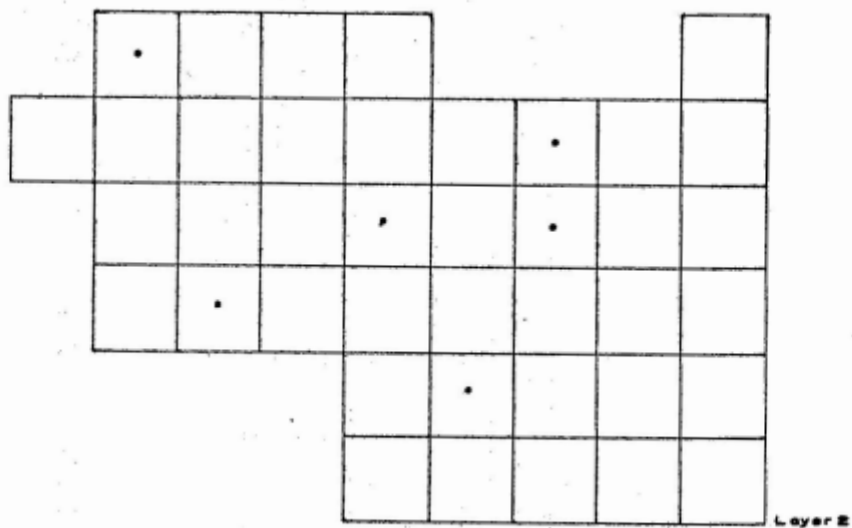
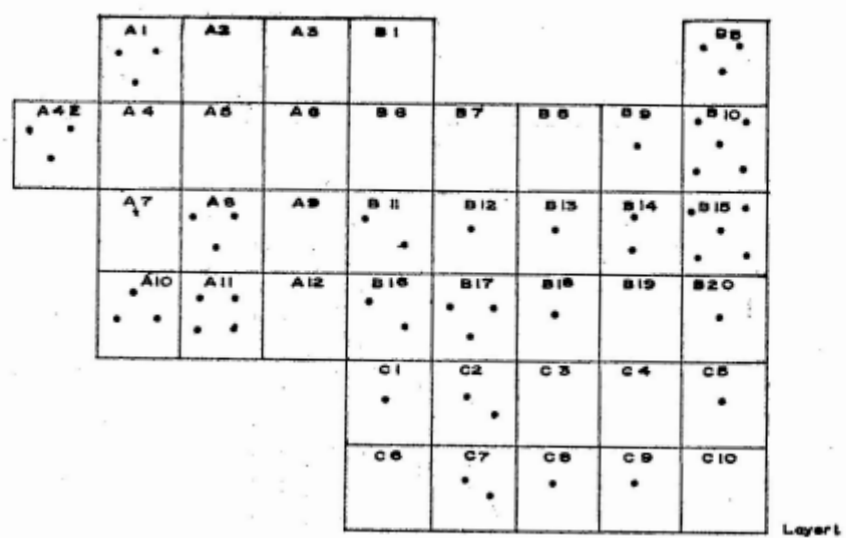


FIG. 1



0 1 2 metres

FIG. 2 DISTRIBUTION OF TOBACCO PIPES AT SITE 1

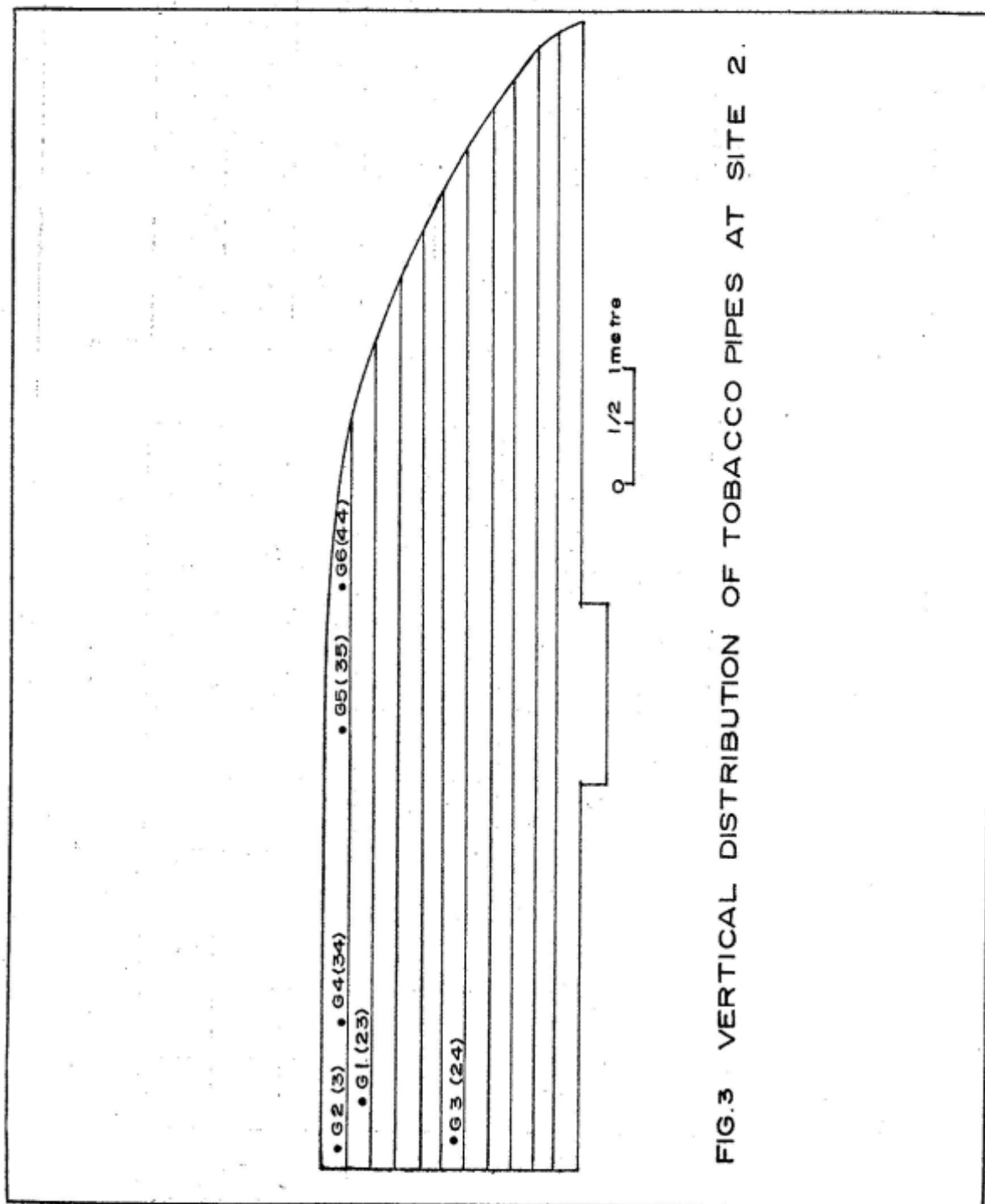
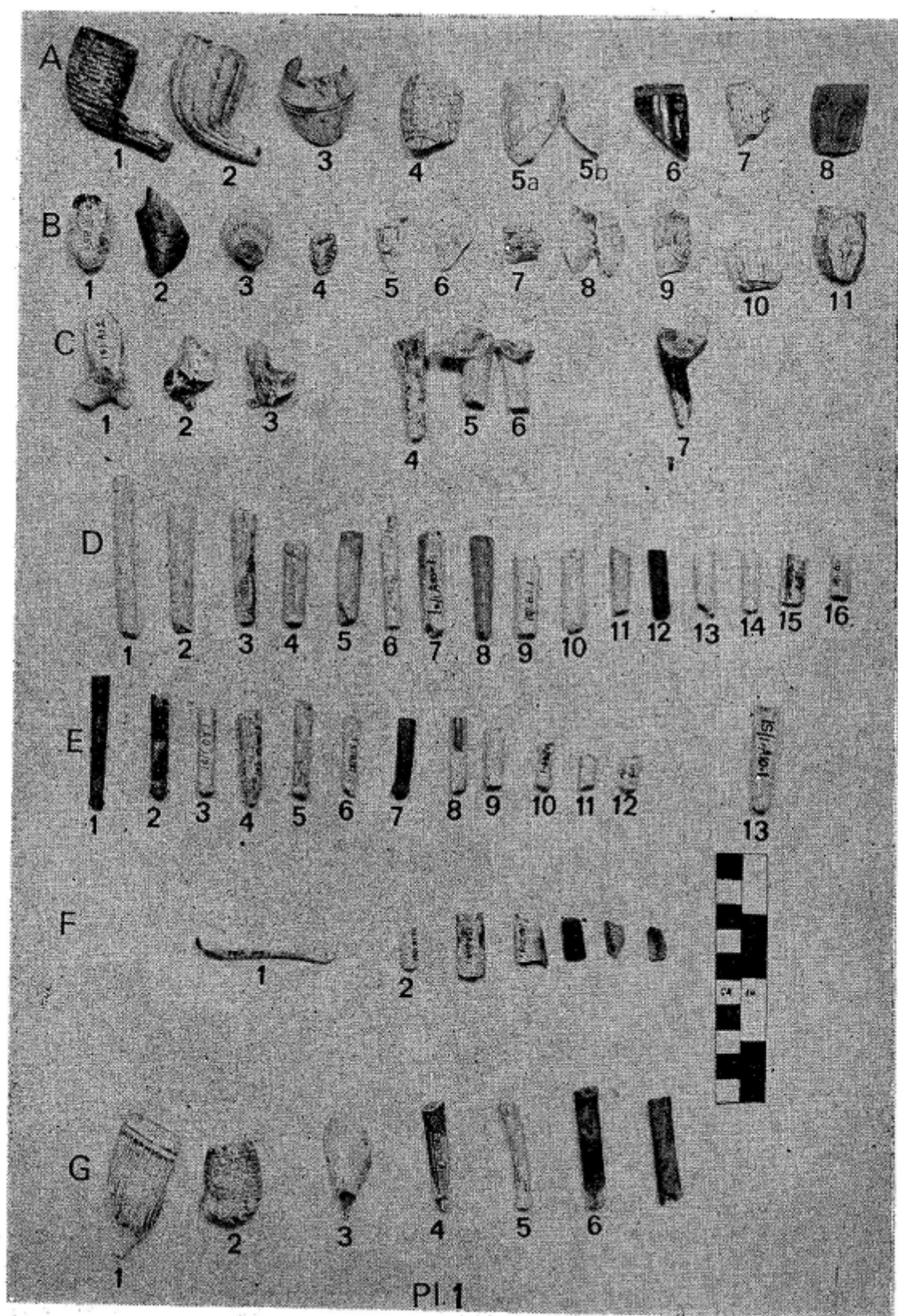


FIG.3 VERTICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TOBACCO PIPES AT SITE 2.





D4



G4



D3



Pl. 2

CATALOGUE

Description	Provenance Illustrated (Site, unit & Plate 1 layer)
Bowl Fragments (30)	
1. Complete bowl, no spur, basket pattern, varnished 20mm, diameter, 27mm. high	1/A11/1 A1
2. Complete bowl, no spur, gadroon pattern, 23mm. diameter, 27mm. high	1/B9/1 A2
3. Half a bowl, no spur basket pattern, varnished 23 x 33mm.	2/A/1 G2
4. Half a bowl, basket pattern, varnished, 30 x 21mm.	1/A10/1 A4
5. Fragment, basket pattern 16 x 7mm.	1/B11/1 B7
6. Fragment, milled rim, varnished, 30 x 23mm.	1/A1/1 A6
7. Fragment, two grooves around the bowl, 33 x 22mm.	1/B12/1 A3
8. Fragment, Plain, burnt black 25 x 18mm.	1/B10/1 B2
9. Fragment, decorated with a flag of tricolour design, 32 x 22mm.	1/B14/1 A5a
10. Fragment, flag design, varnished, 20 x 9mm.	1/B15/1 B5
11. Two fragments, four narrow ribs around the bowl, both 24mm. long	1/A4E/1 B8
12. Fragment leaf pattern (lily?) 27 x 24mm.	1/B10/1 B11
13. Fragment, pattern imitating wood, varnished 20 x 18mm.	1/B8/2 A7
14. Fragment, pattern imitating wood, varnished, 20 x 11mm.	1/A1/1 B6
15. Fragment, gadroon pattern, 26 x 33mm.	1/A8/1 A8
16. Fragment, 25 x 15mm.	1/C2/1 B9
17. Fragment, Plain, varnished, 23mm. high	1/B5/1 B1
18. Fragment, Plain, 31 x 15mm.	1/B13-14/1 A5b
19. Fragment, gadroon pattern, 25 x 23mm.	1/B16/1 B10
20. Fragment, spurred, ribbed pattern, joining fragment No. 19, 21mm. high	1/A11/1 C3
21. Fragment, spurred, ribbed pattern 27mm. high	1/A11/2 C1
22. Fragment, spurred, varnished, 20mm. high	1/B5/1 C2
23. Fragment, with spur, vertical ribs on the bowl 45 x 22mm; mark on spur; illegible	2/A/2 G1
24. Fragment, spurred, plain bowl, 22mm. high. Mark on spur: 'I', 'F'. 30mm high	2/A/6 G3

25. Fragment, ribbed pattern, 40mm. long	1/A4E/1	C4
26. Fragment, 25mm. long 1/B15/1	1/B15/1	C6
27. Fragment, 28mm. long	1/B10/1	C5
28. Fragment, basket pattern, varnished, 25mm. long	1/A11/1	C7
29. Fragment, varnished, 15 x 11mm.	1/C7/1	B4
30. Fragment, plain 18mm. high	1/B15/1	B3

Mouthpiece fragments (16)

31. Fragment, 51mm. long Inscription: 'MANCHE....' on one side, illegible on the other	1/C5/1	E1
32. Fragment, 24mm. long Inscription: 'MANC.....', '.....T & Co. Ltd.'	1/C7/1	E3
33. Fragment, 35mm. long Inscription: '.....ESTER', ALBERT HI.....'	1/C8/1	E4
34. Fragment, varnished, 44mm. long Inscription: MANCH....., S MCLAROY' (p1. 2, G4)	2/A/1	G4
35. Fragment varnished, 40mm. long	2/B/1	G5
36. Fragment, varnished, 35mm. long	1/B17/1	E5
37. Fragment varnished, 40mm. long	1/B11/2	E2
38. Fragment varnished 23mm. long	1/B13/2	E9
39. Fragment Plain 17mm. long	1/A8/1	E10
40. Fragment, plain 8mm. long	1/B15/1	E12
41. Fragment, 30mm. long	1/B17/1	E8
42. Fragment, 16mm. long	1/B17/1	F2
43. Fragment, 12mm. long	1/B5/3	E11
44. Fragment, 47mm. long burnt black	2/B/1	G6
45. Fragment, 30mm. long burnt black	1/B20/1	E7
46. Fragment, squared, 40mm. long	1/A10/1	E13

Stem fragments (18)

47. Fragment, varnished Inscription 'LIVERPOOL', '338 LAGOSO...' 42mm. long (Pl. 2, D3)	1/B10/1	D3
48. Fragment, 60mm. long	1/A/1	D1
49. Fragment, 42mm. long	1/B16/1	D6
50. Fragment, 30mm. long	1/B11/1	D9
51. Fragment, 49mm. long	1/B18/1	D2
52. Fragment, 40mm. long	1/A10/1	D7
53. Fragment, 40mm. long	1/A8/1	D8
54. Fragment, 35mm. long	1/A4E/1	D5
55. Fragment, 31mm. long	1/B14/1	D10

56. Fragment, 32mm. long Inscription: 'LAGOS STORE' (p.1 2, D4)	1/C2/2	D4
57. Fragment, 24mm. long, burnt black	1/B10/1	D13
58. Fragment, 23mm. long	1/A11/1	D13
59. Fragment, 30mm. long	1/B15/1	E6
60. Fragment, 18mm. long varnished	1/C9/1	D15
61. Fragment, 17mm. long	1/C1/1	D16
62. Fragment, 23mm. long	1/C2/1	D14
63. Fragment, 26mm. long	1/A1/2	D11
64. Fragment, 56mm. long (made in ivory)	1/B5/1	F1

Marks

The place of manufacture is marked on the stem in the following specimens:

31. 'MANCHE.....' : Manchester
32. 'MANC.....' : Manchester
33. '.....ESTER' : Manchester, or possibly Chester.
34. 'MANCHESTER'
47. 'LIVERPOOL'

The maker's initials are stamped on the spur in two cases:

23. Illegible.
24. 'I', 'F'.

The manufacturer's or customer's name is marked on the stem in the following cases

32. '.....T & CO. Ltd.'
33. 'ALBERT HI.....'
34. 'S. MCLARROY'
47. 'LAGOS.....'
56. 'LAGOS STORE.....'

Designs

Spurs occur on the following specimens:

20. Spur is 7 x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ mm.
21. Spur is 6 x 5mm.
22. Spur is 6 x 4mm.
23. Spur is 9 x 4mm.
24. Sptur is 6 x 4mm.

Decorated bowls are of the following types:

Basket pattern 1, 3, 4, 5, 28.

Gadroon pattern: 2, 15, 19.

Wood pattern: 13, 14.

Flag: 9, 10.

Ribbed pattern: 20, 21, 23, 25.

Milled rim: 6.

Leaf pattern: 12.

Grooves: 7.

Mouthpieces with markedly chewed tips occur in the following specimens:

33, 34, 44, 46.

Dating

The pipes are mostly of the elaborately decorated and sometimes varnished types which became popular in England during the late eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century⁵. Production for the home market was largely at an end by about 1870⁶, but it seems likely that the same designs and perhaps even the same moulds, would have continued to be used in the manufacture of pipes for export.

It is hoped that it will be possible eventually to identify the manufacturers whose names are marked on a few of the Isoya pipes; but for the time being the only two pipes which can be identified and dated are those with trade marks.

Two of the pipes are stamped 'LAGOS STORES' (p1. 2, D3, D4) and were presumably part of a special order made in Liverpool for the trading company of that name. According to Dr. A. G. Hopkins of the University of Birmingham (personal communication) Lagos Stores was a Liverpool firm with a branch in Manchester. Its headquarters were on the Marina in Lagos. The company expanded rapidly from the late 1890s and from 1900 onwards set up branches in Porto Novo and in the interior. The firm started as the Lagos Ready Money Stores Company, became Lagos Stores and Tomlinson in 1894, and Lagos Stores in 1897. It survived until just after the first world war, when it was taken over by Lever Brothers around 1921. Thus the two pipes from Isoya are probably not earlier than 1897 and not later than 1921.

5. Oswald, A.

'The archaeology and economic history of English clay pipes' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XXIII (1960) p. 52.

6. Oswald, A.

'Tobacco pipes' *The concise Encyclopaedia of antiquities*, 4 (London, 1959): p. 202.

BOOK REVIEW

**J. O. HUNWICK, LITERACY AND SCHOLASHIP IN
MUSLIM WEST AFRICA IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD
UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA PRESS, 1974, 39pp.**

C. N. UBAH

This small pamphlet, the first 'Occasional Paper' published by the Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, contains two public lectures which the author delivered at the Institute of African Studies in March, 1972. The first of these lectures discusses the place of literacy within Islamic polities in West Africa in the period preceding the establishment of European administrations. The second lecture deals with Islamic scholarship in the West African context, and here the author discusses the 'Timbuctu Tradition' and its legacy.

Professor Hunwick's main concern in the two lectures was not the presentation of new facts or the re-interpretation of the existing data. For example, nothing really new emerges from his discussion of the 'uses' and 'disadvantages' of literacy. But the author fails to point out that literacy *could* be useful and disadvantageous in the same context. As he rightly observes, leaders of the Sokoto *jihād* benefited greatly from their possession of the art of reading and writing because this enabled them to communicate their ideas to a wide audience. But there is no doubt at all that from the stand point of the Habe rulers at least the propaganda documents of the *jihād* such as the *Kitāb al-farq* and the *Wathīqat ahl al-Sūdān* were subversive materials of the highest order.

One obvious shortcoming of the second lecture in particular is the author's failure to mention some of his primary sources of information. For instance, Abdullahi dan Fodio's *Idā' al-Nusūkh* is a document of considerable importance in any discussion of Islamic scholarship in West Africa and is therefore worthy of citation in very definite terms for the information of readers and particularly of researchers.

Undoubtedly, the subject of Professor Hunwick's lectures is a valid and fascinating one. But it is a theme which cannot be adequately treated without at least a study in depth of the principal works of West Africa's Muslim intellectuals of the period. That kind of study has already started but has not gone far. The author himself does not pretend to have done justice to this subject in a booklet in which the introductory sections to the two lectures occupy a rather disproportionate amount of space. Nonetheless, *Literacy and Scholarship in Muslim West Africa in the Pre-colonial Period* is a welcome attempt to present in one lucid and easily accessible form the scattered fragments of knowledge on the subject. It reminds us of the need for a sustained and systematic research in this important area of African Studies. The vast amount of work that still remains to be done constitutes a standing challenge not only to Professor Hunwick himself but also to other members of our small but steadily growing body of Arabist historians.

