



Vol. II No. 1

ikenga

journal of
african studies

institute of
african studies

university of nigeria
nsukka



EDITORIAL POLICY

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 is 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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Printed by The Caxton Press (West Africa) Limited, Ibadan

IKENGA

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January 1973

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NEW LIGHT FROM OLD SOURCES: PRE-COLONIAL REFERENCES TO THE ANANG IBIBIO

by DAVID NORTHRUP

ALTHOUGH THE Anang, a numerous branch of the Ibibio-speaking peoples, have attracted attention in recent times for their artistic and agricultural skills, their history has remained largely ignored. In part this neglect is due to the relatively numerous records for the trading history of the Efik of Calabar which have diverted the attention of historians away from the other Ibibio-speaking peoples. In larger part, however, this neglect is due to the belief that, since Europeans did not enter Anang territory until the Aro Expedition of 1901-2, there were no available written records to use in writing their history.

So widespread was this belief in the obscurity of the Anang past that even such highly respected scholars as C. Daryll Forde and G. I. Jones could confidently, but incorrectly, assert that the earliest written reference to the Anang occurred only in 1894.¹ Their statement was simply a paraphrase of an identical assertion made by S. E. Johnson in an Intelligence Report of 1932.² Johnson's assertion in turn was based only on his own entirely inadequate research. There are in fact three clear references to the Anang in nineteenth-century sources.

The earliest mention of the Anang by name is in S. W. Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana*, first published in 1854. In this monumental work Koelle, a missionary in Sierra Leone, published samples of the scores of languages spoken by those Africans who had been liberated from slave ships and deposited in Sierra Leone by the British anti-slavery squadron. One of these languages, Koelle reported, was "Anang, by Europeans called 'Kalaba'." The informant for this language was a man originally called Egbengo, who was then living in the Sierra Leone town of Waterloo under the name of W. Johnson. Koelle reported that Egbengo was:

born in the small town of Nguod, where he grew up, and had married two wives, when he was kidnapped on the way, carried to Obane, which is also called "Bane" and "Bone" (English, Bonny), and there sold to the Portuguese. He has been in Sierra Leone about 18 years, with at least two hundred other Kalaba people. In collecting the specimens, I first got them from a Bibie [= Ibibio] man, and then revised them with an Anang man . . .

Nguod, the capital of Anang, is situated four days journey from the Atlantic. Anang is to the west of Obane. The people who are called Kalaba in Sierra Leone, and all of whom speak nearly the same language, come from the following districts or countries: Anang, Bie or Bibie, Ngkwo, Okua, Ekoe and Efik.³

- 1 Daryll Forde and G. I. Jones, *The Ibo and Ibibio-speaking Peoples of South-eastern Nigeria* (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Western Africa, Part III) (London: 1950), p. 83.
- 2 S. E. Johnson, "Intelligence Report on the Afaha Obong Village Group of the Afaha Clan of the Anang Sub Tribe," manuscript, 1932. The report will be found in the Nigerian National Archives, Ibadan, in C.S.O. 26/3/28242.
- 3 Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana* (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1963), p. 18.

Because political structures in this area are decentralized, there could have been neither the capital of Anang reported by Koelle nor the king of Anang reported later by Casement. "Nguod" was probably only a clan or trading centre. Among the several places by that or similar names a likely possibility would be Nkwot in Ikono Clan, Abak Division, whose location near the Kwa Ibo River some 50 miles from its mouth would make it possible to reach the Atlantic in 4 days by canoe.

Three of the "districts" Koelle mentions are readily identifiable with the major divisions of the Ibibio-speaking peoples: Anang, Bibie (Ibibio), Efik. The other three (Ngkwo, Okua, Ekoe) are obscure. If Koelle was basing his districts on the number of representatives found among the liberated population in Sierra Leone, it seems reasonable to try to identify them with areas from which large numbers of slaves would have come. On that assumption the following identifications are proposed: Ngkwo = Nkwot, a large village group in Eastern Ibibio Ikono Clan, Itu Division; Okua—Ukwa, a large village group of the Northern Ibibio, living along the Cross River northeast of Arochukwu and Ekoe = Ekoi, a large village group in the Ikpè Clan of the Eastern Ibibio in Itu Division. The three are all within a twenty kilometer radius of Arochuku, home of the area's biggest slave dealers. It has not been possible for the writer to visit Ukwa, but interviews in Nkwot and Ekoi confirmed that there had been an extensive trade in slaves with the Aro in those places. The Ekoi lay along an Aro slave route to Bende and lived in villages fortified against attacks by the slave-raiding and head-hunting Abam Igbo.⁴

The second reference to the Anang is in the 1862 Efik dictionary compiled by the Rev Hugh Goldie, an early missionary at Calabar. He identified "Anang" as "a district of Egbo Sherry, distant from Calabar," Egbo Sherry being a common nickname used for the Ibibio by Europeans as early as the seventeenth century.⁵

The third nineteenth century reference to the Anang comes from the Irish adventurer Roger Casement, who undertook to explore the inland Ibibio-speaking areas on behalf of the British. In March 1894 Casement trekked from Itu on the Cross River to Ibiaku, a village group of the Ibiono Clan near to the present-day Ikot Ekpene-Uyo road. There he made contact with the very extensive Aro settlement occupying lands between the Ibiono and Itak clans from Nung Okoro to Ekpeniong. Casement found the Aro friendly and helpful, but to reach his destination of Esene and Opobo he had to pass through Anang territory which lay just beyond. Permission to enter Anang territory was refused by "the king of Anang," no doubt a powerful clan head. Casement reported:

I was informed that all the roads down to Esene lay in his power — that his people were very bad, and exceedingly fond of fighting, and that unless my Inokun (Aro) friends could get his consent . . . it would be quite impossible for them to help me, and equally impossible for me to go on without their help.⁶

4 Interview with Chief John Umoh Eka of Nkwot Ikot Umo, November 21, 1972; Interview with Chief Ekpenyong Akpan of Ekoi Atan Ubom, December 20, 1972. F. D. D. Winston, "Nigerian Cross River Languages in the Polyglotta Africana," *Sierra Leone Language Review*, III (1964), IV (1965), was the first to suggest (p. 123) that Koelle's Okua may be the Ukwa; however his suggestion (p. 82) that Koelle's Ekoe may refer to the several peoples east of the Cross River known collectively as Ekoi fails to account for the important fact that they speak languages entirely distinct from the Ibibio dialects.

5 Hugh Goldie, *Dictionary of the Efik Language* (Glasgow: 1962), p. 354.

6 Roger Casement, "Report on an Attempted Journey From Itu . . . to the Opobo River," manuscript, 1894. The report may be found in the Public Records Office, London, in F.O. 2/63/328.

Failing to secure this permission, Casement retraced his steps to Itu. In another report written that year Casement included this information:

The Anang Country includes Esene and runs up north to about 5° 8' where the Inokun country begins. The Inokun come down trading to Esene, but often have trouble in passing the Anang towns.⁷

To this writer's knowledge these three are the earliest written references to the Anang by name, but there are several seventeenth and eighteenth-century references to a people called "Moko", who either were the same as or included the Anang. The first mention of the Moko is in a book published in 1627 by a priest working among the African slaves in Latin America. He lists the "Moco" as one of the fifteen sorts of "Caravalsies" or Calabarians.⁸

Another mention of the Moko appeared in a description of the coasts of Africa first published in Dutch in 1668. The author Olfert Dapper, placed the Moko to the west of the Okrika, which would lead one to doubt they could have been the Anang were it not for the fact that two centuries later Koelle would similarly misplace the Anang to the west of Bonny. Dapper noted only this bit of information: "In the Province of Moco a kind of money is made, each piece of which is as big as the palm of one's hand and has a tail a span in length."⁹

Iron money of this shape, though smaller in size, has been reported at later dates among several Nigerian peoples, especially the Igbo, who called it *umumu*. It is interesting to note that an evidently related word, *umumuquakabang*, is defined in Goldie's Efik dictionary of 1862 as "a sort of [iron] tenter hook used by coopers."¹⁰ Since the iron money was probably no longer in use by that date, the word had been transferred to the similarly shaped tenter hook.

The next major reference to the Moko occurred in 1777 in the writings of C. G. A. Oldendorps, a missionary who had never visited Africa at all. During his years in the West Indies, however, he had come to know many West Africans who had been brought there as slaves and collected details of their customs and languages. Oldendorps placed the "Mokko" near the Ijaw of New Calabar and distinguished them from both the Igbo and "Bibi." He noted that the Moko and some Igbo made body markings and remarked:

No one, however, makes these marks more splendidly than the Mokko. They are decorated from the middle of the chest to the middle of the stomach with foliage, which has an artistic edging.¹¹

7 Roger Casement, "Account of a journey . . . from Esene on the Opobo River to Ikorasan . . . on the Qua Ibo river," manuscript, 1894. The report may be found in the Public Records Office, London in F.O. 2/64/30B.

8 Alonso de Sandoval, *Natureza de Todos Etiopes* cited by P. E. H. Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast," *Journal of African History*, VIII (1967), 263.

9 Olfert Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique* (Amsterdam: Chez Wolfgang, Waesberge, Boom & van Somern, 1686), p. 315. John Barbot, another compiler of sailors accounts who had made two voyages to the area of the Rio Real in 1678-82, has a similar passage in his *Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* in Awnsham and John Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. V. (London: 1746), p. 380.

10 Goldie, *Dictionary*, p. 318.*

11 Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorps, *Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Bruder auf den Caribischen Inseln* (Barby: Christian Friedrich Laux, 1777), pp. 286-92.

*A discussion of this currency will be found in the author's article, "The Growth of Trade among the Igbo before 1800", *Journal of African History*, XIII pp. 229-230.

The Moko also appear on eighteenth-century maps in the vicinity of Rio Real (the Bony and New Calabar estuary), near to the Andoni, an Ibibio-speaking people.¹²

Several scholars have suggested possible identifications of the Moko with one or several of the peoples along the Bight of Biafra, but no generally accepted consensus has been reached. One of the complicating factors is that in the nineteenth century the name Moko was most frequently used for various small groups in Cameroun. Koelle, for example, listed a group of Moko languages, *not* including Anang, all of which are found in modern Cameroun.¹³ Other scholars have attempted to identify the Moko by relying upon the geographical references in texts and maps, although these are neither consistent nor likely to be accurate. G. I. Jones has speculated, "The district of Moko probably refers to a southern Ibo community, possibly to the Isiokpo or Okpo-mbu-tolu tribes, who occupy the area to the north-west of Okrika" although he would also admit the possibility of their being an Ogoni community.¹⁴

Despite the conflicting assertions there seems to be more than adequate evidence to prove that the people known in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as Moko were Ibibio-speaking and that they should be identified either wholly or partially with the Anang. The evidence is based upon the locations indicated in the texts and maps, on a vocabulary of the Moko language, on the testimony of later witnesses, and on the origin of the word Moko itself.

(1) Though contemporary sources and maps are indefinite and conflicting in their placement of the Moko, they do agree that they are to be found in the vicinity of the Rio Real, near Okrika and Andoni. Thus they cannot be the same as the Camerounian Moko of later times.

(2) Oldendorps gives a vocabulary of the Moko language as he found it in the West Indies in the eighteenth century. The numbers from 1 to 10 in Moko and modern Ibibio are:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Moko (1777):	kia	iba	ita	inan	uttin	itjuckee
Ibibio:	kiet	iba	ita	inang	ition	itiokiet
	7	8	9	10		
Moko:	ittiaba	itteiata	huschuki=et	bub		
Ibibio:	itiaba	itiaita	usukiet	duop		

For both Oldendorp's Moko and for all present-day Ibibio-speaking peoples the word for God is *Abassi*.¹⁵ This linguistic evidence can leave no doubt that it is the Ibibio language which is spoken by the Moko and rules out any identification with the Igbo or Ogoni.

12 See, for example, the 1743 map of "Guinea Propria" by Homann's Heirs in Egon Klomp, *Africa on Maps Dating from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1968), which puts Moko between Bonny and Okrika, and the 1734 map in William Snelgrave's *A New Account of Some Part of Guinea and the Slave Trade* (London: 1734) which puts Moko west of Andoni.

13 Koelle, *Polyglotta*, pp. 11-13. Cf. David Dalby, "Provisional Identification of Languages in the *Polyglotta Africana*," *Sierra Leone Language Review*, III (1964), p. 87.

14 G. I. Jones, *The Trading States of the Oil Rivers* (London: 1963), p. 36 and "Native and Trade Currencies in Southern Nigeria during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *Africa XXVIII* (1958), p. 47.

15 Oldendorps, *Geschichte der Mission*, facing pp. 346-47.

(3) That Moko was another name for the western parts of the Ibibio-speaking peoples was known to seasoned English traders along the Nigerian coast in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Captain John Adams, who made ten voyages to western Africa between 1786 and 1800, recorded:

The country inhabited by a nation called Ibibby, or Qwaw (the Mocoos of the West Indies) bounds [the Igbo] territory on the east. To this nation the Heebos [Igbo] express a strong aversion, and call them cannibals. They certainly have a ferocious aspect, and their appearance and disposition would cause a person to suppose that in their own country they led a wild predatory life. Whenever insurrection has taken place on board of a slave ship at Bonny, they have always been found to be the ring-leaders, and often the only slaves concerned in it; the Heebos remaining passive spectators.¹⁶

(4) The only remaining difficulty in establishing that the Moko were Ibibio-speaking is to account for the word Moko itself. That task proved easier to dispose of than the writer had anticipated. When confronted with the name several Ibibio speakers independently and unanimously suggested its derivation from the word *mokop* meaning *I hear*. In inquiring if he is being understood an Ibibio speaker makes frequent use of the question, "Omokop?"—"Do you hear (understand)?" to which the listener answers, "Mokop"—"I hear (understand)." The final consonant of the word is pronounced softly enough that a stranger could easily fail to hear it and the frequency of this exchange must have led to the adoption of Moko as a nickname.¹⁷

That the Moko of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were Ibibio-speaking is thus firmly established. That the name Moko referred exclusively to the Anang cannot be said to be certain since the term may well have included all or some of the Ibibio proper as well. All of the sources place the Moko in the western most part of the Ibibio-speaking territory, clearly excluding the Efik and other Cross River Ibibio. Oldendorps distinguishes them from the "Bibie" by which he surely means the Ibibio proper. Adams identifies the Moko with the Ibibio generally, though his description of their ferociousness tallies with traditional stereotypes of the Anang. At the very least it can be maintained that it is impossible to suggest any identification of the Moko which does not include the Anang.

This survey of pre-colonial written records has revealed a number of direct and indirect references to the Anang. It shows them to have possessed a trading currency by the seventeenth century and to have been in contact indirectly with foreign traders at the coast. The Anang were greatly victimized by the overseas slave trade, yet the records show them to have been a virile race who stoutly resisted enslavement and were equally strong in the defence of their territorial integrity and political autonomy. The conjunction of this information with additional oral sources should result in a more coherent account of Anang history.

16 John Adams, *Remarks on the Country Extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo* (London, 1823), p. 132.

17 This explanation was first suggested to me by Chief and Mrs A. E. Bassey of Ikot Ekpene and has been independently suggested by others since then.

STRUCTURALISM IN IKENGA—AN ETHNOAESTHETIC APPROACH

By CHIKE ANIAKOR

WHEN DURU Agwu/Duru Aku, the Chief Diviner at Amauzari in Mbano Division, through whose divination man comes to understand the complicated web of cosmic relationships between him and the gods looked at the five divination pebbles on his palm, he picked out one, threw it on the ground, picked it up again, examined it and stared into vacancy in communion with the gods. He said: "The di abuḡ abuḡ:

Nwoke na Nwanyị	—	Male and Female
Ihe ọma na ihe ọjọḡ	—	Good and Evil
Ugbua na Mgbe-Ochie	—	Present and Past
Mmadu na Mmuḡ	—	People and Spirits
Igwe na Ala	—	Firmament and Earth
Ọnwu na Ndu	—	Life and Death."

In saying this, he penetrated the heart of Igbo Ontology. Igbo cosmogony has this story of two maidens who swear they will only play; they will never fight. One day they go to fetch firewood. One of them keeps her bundle of firewood near the pathway and goes to fetch more. The other leaves her bundle on the other side of the pathway and goes to fetch more. The god of divination *Agwu* walks stealthily to the bundles of firewood and mixes them up. The two maidens, surprised on seeing this, question one the other: "Why do you mix up our bundles of wood?" They begin to separate their bundles. Quarrel ensues. Divination force comes out from hiding and says: "But you said you will never quarrel. Even a mother, however much she loves her child, still beats it. There is good and evil in this world."

Igbo Cosmogony thus sustains a world view in which the same *Chi* creates but gives different talents and skills to individuals—a world order in which contrasting opposites within a unity lend harmonious creative tension to society and its culture. Thus, tools, techniques, beliefs, folklore, articulate speech, marriage, dance, religion, music, rituals, art, codes of ethics—achieved through a process of symbolising, are all devices and in fact cultural descriptions by man in order to achieve an ecological balance with nature.

Therefore, it is the crucial factors of ecological survival which ritually interpreted and realized form the kernel of traditional philosophy. In the real sense, traditional 'religion', anthropologically viewed, means that ecological factors are woven into ritual themes based on a system of ancestral charter as a necessary moral and spiritual essence in sustaining the onward movement of life.

Ecologically viewed, the concept of *Ikenga* as the cult of the right hand of a man means the force of individualism (in this case individual talent and skill) embodied in a man's strength as symbolised in his right hand seen as a mode of ecological adaptation. If anthropologically people worship crucial factors of survival in their own culture situation, the force of individualism basic to achievement in Igbo Society is symbolised in religion.

In this context, *Ikenga* cult as embodiment of a man's strength becomes central to Igbo traditional thought and cosmology. In the traditional context, a man's success in life is a clear testimony of the viability of his *Ikenga*. Its visual representation as a man's life force and as a traditional work of art acquires spiritual as well as sociological significance. This paper is therefore concerned with the formulation of a system of ethno-aesthetics on the basis of the interaction of social as well as spiritual factors in the creative process as it affects structuralism in *Ikenga*.

But *Ihe di abụọ abụọ* is an ontological concept which recognizes, as Basil Davidson put it, that "An ecological balance with nature is seen to be sustained by a system of equilibrated relationships based on an ideological balance between man and gods." Thus a man who possesses *NKA* (creative talent) believes it is *AKALA AKA*.¹ A woman lyricist believes that her skill in singing comes from her spirit double or personal god (*chi*). Hence she contends that she traded and failed, farmed and failed, but when she drew *Uli* designs on women's body, her *Chi* showed her the art of singing. The prosperous farmer traces his success not to his ability to farm but to his ancestors—*NDICHIE*, *NDEGEDE*—who provided the land and continued to enhance his procreative actions through his *Chi*. Hence his possession of a viable *Ikenga*.

If as William Fagg asserts in *Nigerian Images* "the arts are a vital part of the process of generation of force",² then Igbo traditional thought *Onye kwe chi ya ekwe*³ presupposes that man as one of the embodiments of life force is instrumental to the generation of force central to the concept of *Ikenga*. The ritual essence of *Ikenga* as a work of art derives from this. Thus as Francis Arinze put it: "The personification of a man's strength of arm has everything to do with his good fortune. It is a man's 'right hand' that leads him through thick and thin."⁴ The anthropologist Onwuejeogwu tacitly put it this way: "If One's 'Chi' is active, one's energy and actions are well directed and so one's *Ikenga* is effective through hard work; one makes social and economic progress as shown by acquisition of wealth and knowledge."⁵ Thus it is achievement tied to one's strength as a result of one's positive thrusts in life which is central to the concept of *Ikenga* as the life force of a man—the cult symbolism of his right hand. It is an integral part of Igbo socio-ritual thought and philosophy. It is an embodiment of an open culture which recognizes as an "essential aspect of the 'right and natural' that talent should lead to enterprise, and enterprise to promotion, and promotion to privilege."⁶ Exercise of ritual-political power in Igbo society rests on those titled elders—*Ndi Nze*—who have through achievement come to enjoy political privileges reserved for the highly accomplished.

1 Akala Aka—Lit, the lines of the palm, supposed to be a chart of one's course in life. If a man continues to make steady progress in trade or farming, it is traced to his *Akala Aka*. Which means that he has a good personal god. For the carver, it means creative talent emanating from his personal god—*Chi* through divination force *Nka Agwu*. A good dancer traces her excellence to *Akala Aka*.

2 W. Fagg: *Nigerian Images*, (1963, London), p. 123.

3 *Onye kwe chi ya ekwe*—Igbo traditional thought which is that the gods help those who help themselves. It is a common saying of Divination force *Agwu* that whoever he helps must also help himself. If one agrees, the gods will too.

4 Arinze F. A.—*Sacrifice in Ibo Religion*; (Ibadan, 1970).

5 M. A. Onwuejeogwu: "The Dawn of Igbo Civilization in the Igbo Culture Area". *ODINANI: The Journal of the ODINANI MUSEUM*, NRI. Maiden Issue, Vol. 1., 1972, p. 22.

6 Basil Davidson: *The Africans; An Entry to Cultural History*. (London, 1969) p. 95.

Ethno-Aesthetic Questions

How then is the concept of *Ikenga* as a ritual symbolism of a man's strength, of his fortune and achievement vested in his right hand, sculpturally realizable as a traditional work of art? In other words, how does the traditional carver/sculptor distil the ritual essence of *Ikenga* and embody it in a block of wood? Or does he just produce a work reflecting the creative pulse of his imagination which society is left with no choice but to accept if we remember that "... when a creative member of a society personally interprets his society's values through matter, movement or sound in such a way that their resultant forms comply with his society's standards of beauty, this creative process and the creations themselves are called art?"⁷ If so, is there any creative rapport when the artist's creations are supposed to be a closely functional aspect of his society? How does he evolve the language of his art? If the artist is a creative member of his society sustained in his work by the wealth of traditional imagination and experience, does he create from within or without society? Like in the Western creative tradition, are his creations spontaneous outbursts of emotions and intellectualizations? If he is conditioned by society's standards, is he then an efficient conformist whose skill and talent lie in his ability to cleverly repeat the stereotype? If completely from within as "a—gwe ta na du ti hinga" ('he who has truly penetrated into the depths'⁸) does a close society understand his creative language and his interpretations of its beliefs—which beliefs sustain its onward movement?

What we are really searching for are the carver's processes of ideomorphic interpretations of *Ikenga*. The haunting question is: what are the processes by which he arrives at his forms? Is structuralism his lone voice? This will certainly lead to the search for a system of ethno-aesthetics which constitutes the pool from which the carver draws his forms? What are the underlying aesthetic values? Within what framework are they based? A definitive study of the structuralism of *Ikenga* must rest on an understanding of traditional aesthetics. What is, for example, traditional Igbo concept of beauty? On what values of beauty is the carving of *Ikenga* based so as to reflect the dynamic philosophy behind the cult of the right hand of a man?

An attempt will be made to evolve a system of ethno-aesthetics so as to provide a fund of information about the structural mutations in *Ikenga*. This is very important because when I showed two versions of *Ikenga* to a fully titled man versed too in Igbo aesthetics he preferred one to the other on the basis that his choice had more beauty in it, meaning it was better carved than the other. Reasons for the choice are a vital part of Igbo ethno-aesthetics. It is in this context that one can appreciate its structural range. A system of ethno-aesthetics will reconcile the factors of the individualism of the artist and his conformity to his society's standards of beauty just as he conforms to social norms and responsibility. This reconciliation will lend meaning to the diverse structures and forms. A system of ethno-aesthetics has to recognize the following factors basic to creativity:

Belief

If religion as an expression of life lies at the root of social action in traditional societies, it means that it broadly provides the *raison d'être* for artistic production. Belief in this context delineates function. If a society shares a common world view in terms of concept,

7 G. Berreman, H. B. Leibtren and others: *Anthropology Today*. (California, 1971) p. 422.

8 B. Rachewiltz—*Introduction to African Art*, (London, 1966) p. 47.

in the creative process, the implication is that sculptural work must of necessity reflect the belief that inspired it without which there could be no sculpture, and therefore no art.

The concept of a man's life force will therefore have a conditioning effect on the structural language of *Ikenga*. Its ideomorphic essence derives from this. The *Ikenga* cult holds valid for society. If embodied in a block of wood, there must be a factor of recognitions with which society can identify. This factor of recognition is tied to its ritual essence. Its immediate visual rapport stems from the incorporation of a motif-symbol (portent) which society recognizes on the basis of its aesthetic standards. This is vital in traditional aesthetics. In fact, its linguistic essence, *ike*⁹ is tied to the ritual essence. For as Boris de Rachewiltz put it: "The plastic ideogrammic value lies in the fact that it is the formal analogue of the conceptual content."¹⁰

In the search for structure, it is concept which the sculptor to some extent gives its sculptural equivalent. This is one of the great determinants, ethno-aesthetically, of all structural realizations. The two upthrusting symbols are utilized structurally to represent the sculptural essence innate in the cult of the right hand. These two powerful portent symbols are regarded as horns of a ram in the context of strength by some while others regard them as "Aka *Ikenga*" because the upward thrust of the hands shows that the hands of *Ikenga* are clean and one's thrusts in life are ethically sanctioned by society's codes of moral behaviour. *Lee m! akam di ocha*—Look at me! my hands are clean. These portent symbols run through the gamut of all versions of *Ikenga*. The contention structurally is that without these, an *Ikenga* will lose its ritual meaning and become *Agbala* or *Nkwu*—metaphysical gods.

Material

Wood—The ritual symbolism associated with *Ikenga* means that respect for the material used in creative work is a factor of recognition and therefore conditions the overall structural character of an *Ikenga* carving. If the carving and possession of an *Ikenga* is through the divination process choice of material is also made through this. For the vital force of *Ikenga* is sculpturally realizable only in the type of tree where it has its potency, *ile*, fully concentrated—such tree as *Ogilisi*. Its ritual essence derives from its funerary meaning. It is a sacred tree. The conditioning effect of wood imposes a seemingly static pose on the carving which of course is not one of rest but of movement typical of the life force lurking within. Hence respect for material is also attributed to the fact that "the sculptor has almost invariably been less concerned to represent people and objects than (non-verbal) concepts about them."¹¹ Sculpture in this context is fully sculptural in language. Symbolization of forms reflected in the static pose of an *Ikenga* carving is in keeping with an attempt to distil the very essence of the concept ideomorphically as a work of art. In fact, in some places like Nsukka, Tree forces like *Ngwu*, *Agilinya* are worshipped directly without undergoing any process of carving.

The Artist as Ome Nka

The crux of the quest for structuralism hinges in the artist and his *Nka*. It is principally on this that structural interpretations of *Ikenga* depend. An understanding of this vital

9 *Ike*—Strength. It denotes heroism, hence heroes dance to drum music from talking drums known as *Ekwe dike*.

10 B. Rachewiltz—*Introduction to African Art*. (London 1966) p. 80.

11 E. Elisofon: *The Sculpture of Africa*. (London, 1938), p. 24.

factor explains the unique morphological variations in *Ikenga* as a traditional work of art. It is a primary factor in ethno-aesthetics.

It is often argued that because tribal society is very much integrated—because social behaviour is patterned by society's values just as folk tales enrich and pattern traditional imagination—the artist must in the context conform very closely if not slavishly to the aesthetic standards of his society. The extension of this argument is that on the basis of this, structuralism—that is the organization of forms—in a work must necessarily be determined by society. Hence the artist must in the creative process sacrifice individualism to conformity. His scope for innovation and experimentation is therefore narrow and limited. The artist is therefore a conformist whose fame and specialization rest on his skill to repeat a static icon. This is usually the aesthetic evaluation of the artist in traditional society by writers who lack in-depth appreciation of creative values and conditions in traditional societies. This assertion fails to recognize the character of Igbo culture in relation to creativity.

Basil Davidson put it rightly when he wrote: "Carvers were famous because they were excellent. Dancers were celebrated not because they knew the steps—practically everyone knew the steps—but because they danced them supremely well, Drummers were admired for the rhythms they could hear and play, rhythms so complete that an unskilled listener like myself cannot even recognize them. The great schools of sculpture were of artists who, generation by generation, embellished the affairs of everyday life. There was an exacting scale of achievement; and the criteria were aesthetic" ¹²

The above passage lends validity to the high level of professionalism in Igbo traditional art. For the artist, this "exacting scale of achievement" ¹³ derives from his creative skill which he believes is *AKALA AKA*. If the onward movement of society is sustained by diverse specializations of its members, the ritual essence of living is implicit in this. This is valid cosmologically. The artist's creative skill, *NKA*, is one of the projections of life force which sustain society. His possession of *NKA* means that his is a unique skill with unique contributions to society sanctioned by the gods. The ability to innovate is therefore a valid manifestation of his *NKA*. This has far-reaching effects on the structural language of *Ikenga*. For the artist's *NKA* is tied up with his individualism. The question then is whether his artistry which he infuses into a carving allows him full individual expression structurally.

Professional names or traditional praise names with which the artist is associated do point to the fullness of self for the artist in the creative process. A woman lyricist is known as *Onu Okwa*—Voice like that of the partridge, capable of sustaining a song for long without strains or as *Onu Ogene*—Voice resounding like the gong highly sonorous. The Flutist is known as *Okwa Oja*—A master flutist. The skilled carver is known as *Okwa Nka*. The very highly skilled is known as "husband of craftsmanship"—*Di Nka*. The above suggests high specialization on which rests fame borne out by the artist's ability to innovate, to discover new forms, to enrich the old. In fact, his fame depends on his level of artistry—*Igbu Nka*.

For example, it is usually noticed that when a new dance is imported, the dance arrangements and patterns are accepted but is it not a fact that within the framework of this, the master flutist can devise new sounds and in so doing extend the language of his flute? This is basically why every hand points at him, and if a leader of a female dancing group wants to herald the incoming of her group to the village square, she specially wants his

¹² B. Davidson: *Op. cit.* p. 163.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 163.

flute to be her escort. The structural implication of this for the *Ikenga* carver is that while retaining the portent upthrusting motif-symbols expressive of the ritual essence of *Ikenga*, he can devise new forms and attempt structural possibilities on the basis of his *NKA*. The basic portent motif-symbols, *Aka Ikenga*, provide a point of departure for the carver in all structural realizations.

Achievement Value

In the structural language of *Ikenga*, the two upthrusting motif-symbols provide the first principle. Other forms emerging to lend sculptural elaborations to this are to a large extent creative ideas of the artist. But these are conditioned by factors such as achievement value of the society for whom the artist creates.

A wide range of possibilities for achieving in his society means that the artist has the opportunity to widen, expand and improve on his creative skill. Achievement which hold valid for society becomes ethno-aesthetically significant in the creative process in that structural innovations are in keeping with, and expressive of, this achievement value. As high level of structural attainment smacks of skill and professionalism.

Social Status of Patron

This is an elaboration of the above. A man who has taken six titles, like *Duru Agwu* of Amauzari in Mbano Division; owns the complex type of *Ikenga Ezumezu* with a unique structural style (see fig. 10). Compare this with Fig. 13 which belongs to a man of lower social status and a quick understanding is reached about the ethno-aesthetic implications of social status of the individual in the structuralism of his *Ikenga*. This does not mean that the patron limits creative scope of the artist. It is rather that difference in social status between individuals helps to account for the difference in morphology and therefore to the wide range of structural variations. In fact patronage rather than limit the artist opens up another opportunity for the artist to produce a unique *Ikenga*, if possible a new type never seen before—in the context of the existing ones—still retaining the portent symbols basic to its esoteric essence which means that patronage widens rather than narrows the artist's structural language. When a man commissions a carving of his *Ikenga*, he either mentions a specific one to be carved, or leaves it to the carver's discretion while stressing the need for the carving to reflect his social status. When he says: *kwa ya nka ofuma, choo ya mma*, he means 'put in a lot of skill and craftsmanship (personal) into it.'

Structural Dimensions

Ikwa nka presupposes that search for beauty is dependent on the artist's *Nka* very paramount in Igbo ethno-aesthetics. *Ikwa nka* which is the same as *Igbu nka* manifests itself in sculptural elaboration—*igwogo ngwogo*. Structurally in the creative process, *igwogo ngwogo* connotes the rhythm typical of organic shapes like circles, swinging and exponential curves like the gliding movements of the python or snake—*ije eke* or *ije agwo*. The structural implication is that *igwogo ngwogo* which is sculptural elaboration calls for the artist's structural expertise. This of necessity calls for structural elaboration in which the ability to innovate in a unique manner is a testimony to the artist's *Nka*. The artist's *ikwa nka* leads to structural innovations from outside the limitations of the motif-symbol (*Aka Ikenga*) which sets the pattern for other structural realizations by providing the first keynote of sculptural symbolism. This sculptural symbolism is derivable from the ritual or esoteric essence of *Ikenga*—as the cult symbol of the right hand. *Ikwa Nka* which leads to

igwogo ngwogo will imply a continued process of innovation sustained by a creative restlessness for new forms, structures and decorations. The implication of which is that *ikwa nka* will differ from artist to artist depending on each artist's level of 'Nka'. This leads to structural range, innovation and variation. Structuralism is not static but in constant mutation from one carving to the other though not in a radical manner. There is structural growth and evolution. Hence, their inherent dynamism.

This leads to another major factor in Igbo traditional aesthetics, *ichọ mma*¹⁴ which is an extension of "*igwogo ngwogo*". This means that the sculptural equivalent of the functional role of art is only the beginning of the dialectics of structural realizations. Functionality provides the primary motivation for producing an *Ikenga* as a piece of sculpture. *Igwogo ngwogo* and *ichọ mma* mark the beginning of structural language in which sculptural symbolism provided by *aka Ikenga* deriving from functionality is enhanced by the artist's ability to evolve new forms and decorations from the wealth of traditional imagination which he possesses abundantly. The essential symbolism derivable from concept of *Ikenga* provides the first structural principle. Other structural elaborations follow but are not necessarily limited in scope by this. If anything, it gives rise to limitless search for forms of the elaborate type. Which is why Figs. 2, 14 and 8 are better structurally than Fig. 13 from the view point of ethno-aesthetics.

A traditional aesthetician describing Fig. 1 said: *Atyija falam*, which means that it was carved with minimal structural language and therefore lacking in high aesthetic value. It was given the type of structural treatment basic to functionality. The owner had it carved for his deceased father through divination. Therefore, the problem was not there. Hence its structural simplicity. In Fig. 1, the two up-thrusting symbols envelope the small head. The features of the face are mild indications hemmed in by scarification marks. The most prominent forms are the up-thrusting motif-symbols which clearly receive structural prominence. The head, quite innocuous in comparison, stands in relief against the neck which is an outgrowth of two semi-conical shapes built into an inter-locking form.

By comparison, Fig. 2 has some degree of sculptural elaboration or elaborate craftsmanship, *igwogo ngwogo*. This is obvious in structural variation of *Aka Ikenga*. The concept of strength is evoked in the sweep of the up-thrusting *Ikenga* symbols. It is in fact one motif-symbol which sweeps round the head, re-echoing itself in a dynamic upward thrust creating in the process a siamese structure. The motif-symbols in Fig. 1 appear static. Fig. 2 is thus the success of a dynamic principle more sculpturally realized through a system of sculptural elaboration, *igwogo ngwogo*. There are in fact other added structural dimensions to this like the presence of the symbol of the cult of fame and good name, *Ufo*.

The presence of a face brings into focus another factor in ethno-aesthetics which takes us back to *ihe dị abụọ abụọ* (things are in pairs.) The head supported by a stool is part of sculptural elaboration. *Ihe dị abụọ abụọ* derives from a philosophy which recognizes the inter-relatedness of present and past, body and soul, or what Basil Davidson describes as "an inter-penetration of the material and immaterial, of form and content, of the immediate and enduring, a controlled tension of opposites."¹⁵ Although *Aka Mmụọ na Aka*

14 *Ichọ mma*—to decorate. One has to look at Igbo body and wall paintings in order to appreciate the use of decoration on *Ikenga* carvings. Decoration is a specialization for women. Here, animal and vegetable forms are broken down into archetypal shapes to achieve a high level of decorative purity and symbolism. A tiny painting knife *Mma Nwuli* is used in drawing *uli* designs on the skin (already rubbed over with red pigment, *uhie*, obtained from cam wood) dipped in a liquid extraction of *Uli*.

15 B. Davidson: *Op. Cit.* p. 170



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2



Fig 3



FIG 4



FIG 5



FIG. 6.

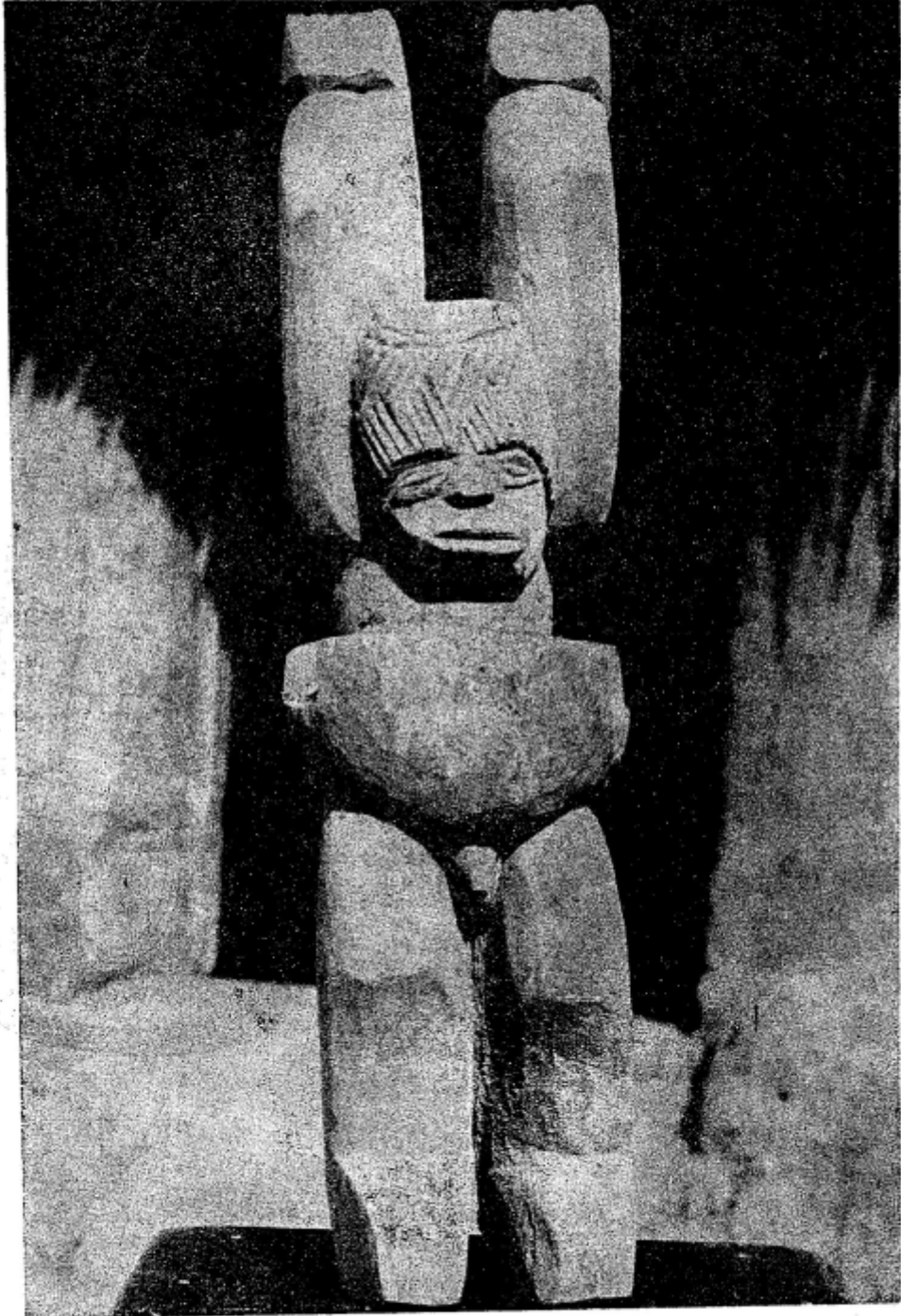


Fig 7

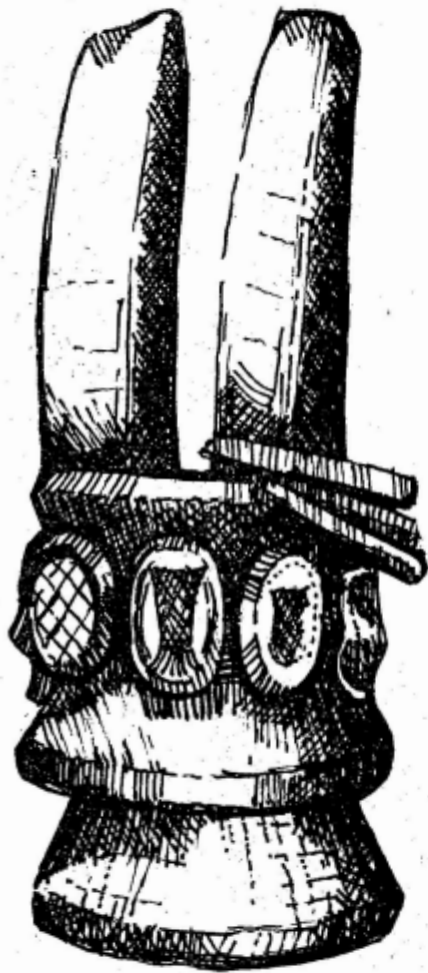


FIG 8

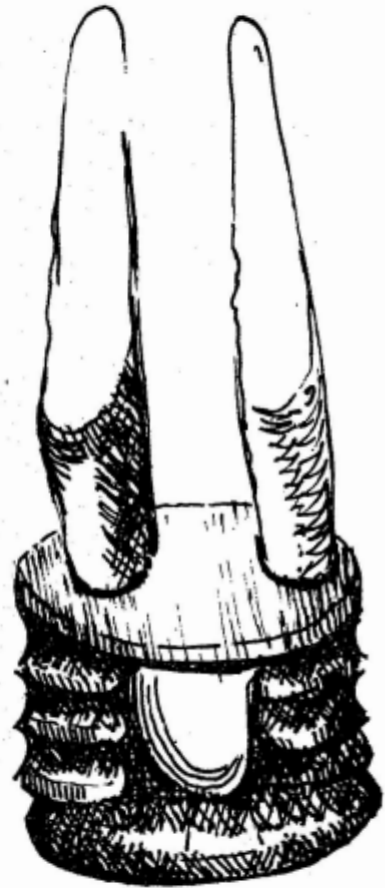


FIG 9

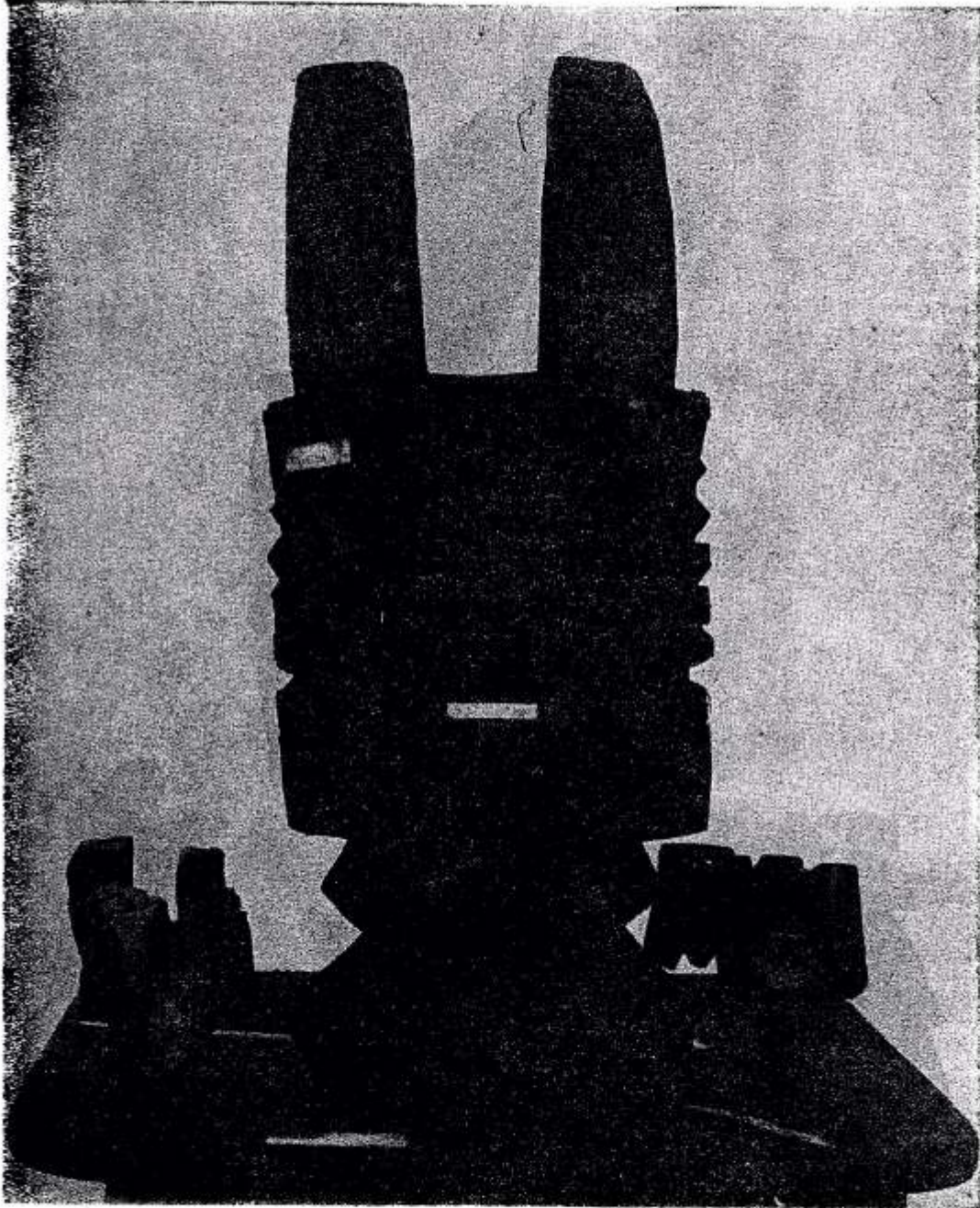


Fig 10a front view



Fig 10b side view



FIG II



Fig 12a



Fig 12b



Fig 13



Fig 14.



Fig. 15 Detail of front view



Fig 15 back view

*mmadu-adigh n'otu*¹⁶ yet in the creative process the spiritual side, which is belief, is achieved through synthesis by utilizing ritual symbolism with other counter-balancing structural effects like human forms of which the human face is an example which provides a common ground for visual identification necessary for the penetration of the unknown from the realm of the known. To provide a visual point of identification between a man and his *Ikenga*, his personal attributes are incorporated into the structure of the carving. Scarification, while basic to this, extends structure through decoration.

It is even said that a system of title-taking holds valid for both men and gods. Divination Force *Agwu Ishi*, having taken a title changed his name to *Okpara Ugo*—Eldest son of the Eagle—a bird highly treasured among the Igbo. Ethno-aesthetically, *ikwa nka* sets the pattern for structural range and variations from *Ikenga* described as *Atulia falam* to the ones with *igwogo ngwogo*. Compare Fig. 2 with Fig. 3 and 4. Hence the variations too in the *Aka Ikenga* symbols as in Figs. 3, 4, 5.

Structural principles ethno-aesthetically seem to depend on a system of sculptural abbreviations; schematization of forms—which is a combinations of diverse elements along the lines discussed above. Thus, the germ of structuralism stems from the incorporation of *Aka Ikenga* which is its ritual essence. This can be taken as the main key to structure. This in turn sets the pattern for sculptural elaborations. Other forms thus emerge to enhance the basic principles yet remaining unlimited by it. *Igwogo ngwogo* signifies the emergence of rhythmic structures like in Fig. 6. From this structure is complemented and at the same time enhanced by decoration (*icho mma*). Decoration takes one to the traditional view point. *Itu akika* or *igbu akika*¹⁷ derives from the type of decorations one sees on animal forms like *Akika ogazi* (the specks on the guinea fowl) and *agwa ogini* (beautiful stripes on the bush rat). Hence the decorator's excellence is judged on the basis of her ability to abstract pure forms from both animal and vegetable life in order to attain decorative purity and symbolism. This largely enhances structuralism as in Fig. 12.

Colour in decoration has this decorative-symbolism content—Hence the use of pure colours. In fact, red earth used in wall painting is called *aja nwa mmuo*—sand of the son of spirits.

Structural changes and variations in *Ikenga* are an oscillation between *Ikenga* types described by the traditional aesthetician as *atulia falam* (i.e. It is carved simply, without much elaboration; the structural range is limited). Such as Figs. 1, 9, 11, 13, to the more complex ones involving *igwogo ngwogo*, extending to the use of decoration, *icho mma*, as in figs. 5, 6, 10 and 12. In fact, structurally, it is a journey from the very simple to the very complex, utilizing simple abstract forms which gradually increase in structural complexity, especially where abstract and stylized human forms are fused together to produce complex, composite structures without destroying their inherent sculptural strength. Typical examples are Figs. 10 and 12.

Fig. 10 begins with an abstract base on which is superimposed a composite structure frontally dominated by a face and two portent *Ikenga* symbols with a gradual backward thrust like the horns of a ram. From the left of the face all through the circumference of the structure to its right run many ritual-decorative symbols. These symbols have a dual function. Apart from helping to lend power to the overall composite form by their decorative force, they extend the ritual symbolism of *Aka Ikenga*. These symbols have minor

16 *Aka Mmuo na aka mmadu adigh n'otu*—Spirit's hand does not resemble the human hand.

17 To decorate—Sculpturally, to make incisions on wood so as to give added beauty to form.

esoteric assemblage when compared with *Aka Ikenga*. Such cult symbols as *Ukwu n'ije*,¹⁸ *Ubochi ajo njo*,¹⁹ *Umuaku*,²⁰ *Chi*,²¹ *Eke*,²² *Uwa Oma*,²³ *Oje ozi Agwu*,²⁴ and *Ndi Ome Agwu*,²⁵ help to enhance the structural possibilities of *Igwogwo ngwogwo*. As much as complexity is achieved through a balance of form and design, sculptural strength is enhanced rather than diminished by the use of these secondary decorative cult symbols. It is a creative extension of functionality. Again sculptural elaboration or elaborate craftsmanship is achieved by the use of added forms to enrich the human form of the stylized type such as a stool, a knife, a victim's head, cap, ivory bands, and body decorations which are social attributes of the owner to embellish his *god* conceptually as in Fig. 12. There are other complex *Ikenga* figures in which the composite type of *Ikenga* owned by a man with six traditional titles, *Ikenga Ezumezu*, and *Ikenga Agwu*²⁶ are fused into a powerful composite structure, combining zoomorphic and mythological forms. (See Fig. 15). Here the search is for a wider range of iconography. Which leads to an all-important factor in Igbo ethno-aesthetics, especially with regard to the *Ikenga* carvings. The less time a work takes, the less money it costs and less elaborate is the structural range. Conversely, the more time, the higher the cost, and the more complex is the range of sculptural elaboration.

Time-Skill Model is a major factor in Igbo Traditional Aesthetics

In the Western aesthetic concept, creative genius can manifest itself unlimited by time factor. Time does not improve a work of art. Talent does. In the traditional context, the genius of a master carver derives from his ability to control the amount of skill that goes into a carving taking into consideration the length of time involved and the amount of money to be paid for such work. Variations in the size of wood follow this.

In Fig. 7, a highly cubistic approach enables the carver to attain a high level of sculptural power typical of this *Ikenga* figures from Amauzari in Mbano Division, about one hundred and twenty years old, owned by the deceased father of a carver who himself is sixty-two years old. Powerful thrusts of hands and legs upwards and downwards—a vibrant echo in structural thrusts held together by a semi-circular form in the middle, a heavy neck supporting a thickly set face, blend to evoke an expressionistic view point.

To summarise, one can say that there are many ethno-aesthetic factors to structuralism in *Ikenga*. Structural range and variations from the simple to the complex, from purely abstract to the semi-abstract; from the stylized to the cubistic, derive from the differing levels of craftsmanship of the individual artist unlimited by the ritual symbolism associated with *Ikenga* cult providing the first structural principles. The artists work in commitment to themselves and society. The morphology of their works, their structural language can only be fully understood in the context of a formulation of a more comprehensive system of ethno-aesthetics.

After all, it is the dynamic character of Igbo culture which produced such a wide range of structural variations. Structuralism is thus the result of a creative dialogue sustained

18 *Ukwu n'ije*—cult of the legs.

19 *Ubochi ajo njo*—cult of good luck.

20 *Umuaku*—symbol of wealth and prosperity.

21 *Chi*—Personal god.

22 *Eke*—symbolic representation of god the creator.

23 *Uwa Oma*—symbol of hope for good living.

24 *Oje ozi Agwu*—messenger of divination force.

25 *Ndi ome Agwu*—wife of divination force.

26 Divination Force has its *Ikenga*.

by a continuous rhythm of ethnic experience between the artist and his society. It stands to reason that in the dialectics of structuralism, conformity provides incentive to individualism. It is in fact the beginning of the search for the artist's structural language. Hence the limitlessness of structural range to which he is central.

Structuralism in Ikenka is thus the triumph of a creative philosophy which recognizes that the artist sustains and is also sustained by society—"The *dị abụọ abụọ*" on the basis of communal-individualism.

THE IBIBIO PRE-COLONIAL SYSTEM OF LAND TENURE

By EDET A. UDO

IN SPITE of the changes brought about by European imperialism such as the direct trade with the outside world, the demand for leases, the rise in the value of food and tree crops, increase in population and the resultant shortage of food, the Ibibio system of land tenure as well as the farm tools remains ancient.

The argument in this paper is that so long as the present system of land tenure persists so long will the people use ancient farm tools and so long will the food shortage in the Ibibio country continue. The system of land tenure dictates the type of tools that a farmer uses and the tools determine not only the quantity but also the quality of the crops produced. Moreover, the Ibibio system of land tenure determines the ownership of certain tree crops and other natural resources, for example, the oil palm, gravel and sand,¹ and all these have affected the people socially and economically.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the problems associated with the Ibibio system of land tenure, analyse them and suggest possible lines of remedy to help redeem what is a worsening situation. The paper falls into four parts: Historical considerations, Economic problems, Social problems, Remedial suggestions. Before tackling the problem it would help to introduce the reader to the general area of the Ibibio country.

The Ibibio Country

The Ibibio-speaking people occupy an area of land in the extreme south-eastern corner of Nigeria. In the south-west they have a common boundary with the Ijo of the Rivers State; in the west and north-west their neighbours are the Igbo of the East Central State; in the north-east are the Ekoi; in the east they share a common boundary with Western Camerouns. The Bight of Biafra washes the southern border.²

The Ibibio have a coastline which extends from the Akpayafe river in the Nigeria-Cameroon border in the east to the Andoni river in the west, a distance of over 85 miles, and extends for more than 70 miles northwards to Itu Mbon Uso south of Bende in the East Central State. There are two vegetational belts—the mangrove swamp forest which fringes the coast, and the rain forest which lies north of the mangrove forest. Rainfall is heavy, averaging 120 inches a year at Calabar and 100 inches a year at Uyo. The country is generally flat with the exception of the Oban Hills in the northeast of Calabar. But there are many rivers—from east to west—the Calabar, the Cross, the Qua Iboe, and the Imo river with their innumerable creeks.³ According to Dr. Talbot, “the greater portion of the

¹ Chief of Afaha Eket Vs. Ibeno People, Suit No. 8/E37/1924; 31/1/24 and 20/3/24 Calprof 5/14/91.

² Major Arthur Glyn Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribe* (London: 1968), p. 17.

^{3a} See Administrative Map of Nigeria (Compiled, drawn and Reproduced by the Survey-General, Nigeria, 1924). Reproduced by Federal Survey 1965 and 1967. Reprinted, 1968.

^b G. I. Jones, *The Trading States of the Oil Rivers* (Oxford University Press, 1963), Map facing p. 9.

^c Also Major Glyn Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes*, p. 17.

Ibibio country is formed of alluvial sands",⁴ and "a few rocks are to be encountered".⁵ In this environment, the Ibibio have lived for centuries, increased in population, and devised their system of land tenure which has persisted till today.

Starting with a single or a few settlements, the Ibibio have increased in population through the years. Though early population censuses are lacking, from 1921 to 1963 the Ibibio population is well documented. In 1921, the population of the Ibibio was put at 960,400⁶, and in 1931 at 749,600⁷, while the 1944-45 nominal rolls showed adult males of 196,000. By the 1952/53 census the Ibibio had increased to 1,416,026.⁸ The controversial population census of 1963 showed the population of the Ibibio to be 2,847,790.⁹ This placed the Ibibio-speaking peoples to be the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria—the Hausa—Fulani being the largest, followed by the Yoruba, the Igbo, and the Ibibio. This increase in the population means that more and more land is constantly required for cultivation of both food and tree crops to meet the demands of consumption. At present these demands have not been met owing to the Ibibio system of land tenure. Systems, like other institutions of a given society, are born; they grow with the societies, and at certain points outlive their usefulness, hence the need for constant review and reform. The Ibibio system of land tenure has outgrown its usefulness, and should be reviewed under the following heads:

The Historical Consideration Contributing to the Ibibio System of Land Tenure.

A. *Geographical Classification of Land in Ibibio Country.*

There existed three classes of land in each village in pre-colonial Ibibio:

Farmlands, *ekpene*, Residential areas—*ndoon*, and Sacred lands, *akai*—e.g. burial grounds, selected spots in the village for gods and goddesses, and for secret societies. All these lands have undergone serious changes through the years.

Three evolutionary periods may be discernible in the history of the system of land tenure in Ibibio country. Firstly, the period when the land was owned communally by the entire village;¹⁰ secondly, when ownership passed to the *Ekpuk*¹¹ (lineages) of the village; and thirdly, the period of transition from *Ekpuk* ownership to individual ownership.¹² Although we are unable to fix the time sequence for the first two periods we can reasonably state that the last period co-incided with the colonial period of Ibibio history.

4 P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* (London: 1970), Vol. II, pp. 343.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Daryll Forde and G. I. Jones, *The Ibo and Ibibio-speaking Peoples of Southeastern Nigeria* (London: International Institute, 1967), p. 68.

7 The 1931 population census was lower than the 1921 census because the counting was not done properly due to the disturbed condition of the Ibibio country. In November-December 1929, Women had revolted against the alleged rumour that they were going to be taxed by Government. In Opobo, the British troops opened fire and killed 50 people—31 women and 19 men. A commission of Inquiry took place in 1930. Population census took place in 1931. Care was taken not to make women believe that the census meant to know their number and afterwards tax them. See (*Ibid.*)

8 *Eastern Region Population Census, 1953 Bulletin No. 1 Table E* (Enugu: Government Printer, 1953).

9 *Nigerian Handbook 1970* (Lagos: Published by Federal Ministry of Information and Printed by Academy Press Ltd., 1970), p. 22.

10 Notes on Uruan Clan; Uyodist 1/3/11 (Unpublished Manuscript) M.P. No. 631/480 (21 June, 1932, para. 17).

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

During the first period it is to be speculated with some amount of certainty, that there was no permanent ownership of any particular piece of land by an individual or *Ekpuk* or village but so long as a member of the village conformed to the political, social, economic and religious requirements of the village, so long was he allowed to enjoy undisturbed, the fruits of his labour on the land. When he died, his land reverted to control but not ownership by the village. But as more and more people arrived to join the first group of settlers, there arose conflicts of interests over the land. Communally owned lands emerged.

Village owned lands exist in some parts of the Ibibio country today. For example, in Mbak Etoi,¹³ Idiaba, Eastern Nsit;¹⁴ Iwok Atai, Eastern Nsit;¹⁵ and at Ikot Abasi near Egwanga, Opobo.¹⁶ In Mbak Etoi, the communal land lay fallow for nine years. At the end of that time, the village apportioned it out and pledged the plots to individual persons in the village. The money so realised was used for communal purposes. In Ikot Abasi near Egwanga, Opobo, the communal land was leased to trading firms.¹⁷ So also in Itu.¹⁸ In Iwok Atai, Eastern Nsit, the communal land lay fallow for fifteen years. At the end of that period and at the approach of farming season in December a day was fixed by the authorities of the village for clearing the land for farming. On the appointed day, the village assembled at the village square ready to run and clear the communal land at the sound of the drum beaten by the village head. The area of farm-land which one got from this land depended on his strength and ability or on the combined ability and strength of his wife, himself and his children who were strong enough to help. After harvest, the land reverted to the village. A similar method also applied to Idiaba communal land.

As already stated above it seems communal ownership of land by the entire village failed because of increase in population and the conflicts of interests which arose. The solution was found in the division of the land according to the number of lineages in each village. Each lineage head was the sole custodian of that portion of land that was given to his lineage. From that point the land ceased from being owned communally by the whole village. It passed into the second stage, namely, communal ownership by each *Ekpuk*. It is again to be thought, however, with some degree of certainty, that so much land was always available for cultivation that the problem of ownership and conflicts of individual and communal rights seldom arose, and that the theoretical control of the land by the *Ekpuk* head was not often in dispute. Since the *Ekpuk* head was also a religious leader, he seldom worked on his farms. Thus, it was the duty of the members of his *Ekpuk* to work for him, while he interceded with the *Ekpuk Ndem* (deity) for them, or on behalf of individual members of his *Ekpuk*. It is therefore clear that in earlier times every Ibibio male was born to inherit rights over his *Ekpuk* (lineage) land.

In ancient times, there were three classes of land based on geographical location in Ibibio country; farmland, *ekpene*, residential area, *ndoon*, and sacred land, *akai*.

Farmland (*Ekpene*) in pre-Colonial Ibibio

The entire village farmland was divided into a number of farming years, ranging from four to as many as fifteen and given names to distinguish them one from the other. For

13 Interview with Mr. Eyo U. U. Ekong (8/8/71).

14 Interview with Mr. Edet Udo Ibat (10/8/71).

15 Information from Chief Sampson Ibanga of Iwok Atai (1950-1958).

16 Chief Akpan Udo Ekpo—Petition from re a land area in the Supreme Court. File No. Calprof 5/14/365.

17 *Ibid.*

18 M. D. Jeffreys, "Condition of Land Tenure in Itu", File No. C/149/1929; Calprof. 5/19/85; M.P. No. P.C. 52/1929 (12 February, 1929).

example, in Ikot Ese in Uruan Clan, Uyo Division, there were seven-year farmlands, *ekpene*, which were named: Owok Ekong, Iso Akai, Edem Akai, Atan, Ikot Esa, Ikot Ikon, and Edia Mbuk. If we suppose that Owok Ekong was cleared and farmed in 1800 by all those who owned plots, then Iso Akai was farmed in 1801; Edem Akai, in 1802; Atan, in 1803; Ikot Esa, in 1804; Ikot Ikon, in 1805; and Edia Mbuk, in 1806. The cycle began again with Owok Ekong in 1807. Each farmland, *ekpene*, thus lay fallow for seven years. This is an appropriate place to trace the history of the fallow years in each village. Again, it is to be speculated that, each village for purposes of security from attack by wild animals, theft by unfriendly neighbours, and in order to clear as yet uncultivated rain forest of southeastern Nigeria, decided to cultivate a particular portion of the farmland each year. This they continued doing until the entire village farmland had been completed. If it took them four or five or even fifteen years to complete the first cycle, this determined the number of years that a farmland, *ekpene*, must remain fallow in that village. Each year's farmland, *ekpene*, was given a name to distinguish it from the rest.

Later, each farmland, *ekpene*, was divided among lineages, *Ekpuk*. The head of each *Ekpuk*, divided his lineage farmland into farm plots and shared these to adult male members of his *Ekpuk*, himself having the lion's share. At the time when the population was small, each adult member might have had from five to as many as fifteen plots each year, though not at one place but scattered throughout his *Ekpuk* farmland for that year. Factors such as the climate, fertility of the soil, nearness to source of water—dictated the sharing of the farm plots in a given year. The following are the names of *Ekpuks* in Ikot Ese village. Originally, there were five *Ekpuks*—A, B, C, D, and E, known as Nung Ukpong, Nung Ituk, Nung Okoro, Nung Udo Ekong, and Nung Inyang Udo respectively (see Table I below).

According to the village tradition, in about five generations ago, that is, in about 1847, the last *Ekpuk*, Nung Inyang Udo, completely died out during an epidemic of smallpox. With no one remaining in that *Ekpuk*, their land reverted to the village.

TABLE I

A.	B.	C.
Ekpuk Nung Ukpong	Ekpuk Nung Ituk	Ekpuk Nung Okoro
D.	E.	
Ekpuk Nung Udo Ekong	Ekpuk Nung Inyang Udo	

Table II shows Ekpuk Nung Ukpong farm plots in 1800. If we suppose that there were seven adult males represented by Nos 1-7 in that Table, their 84 plots might be shared as in the table shown below, the rule of primogeniture being strictly followed. Notice how each man's farm plots were scattered all over his *Ekpuk* farmland.

EDET A. UDO

TABLE II

Ekpuk Nung Ukpong Plots (1800)

1	4	7	2	3	5	1	2	4	6	
///	3	1	5	4	2	6	5	1	3	
2	///	6	3	1	5	3	7	4	///	
6	1	5	7	2	4	6	1	7	2	
3	4	2	6	5	1	7	4	///	3	
7	2	1	5	3	4	2	3	6	1	
4	5	3	///	1	6	5	7	2	///	
6	7	2	1	4	2	3	5	1	4	
1"	1	3	6	4	2	7	1	2	5	3

5 inches

4 1/2 ins

Key Scale: Farm Plot is 1/2" x 1/2"

- 1. The Ekpuk head's plots No. 1 15 plots
- 2. The second Ekpuk head's plots No. 2 14 plots
- 3. The third adult male in the Ekpuk No. 3 13 plots
- 4. The fourth adult male in the Ekpuk No. 4 12 plots
- 5. The fifth adult male in the Ekpuk No. 5 11 plots
- 6. The sixth adult male in the Ekpuk No. 6 10 plots
- 7. The seventh adult male in the Ekpuk No. 7 9 plots

Total number of plots in 1800 84 plots



If we suppose that from 1800 to 1806 (a complete cycle of seven years) Nung Ukpong *Ekpuk* head had in each year the following farm plots, the picture would look like this: In 1800, he had 15 farm plots in Owok Ekong; in 1801, he had say, 18 plots in Iso Akai; 14 plots in Edem Akai in 1802; the following year was his lucky one when he had 20 plots in Atan; in 1804, he had 10 plots in Ikot Esa; his fortune rose the following year when he had 15 plots in Ikot Ikon to be followed in 1806 with 14 plots in Edia Mbuk. The picture is clearly shown in Table III.

TABLE III

Nung Ukpong *Ekpuk* Head's Land Holdings, 1800-1806

1. In 1800 in Owok Ekong	...	...	...	...	15 plots
2. In 1801 in Iso Akai	...	...	...	...	18 plots
3. In 1802 in Edem Akai...	...	...	...	...	14 plots
4. In 1803 in Attan	...	...	...	...	20 plots
5. In 1804 in Ikot Esa	...	...	...	...	10 plot
6. In 1805 in Ikot Ikon	...	...	...	...	15 plots
7. In 1806 in Edia Mbuk he had	...	...	...	...	14 plots
Total	...	...	...	...	106 plots

From time immemorial, farm plots were neither surveyed nor measured, and were irregular in shape. Some were big, others small. The area of each plot was not known since no surveying had ever been done. Thus, no Ibibio farmer knew the number of acres of land he cultivated in any given year. At first, when a person died his plots passed to members of his *Ekpuk*, but later on they went to his sons. The sharing was done year by year until the fallow-year cycle had been completed. Each year, the eldest son received the largest share, followed by the second, the third, fourth, fifth, etc. If we took Nung Ukpong *Ekpuk* head's fifteen farm plots in 1800 and supposed that he had three male children at his death, the first son would certainly receive six plots; the second, five; and the third, four. There was what was called *Ikot Idio*. This was the largest of all the fifteen plots that the *Ekpuk* head had in 1800. Before the sharing of the plots to his three sons, this *Ikot Idio* went to his eldest son as of right. *Idio* was the goddess which controlled the farming operations and the yield of crops. *Idio* shrine was built in the barn in order that it might protect the seedlings while they were in store in the barn. Although the eldest son had the exclusive right to the largest farm plot, previously his father's *Ikot Idio*, each of his younger brothers took the largest plot out of his own share and made it his own *Ikot Idio* and built a shrine for his own *Idio* in his barn. Each year, a man made his largest farm plot his *Ikot Idio*. Again, if we suppose that Nung Ukpong *Ekpuk* head's second son who had received five plots as his share had six children at the time of his death, his five plots might be shared as follows: the eldest son would receive his father's *Ikot Idio* first. The remaining four plots would be shared to all the six sons including the eldest son who this time might receive one big plot in addition to the *Ikot Idio*; the second son might receive one plot; while the remaining four sons shared the remaining two plots. The result of the sharing of these plots generation after generation was that in course of time, men from densely populated *Ekpuk* had not sufficient farmland.

Although farmlands were divided among lineages, no one lineage, *Ekpuk*, was permitted to clear its portion of farmland in the year that was not designated for its cultivation nor was it allowed to begin work earlier or later than the rest of the village. Each year's farmland was cleared and cultivated at the same time by everybody in the village. Before farming

started in any year, certain rituals had to be performed; the village fertility gods and goddesses had to be consulted and sacrifices offered to them. The stage was set after *Usoro Ndok*, the 7th festival in the year and the one that signified the end of the year.¹⁹ In Annang area, e.g. in Eka Uruk Ese, Abak, the last scene before farming started was *Obobom* (masquerade).²⁰ People wearing masks were taken to the village square and a play staged. After this a day was fixed for the hunting and killing of animals for sacrifice to the village fertility gods and goddesses. This hunting was called *Utoong Unam Isua*. The Ibibio believed that the welfare of their village was controlled by certain deities (*ndem*). In many villages the two most important ones were *Ete Idung* (literary, village Father) and *Eka Idung* (village Mother). The former gave strength and power to them and was consulted at times when strength and energy were required, for instance, in times of war and farming; while the latter controlled or was responsible for child-bearing in women and fruitfulness in crops. They were enshrined in the village square and mothers of twin babies were banned from passing through this village square since it was believed that they were accursed women. The hunting and killing of animals for sacrifice was done by all males who were initiated into the first grade of Ekpo secret society (*Awaat Ekpo*, young people's *Ekpo*) and had guns.²¹ In some villages the number of animals to be killed and offered as sacrifice was fixed while in others there was no specific number required. In the first instance, if the number of animals killed on the first day of hunting was not enough, other days were fixed for the hunting until the number required had been completed. All meat was mixed with *Ebre* (water yam) and cooked in the village square where everybody who took part in the hunting sat on the ground and ate, the village head who was the priest had the largest share. On all hunting and sacrificial days set aside for farm work, all palm wine collected by the village was declared common property by the authorities of the village. It was tapped and brought to the village square by the owners for communal use.²² It was during this preparatory period that the Ekpuk heads re-distributed farm plots for that year to the male members of their *Ekpuk*.

Farm clearing was done for the *Ekpuk* heads first before individuals began their own farm work. In each household, the children first cleared their father's farm plots before working on their own. This method was followed in other operations of the farm work: planting, collection of yam stakes, staking of yams and harvesting of crops. After the cutting of the bush which was generally in January and February, the burning of the bush was done on one day. Whether the plots which belonged to the junior members of the village had been cleared or not, they were burnt together in order to prevent insect pests and animals escaping from the burning bush into them and after the planting of crops these insect pests and rodents coming out to destroy the crops. There was division of labour between men and women. The men did the heavy work of cutting the bush, trimming trees, digging yam pits for planting, collecting yam stakes and staking the yams, caring for the yam vines, harvesting the yams and tying them on the racks in the barn. The women carried the yams or other crops to the farm plots, the husband and father selected the right seedlings, and the women planted them. The women also did the weeding and at harvest time carried the crops home for eating and storage.

¹⁹ Interview with Chief James Udo Udo of Eka Uruk Ese, Abak on 27/9/72.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Interview with Chiefs of Ikot Ese, Uruan, Uyo, on 10/8/72.

²² Interview with Mr. A. U. Ekpo of Ukana Clan, Ikot Ekpene on (27/9/72).

All farm plots were divided into two classes: *Ikot Ubok* (plot permanently given to a wife), and *Nno Nkama* (plot given to a wife for caretaking only).²³ Although these names might differ from place to place, this system obtained in all parts of Ibibio country. Crops planted in *Ikot Ubok* were exclusively those of the wife and her children. The plot itself was theirs by right. On the other hand, the crops planted on *Nno Nkama* were exclusively those of the husband and the plot was given to the wife for caretaking only. Thus, the plot belonged not to the wife, but to the husband. A kind husband might allow his wife whose *Ikot Ubok* was too small for her crops to inter-plant her crops in her *Ikot Nno Nkama*, but this practice was open to abuse. When such husband died, the wife claimed that the *Ikot Nno Nkama* was her *Ikot Ubok* especially if the former was more fertile and bigger than the latter. This was one of the causes of intra-family land feuds. *Ikot Idio* was one of the *Ikot Nno Nkama* which was given to the senior wife. It was *Ikot Nno Nkama* plots which were shared to a man's sons after his death. *Ikot Ubok* were inherited with little argument. In course of time men began to abuse this system by giving infertile plots to the wives they did not love and the fertile and large ones to their favourite wives. Generally, after their deaths, there arose quarrels between the children of wives who owned fertile plots as their 'mothers' *Ikot Ubok* and those who owned the less fertile ones; and between those whose mothers' *Ikot Ubok* were small and those who had big ones.

Ndoon—Residential Areas

Another class of land in Ibibio was *Ndoon* (residential land). After marrying his first wife, a man approached his *Ekpuk* head with a big pot of palm wine and asked him for a building site. In course of years, this request was made by a man to his father. After the site had been given to him, he selected a spot on the site and put up his building. For purposes of security, he built his wife's house behind his own. The next thing he did was to fence, first, the entire building site with live sticks such as *ududu*, *editan*, and *nsukakara* which served as boundary posts. The next thing he did was to fence his wife's backyard giving her enough land for planting both food and tree crops such as bananas, plantains, *ataama*, vegetables, pepper, orange and coconut. With the permission of the wife, the husband might plant raffia palms in the backyard. This backyard was called *Eko* or *Esa*. Like *Ikot Ubok* of the farmlands, the wife's backyard, *Eko* or *Esa*, was the permanent property of the wife, and her children. The rest of the land in the site commonly called *enen*, the frontage, belonged exclusively to the man. Food and tree crops planted on it belonged to him. At his direction, a portion of it might be given to the wife as *Ikot Nno Nkama* for the planting of minor crops such as cocoyams, peppers, vegetables, okra, etc. After his death the wife had no control over this part of *Ndoon*. But since possession of many wives and children was an indication of wealth and of a high social rank, he continued to marry more wives. Each time he married, he built a house next to that of his former wife and gave it to the new wife. After that he fenced her backyard, *Eko*. Whenever any of his sons got married and needed a site for building, he gave him a section in front of his building. Whenever that happened, that son and his brothers had from that time on two building areas in the father's building site—the mother's backyard, *eko*, and that son's building site. Naturally, as the sons by his senior wives grew up, each received a building site from him. If a man had many wives, it was obvious that some of the junior wives would have no houses of their own and in consequence no backyard, *eko*. They were

²³ *Ibid*

generally made to live with the senior wives. What happened was that the sons of the junior wives had no building sites. Lack of building sites has ever been one of the main causes of land litigations.

Sacred Land, Akai

Scattered throughout the village were sacred Lands, *akai*, (forest). They were called, *akai*, forest because no-one was permitted to clear them for cultivation. All burial grounds, shrines for gods and goddesses, *Ndem*, and spots for secret societies, e.g. *Ekpo Onyoho*, *Ekpe*, *Ekong*, and *Idiong* were sacred. Everything on them was equally sacred. Thus no one was permitted to clear any portion of any of them for cultivation. Non-members of secret societies were not permitted to enter the plots set aside for such secret societies for collection of sticks, firewood, fruits like *mkpook*, and vegetables like *afang* and *odusa*; and snails—all of which abounded in these sacred lands.

Land and the People's Activities in pre-Colonial days

Crops:

We have already dealt with how the Ibibio used their land: farmland, *ekpene*; residential areas, *Ndoon*, and sacred lands, *akai*. Here we are concerned with the main Ibibio food and tree crops; how they planted them on their farms, and how they used them.

The Ibibio main food crop in pre-colonial days was the yam, (*bia*, or *udia*). This was supplemented with cassava (*iwa*), cocoyam, (*ikpong* or *mkpong*) vegetables e.g. fluted pimpkin (*ubong*), pepper (*ntuen*), plantain and banana. All of these were grown for family use only and not for export outside the community. Within the village or village group, these were bartered for other things that the family needed.

The Ibibio main drink came from the raffia palm (*ukot*). Raffia palm grew abundantly in swamps formed by innumerable creeks and streams of the Ibibio country. It also grew well in the rain belt of the Western and Northern Ibibio country. Because of its utility, every family, *Ekpuk*, owned at least, one raffia palm swamp. Individuals planted them in their *Ndoon*, especially in their compounds and guarded them jealously.²⁴ Without its wine, no marriage could be concluded; no social function and no festival could be successful; nor could the dead be buried, and the ancestors (*ekpo Ekpuk*) gods and goddesses, be appeased since it was used as a medium for appeasing them. Its leaf was used for roofing mat, (*nkanya*), its frond (*okook*) was used for building houses, fence (*oko*) and rack (*mkpana*) for storage of farm crops; its raffia (*ndaam*) was woven into cloth, bag, basket, hat, etc.; its piassava (*idut*) was used as rope as was also its *nyang* (the outer black fibre covering the stem). Despite its many uses, the raffia palm remained tree crop used internally. In consequence its cultivation was limited to what was needed locally.

The other important Ibibio tree crop was the oil palm (*eyop*). Like the raffia palm it grew mainly in the rain forest belt of the Ibibio country and less in the mangrove swamps that bordered the coast. It also grew better in *Ndoon* than in the farmland and in sacred lands. Like the raffia palm it had many uses: the frond (*ubak*) was used for building fence (*oko*) and rack for the storage of farm crops. The trunk (*ekpat*) was used as timber for building houses, the rib for making broom, the oil from both the fruit and the kernel as

²⁴ Uyo District Annual Report 1911; File No. E125/11; Calprof 14/6/84.

food and medicine and for lighting the house, and the fibre as firewood. Ibibio traditions are silent on whether or not the Ibibio had ever tapped wine from their oil palm. Because of its many uses, the oil palm in *Ekpene* was owned communally by the entire village and not by lineages as was the land itself. Since the village had the oil palm in *Ekpene*, chiefs in some Ibibio villages were able to give hundreds of acres of oil palms to members of certain secret societies in their villages for their economic exploitation until one year after the death of each member. In residential areas, both the land and the oil palm were owned by members of each lineage, *Ekpuk*, sometimes collectively and sometimes individually, if in the latter case, the *Ekpuk* head had previously shared his lineage *Ekpuk ndoon* to individual members of his *Ekpuk*. The oil palm in sacred land, *akai*, was equally sacred and no one was permitted to tamper with it, for whatever purposes. This was because the oil palm on the sacred land was supposed to be given by the village to the dead in the case of that on burial grounds; that on the spot given to members of secret society belonged to the dead members of such secret society; that on the spot for deities was given to such deities.

But unlike the food crops and the raffia palm, palm produce (palm oil and kernel) had been exported to European countries since the eighteenth century, the Efiks acting as middlemen.²⁵ Although palm produce was in great demand in Europe, especially during the last half of the nineteenth century, the price paid for the Ibibio palm oil and palm kernel was very small, compared with the labour involved. The people who really profited from the Ibibio palm produce trade were the Efiks who purchased the produce from the Ibibio farmers in the interior at a very low price and sold it to the European buyers on the coast at a higher price. Acting as middlemen between the Ibibio producers in the interior and the European purchasers on the coast, the Efik traders became quite rich and were naturally unwilling to give up such a lucrative business. To control the Ibibio economically, the Efiks established their colonies in Jamestown, Ibuno, Enwang Ishiet (near Adadia), Nturukpum, Eman Ekpenyong, Ifayong Beach, Nwaniba Beach, and Ikpa Beach—all of which lay on the coastline of Ibibio country.²⁶

Since the Ibibio received very little for their labour, they did not trouble themselves to improve either the quantity or the quality of their palm produce. The trees grew in their wild state and new ones were never planted. This state of affairs continued till the first decade of this century when one colonial officer remarked, "These trees (raffia and oil palms) represent the wealth of the family, *Ekpuk*, and at present inducement for them to realize the wealth is small, and as they (Ibibio) are habitually lazy, many trees are neglected."²⁷ The inducement he recommended was the establishment of a large Calabar Market (a trading firm of that name) with European goods, or a European factory (firm) in Uyo District. But the Ibibio were not habitually lazy as the District Commissioner had remarked. What was true was that the Ibibio had enough palm produce for their domestic use and there was no need to produce the extra as the money the Efiks paid was too small for the labour expended. As the same Commissioner rightly pointed out, until inducement in the form of higher prices from direct trade with overseas countries was given, the Ibibio could not produce more than they required for their families. There was no need for the establishment of large scale oil palm plantations. Since in some villages

25 P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southeastern Nigeria* (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1969), Vol. I, p. 189.

26 Notes on the Uruan Clan, Uyo District, 1932; (Unpublished Manuscript) File No. M.P. 631/480; Uyodist 1/3/11;

(b) Also Hope M. Waddell, *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa* (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1970), pp. IX; XI.

27 Uyo District Annual Report, 1911; File No. E125/11; (Calprof. 14/6/84).

oil palms in certain farmlands, *ekpene*, were given to members of secret societies, there was no use planting new trees and caring for them regularly by non-members of such secret societies. As a matter of fact, new trees which sprang up on their own were constantly destroyed during farming years to make room for the proper growing of the food crops. Thus, the Ibibio palm produce was poor in quality. Only raffia palm, *Ukot*, was cultivated because after bearing its fruits, it died. To replace it, the seeds had to be planted again, especially if it had produced a lot of wine, for example, one species called by the Central and Northern Ibibio, *Idim-Ibom*. This species produces many gallons of palm wine a day. Again palm wine was used internally and never externally.

Land Jurisdiction in pre-Colonial Days

As land was always available for cultivation, land litigations were few among the pre-colonial Ibibio, and the machinery for the control of land transactions equally minimal. This does not mean that there were no land disputes and land laws. Firstly, the authority of the village over land was supreme, untrammelled and absolute. Whether the land was owned communally by the whole village, e.g. sacred land, *akai*, or collectively by an *Ekpuk*, e.g. farmland, *ekpene*, and some *ndoon*, or individually, e.g. residential area, *ndoon*, the village had overriding power to use it or the oil palm and other things on it for public purposes.²⁸ Secondly, no man was permitted to sell his *Ekpuk* or deceased father's plot which was given to him. He could pledge but never sell it to anyone. In all cases of land transaction, all members of the *Ekpuk* had to be present.²⁹ This was possible because mobility was restricted. The presence of members of the *Ekpuk* was important so that in case the man who pledged it was unable to redeem it, or died, either his children or other members of the *Ekpuk* could redeem it without much difficulty. Moreover, members of the *Ekpuk* acted as witnesses so that in case of dispute during redemption they could appear before the jury and give evidence. Lastly it acted as a check on reckless people who might have pledged land indiscriminately. There were various ways of acquiring land from other *Ekpuks*. One common method was when a man in one *Ekpuk* committed adultery with the wife of a chief of another *Ekpuk*. Generally, members of aggrieved *Ekpuk* seized all or a part of one year's farmland, *ekpene*, of the *Ekpuk* whose member committed the adultery. Sometimes, when all members of an *Ekpuk* were in trouble or had an important thing to do, they could pledge a part or the whole of their one year's farmland to another *Ekpuk*, and receive generally, a goat, or a few manillas or *sitim* (brass rods). In course of time, more lands passed from poor and adulterous *Ekpuks* to wealthy and powerful ones. Any male slave who became a member of an *Ekpuk* had equal share in that *Ekpuk* land with the free-born males. All wicked and haunted men who escaped from the fury of their villages and pawned themselves to certain powerful *Ekpuks*, if accepted and incorporated into such *Ekpuks* as members, had equal rights in their new *Ekpuk* lands as the free-born. No female member of an Ibibio *Ekpuk* had the rights over her *Ekpuk* lands, though she was a full member of that *Ekpuk*. Unlike in some other communities in which a married woman belonged to her husband's family, in Ibibio country no married woman belonged to her husband's family. Rather, she belonged to the family to which her own father belonged. Although in pre-colonial days, she belonged to her father's *Ekpuk*, *her only right in her Ekpuk land was her*

28 Notes on the Uruan Clan; M.P. 631/480; (Unpublished Manuscript) Uyodist 1/3/11 para. 17.

29 *Chief of Afaha Eket Vs Ibenu People*, Suit No. 8/E37/1924; 31/1/24 and 20/3/24 Calprof 5/14/91.

eternal resting place under six feet of the earth. Throughout the length and breadth of the Ibibio country, whenever a married woman died, no matter how far away she had married, she was brought back to her village and buried by the side of her fathers. Refusal to allow the corpse to be brought back to her village for burial usually resulted in severe fighting between the two villages. A goat, a hen, and some palm wine were given to the village authorities by her husband or her children before permission was granted for the digging of her grave and her burial. These were customary things required by the village authorities before any grave was dug and the deceased put to rest.

In summing up our discussions so far, it is clear that the heavy rainfall was responsible for the low yield of crops which in turn was responsible for the poor health of the people. The latter resulted in small population which also meant availability of land for cultivation. The control of the sale of land by the village or *Ekpik* meant that no one person could permanently sell the land, or lease it, or mortgage it. The law which prevented women from acquiring rights over their village or *Ekpuk* or their father's lands sealed the possibility of powerful husbands forcefully taking their wives' *Ekpuk* or village lands in the name of such wives³⁰ and reduced land litigations to a minimum. Thus, as long as the Ibibio continued to produce their food for their family use only, without exporting it to the outside world; their population remained small which in turn meant there was enough land for everyone to cultivate, and the Ibibio continued to initiate into secret societies, sacred Lands continued to be respected, land law was enforced, and the Efiks continued to bar the Ibibio from trading with other countries of the world, the Ibibio system of land tenure worked. But when in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, European economic imperialism swept through the continent of Africa and Britain invaded and opened up Ibibio country for direct trade with the outside world, particularly with her and in the process destroyed the Efik middlemen's status once and for all and European traders came to need land on which to build their firms, and the imperialists introduced Western education and Christianity whose members needed land for building churches, schools, and social welfare centres such as hospitals and maternity homes which in turn improved the health of the people and caused an increase in population, and the adherents of Christianity paid no attention to sacred lands, and attacked secret societies and their ownership of oil palms—the traditional Ibibio system of land tenure came under strain. The analysis of the Ibibio system of land tenure in the colonial period belongs to the second part of this paper.

30 (a) Maximilian I of Habsburg family in Germany who was also Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1493-1519) acquired Flanders and Hotois, County of Burgundy, the modern country of Luzemberg and the Provinces of Netherlands through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy in France.
 (b) King Charles I of Spain who was also Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire (1519-1556) became King of Spain, of Naples and Sicily (Italy) and ruler of Spanish dominions in Africa and America, through marriage.
 (c) See Robert Ergang, *Europe: From the Renaissance to Waterloo* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1954), pp. 146-147.

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLES: A NEGLECTED PAN-AFRICAN ORGANISATION

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THERE IS a tendency to see Pan-Africanism in Great Britain during the period 1930-1945 mainly in terms of the activities of the West African Students' Union, the International African Service Bureau and the Pan-African Federation. The League of Coloured Peoples (L.C.P.) is hardly noticed. Thus George Padmore devotes a mere three lines to it in his book *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for African*¹ four hundred and sixty three pages long, while the more recent studies of Imanuel Geiss² and Vincent Bakpetu Thompson³ make only one or two vague references to it. Such well known authorities as Rayford W. Logan,⁴ George Shepperson,⁵ Colin Legum⁶ and Ali Mazrui⁷ do not mention it at all. Yet, of all the Pan-African pressure groups operating in England at this time, the League of Coloured Peoples was probably the best organised, the most active and influential. A main purpose of this essay is to draw attention to some of the activities of this neglected association.

The L.C.P. was inaugurated in 1931, six years after the formation of the W.A.S.U., chiefly due to the efforts of the Jamaican, Harold Moody. Born in October 1882, he showed himself an extremely devout Christian right from childhood. He arrived in Britain in September 1904, enrolling at King's College, London where he obtained a degree in medicine in 1919.⁸ His medical studies seemed to have strengthened his religious convictions for Christianity continued to loom as large as ever in his private and public lives. In 1936 he was elected president of the Christian Endeavour Union of Great Britain and Ireland. The following year he became an executive member of the British and Foreign Bible Society. However, he did not allow his deepening involvement in spiritual matters to overshadow the need to bring together the members of his own "race" for consultation. His chance came in the early part of 1931 when Dr Charles Wesley, an Afro-American scholar at Howard University, gave a talk to the Young Men's Christian Association, London. Moody predictably attended and before the large gathering of persons of African stock he

1 London, 1956.

2 "Notes On the Development of Pan-Africanism", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, vol. III, no. 4, June 1967; *Panafricanismus. Zur Geschichte der Dekolonisation*, Frankfurt, 1968. But in a later article "Pan-Africanism" (*Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 4, no. 1, Jan. 1969) he completely ignores it.

3 *Africa and Unity: The Evolution of Pan-Africanism*, Longmans, London, 1969.

4 "The Historical Aspects of Pan-Africanism, 1900-1945" in *Pan Africanism Reconsidered*, (ed. by The American Society of African Culture), University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962.

5 "The African abroad or the African diaspora" in T. O. Ranger (ed.), *Emerging Themes of African History*, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968.

6 *Pan-Africanism. A short political guide*, Praeger paperbacks, New York, 1962.

7 *Towards A Pax Africana. A Study of Ideology and Ambition*, London, 1967.

8 For details of his early life see D. A. Vaughan, *Negro Victory. The Story of Dr. Harold Moody*, London, 1950.

seized the opportunity to voice his ideas. The ideas appealed to Wesley for he was himself not only a leading spirit of the New Negro movement then in vogue but had also attended the New York Pan-African Conference held in October 1927. A special meeting was convened on March 13 (1931) in the Y.M.C.A. Hall. It was at this meeting that the L.C.P. was formed with Harold Moody as president. Among those present were Stephen Peter Thomas, a Nigerian Law student who later became a secretary of the organisation, as well as Stella Thomas, his sister, who in 1933 became the first West African female barrister. Their father, Peter J. C. Thomas, had attended the 1921 London Pan-African Congress. Also present at the inaugural meeting was the British Guianese, J. A. Barbour James who had served as a surveyor in the Gold Coast and had also attended the Pan-African Conference held in London in 1921.

The objects of the L.C.P. were:

- To promote and protect the Social, Educational, Economic and Political Interests of its members.
- To interest members in the Welfare of Coloured Peoples in all parts of the World.
- To improve relations between the Races.
- To co-operate and affiliate with organisations sympathetic to Coloured Peoples.
- To render such financial assistance to Coloured People in distress as lies within its capacity.⁹

Unlike the W.A.S.U., the I.A.S.B. and the P.A.F., the L.C.P. accepted white members, presumably as a way of fulfilling one of its objects: the improvement of race relations. Outstanding among the non-African members were Dr Norman Leys, a critic of British rule in East Africa who had attended the London Pan-African meeting of 1921; Charles Buxton, a grandson of the great abolitionist; Ronald Kidd, founder and secretary of the British National Council for Civil Liberties; Professor Bronislaw Malinowski, a leading anthropologist at the London School of Economics; and Miss (now Dame) Margery Perham. Though they participated freely in conferences and debates, the whites were excluded from the executive committee. Prominent among the African members of the L.C.P. during the decade beginning in 1932 were Abiola Akiwumi, a Gold Coast graduate of Cambridge University who was president of the W.A.S.U. in 1927, and E. Cummings-John, a Sierra Leonean barrister and secretary of the society from 1936 to 1937. He returned home to become the first honorary secretary of the Freetown branch of the League. Apart from Moody, the important Afro-West Indians included C. B. Clarke, a Barbadian medical practitioner and a graduate of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, and of the University College Hospital, London.

For about two years the L.C.P. possessed no official means of publicity. Money had been a problem right from the start since many of its members were students. But in July 1933 it launched an organ with the title "*The Keys*", a name derived from the inspiration of the Gold Coast educationist J. E. Kweggyir Aggrey, who maintained that the fullest musical harmony could be expressed only by the use of the black and white keys of the piano. The journal rapidly secured international readership and changed its name often. After 1939 it assumed the designation *News Notes*, finally adopting the title *League of Coloured Peoples Review*.

At first the L.C.P. operated from Harold Moody's house in Peckham but the volume of its membership soon underlined the urgent need for better arrangements. In October 1936, decisions were taken to establish permanent headquarters and to engage a full-time

⁹ "*The Keys*", July 1933, back cover. The last object was a later addition.

salaried secretary. Accordingly the headquarters moved from the president's lodging to Farringdon Street. Not many months after, five sub-committees were created including the Colonial Questions Committee, the Editorial Committee and the Finance Committee.¹⁰ The L.C.P.'s sources of revenue consisted of members' annual subscriptions, donations, proceeds from dances, publications and cricket matches.¹¹

The L.C.P. was scarcely four years old when disintegration threatened it. One cause of the misunderstanding is to be found in the interpretation of the phrase "Coloured Peoples" in the organisation's title. To the president it meant Africans and their descendants in the New World.¹² Indeed, the very first editorial in "*The Keys*" declared that the purpose of the L.C.P. was to state the cause of the Black Man. None the less, some members felt that Indian interests ought also to be catered for. They cited the Indian presence in Africa and the fact that forty per cent of the population of British Guiana then was Indian. Harold Moody's interpretation eventually prevailed, but there were still members who remained unconvinced. Much more serious was the challenge to the president's leadership itself. Many of the members were young people fascinated by the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx and Lenin. Interested though he was in what was happening in the Soviet Union, the foundation of all things for Moody remained Christianity. But the most important cause of the opposition was the groundless suspicion that he was collaborating with the British Colonial Office to stifle the growing nationalism of African students.¹³ By the beginning of 1935 the situation had become so bad that Moody offered to resign. But the break never came. The offer was withdrawn and at an annual general meeting held in the same year he was re-elected president, an office he kept without interruption until his sudden death in 1947.

Once established, the L.C.P. sustained the campaign against racial discrimination begun by the London Pan-African Conferences of 1900, 1921 and 1923.¹⁴ Moody himself urged the white man to end his hypocrisy and start teaching his children the past of the African and the great achievements to his credit.¹⁵ Films which portrayed peoples of African origin in an unfavourable light were promptly deplored. Louis Mbanefo, a Nigerian law student at the London School of Economics and member of the L.C.P., in a review of some films in which Paul Robeson participated thought that the time had come when Africans and persons of African descent should stop accepting roles in such films as "Song of Solomon", "Emperor Jones" and "Sanders of the River".¹⁶ In his opinion such films degraded the black man and distorted his culture.

Frustration caused by colour prejudice and the persistence of racial myths partly account

¹⁰ "*The Keys*", April-June 1937, p. 56

¹¹ The L.C.P. maintained a cricket team led by the famous West Indian Learie Constantine. In 1945, sources of the organisation's income were:

Donations	£300:6:7
Cricket Matches	200:0:0
Subscriptions	78:18:6
Publications	54: 0:0
Dances	6:10:0
Film Industry Employment	714:15:6

(League of Coloured Peoples, *Fifteenth Annual Report*, March, 1946, p. 8)

¹² D. A. Vaughan, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹³ *West Africa*, 30 February 1934, pp. 109-110; *West Africa*, 7 April 1934, p. 350.

¹⁴ For details of these conferences see P. O. Esedebe, "A History of the Pan-African movement in Britain, 1900-1948", London, Ph.D. Thesis, 1968.

¹⁵ D. A. Vaughan, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁶ "*The Keys*", October-December 1936, p. 28.

for the L.C.P.'s rejection of the charge of slavery and forced labour levelled against Liberia early in the 1930s.¹⁷ No doubt some of the critics of Liberia's domestic policy like John Harris of the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (London) were motivated by humanitarianism. But conditions in South Africa, Portuguese Africa and the Belgian Congo, where white were in control, made their well-meaning attacks appear hypocritical. The suspicion that the allegations of the European critics stemmed from racial prejudice was reinforced by the fear that a bad reputation for Liberia would be exploited by racists to further discredit peoples of African extraction and to prove their supposed incapacity for self-government. This seems clear from an article, "The Future of Liberia: Proposed League Control", which Harold Moody as leader of the L.C.P. wrote in *The Manchester Guardian* for 30 October 1933. With the great scramble in mind, he accused the whites of scheming to annex the only remaining spot of earth (besides Ethiopia) which the black man could call his country. It was better to do wrong in liberty than to do right in chains.¹⁸ Moody revealed that he had had several talks with Mr L. A. Grimes, the Liberian Secretary of State, and received from him documents presenting the case of the Liberian Government.¹⁹ Moody rejected the League of Nations Plan of Assistance for Liberia as a proposition which no self-respecting state would accept. The Plan among other things provided for a financial adviser to be nominated by the United States Government and approved by the president of Liberia.²⁰ At the end of the Second Annual Conference of the L.C.P. held in March 1934, a resolution was passed and sent to the British colonial secretary condemning the Plan as a violation of the sovereign status of Liberia.²¹

Interest in Liberia was almost completely overshadowed from the middle of 1935 by Mussolini's preparations to invade Ethiopia, then better known as Abyssinia. At that time the exiles regarded Ethiopia as "the remaining relic of the greatness of an Africa that once was."²² On 4 September, a crowded general meeting of the L.C.P. unanimously adopted a resolution which not only expressed an opinion upon the imminent crisis but also laid down a policy concerning the future of Africa as a whole.²³ The organisation offered its utmost co-operation to the Ethiopian people. Mussolini's designs were denounced as "expressive of a deep seated conviction in the minds of most European peoples that African peoples were ordained to be their serfs." This long cherished ideas must now be abandoned. Europe was invited to begin to recognise Africa and Africans as equal partners with her in the great task of human development and to cease to look upon Africa and the Africans as objects for exploitation. The L.C.P. finally urged upon the metropolitan powers and the League of Nations that the time was "now ripe for them to consider a plan for the future of Africa which plan should be nothing less than ultimate and complete freedom of Africa from any external domination whatever." At another meeting held on 11 March 1938, the L.C.P. drew the attention of the British authorities to the great movement of solidarity which the Italian attack upon Ethiopia had brought among the "African and

17 See for e.g. *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Lords, Fifth Series, vol. 83, 1931-32, pp. 912-38.

18 Cf. Kwame Nkrumah's insistence that independence with danger was preferable to colonial domination. There is however no evidence that Nkrumah read Moody's article.

19 Mr Grimes visited London in June 1933. On 21 June he addressed the London Group for African Affairs stating the Liberian case. Moody was present at the meeting the proceedings of which are summarised in *West Africa*, 1 July 1933, p. 640.

20 For details see *The African World*, 15 October 1932, p. 412.

21 "The Keys", April-June 1934.

22 *The Labour Monthly* (London), September 1935, p. 536.

23 "The Keys", January-March 1936, p. 31

African-descended peoples in reaction against European violence, conquest and domination.²⁴ Pointing out that the Italian conquest of Abyssinia was far from being achieved, the L.C.P. finally appealed to the British Government and Parliament to consider carefully the feelings of Africans before such recognition was granted against all justice. In May the same year, the L.C.P. addressed a letter to the secretary-general of the League of Nations protesting against the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia by several European countries including England.²⁵

Meanwhile, riots had broken out in Barbados and Trinidad in July 1937 and later there were violent strikes in Jamaica and St. Lucia. As a result, a royal commission of inquiry was appointed in July 1938 under the chairmanship of Lord Moyne. The L.C.P. in collaboration with such other Pan-African organisations as the International African Service Bureau and the Negro Welfare Association, led by George Padmore and Peter Blackman respectively, seized the opportunity to submit a memorandum to the Commission.²⁶ The memorandum stressed the political requisite for the amelioration of economic conditions in the Caribbean as being the abolition of the crown colony system of government and urged that property qualifications for the right to vote be discarded as a first step toward democratic rule in these islands. Among specific proposals suggested were: the launching of a £10 million housing scheme, the introduction of free compulsory primary and secondary education as well as the establishment of a West Indian University, the removal of racial discrimination in the colonial civil service and the provision of social welfare measures. Before the Commission left for the West Indies, Harold Moody and Peter Blackman gave evidence before them.²⁷

In December 1939, the Royal Commission submitted a report which emphasised the need for considerable extensions in social services and argued a case for a general scheme for social reconstruction of the West Indies. The most important recommendation was the establishment of a West Indies Welfare Fund from which the large expenditure envisaged on welfare services and development could be met.²⁸ The proposed Fund was to be financed by an annual grant of £1 million from the British Treasury for a period of twenty years.

The L.C.P. was invited by the colonial secretary to submit a memorandum setting out its views on the recommendations of the Royal Commission.²⁹ The L.C.P. found itself in substantial agreement with the Commission on such matters as education, public health, housing, industrial legislation and transport. But the treatment of the economic and political issues rightly seemed to it altogether unsatisfactory. In expressing its opinion on these issues, the L.C.P. was seriously handicapped by the refusal of the metropolitan government to publish the report on which the recommendations were based. Protesting against the secrecy, the L.C.P. maintained that if the Caribbean countries were to progress, it was

24. "The Keys", April-June 1928, pp. 85-86.

25. League of Coloured Peoples, *Eighth Annual Report*, March 1939, p. 3.

26. *Memorandum on the Political and Social Conditions in the West Indies and British Guiana presented by the International African Service Bureau, the League of Coloured Peoples and the Negro Welfare Association* (George Padmore Research Library, Accra). See also C. O. 950/30.

27. League of Coloured Peoples, *Eighth Annual Report*, March 1939, p. 4.

28. *West Indian Royal Commission 1938-39. Recommendations*. Cmd: 6174, 1940. The full report was not published until 1945 (Cmd. 6607).

29. At a meeting summoned by the L.C.P. on 22 May 1940 to discuss the colonial policy of the British Government and the recommendations of the West Indian Royal Commission, representatives of the International African Service Bureau (George Padmore) and the Negro Welfare Association (Peter Blackman) were present (*News Notes*, July 1940, pp. 64-66.)

their own people guided by their own leaders who would play the major part. To withhold from the people and their leaders a report in which the fundamentals of future policy were discussed by a commission of experts, could only, in the view of the L.C.P., be a blow to West Indian advancement.

Turning to the Welfare Fund, the L.C.P. pointed out that the West Indians did not wish to be permanent recipients of charity from Britain. The aim should be to make their countries economically self-supporting so that they could finance new welfare measures without external assistance. The memorandum harshly criticised the recommendations concerning industrial development which it regarded as disparaging in tone. It held that if the West Indians were to prosper in future, they must acquire industrial skills. They possessed oil, raw materials and easy access to the markets of North and South America. Advantage should be taken, the document continued, of the services of the highly skilled persons fleeing from the wrath of the Nazis. Although the L.C.P. accepted the educational proposals of the Commission, it regretted the lack of any reference to the contribution a university could make to the social, cultural and economic life of the West Indies. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the Commission's recommendations failed to emphasise the need for economic equality. The student of West Indian affairs could not but be struck by the extent to which the social pattern of the old slave society still remained stamped upon these islands. It was a pattern in which a handful of people owned most of the wealth while the vast majority of the population laboured in poverty on the landed property of the rich white minority. Problems which were essentially economic acquired racial overtones because the class structure tended to coincide with racial divisions. The L.C.P. felt that the solution to the problem of economic inequality lay in the extension of social services and scholarships, the development of trade unionism, the control of monopolies in the sugar and fruit industries, the redistribution of wealth by taxing the richer classes more heavily than hitherto and land reform.

With regard to the political question, the memorandum advocated the establishment of an administrative federation that would lead to a political federation of the islands. It also urged fuller self-government with an extension of the franchise and other electoral reforms such as would place real power in the hands of the masses.

Subsequent events, among them the establishment of the University of the West Indies and the attempt, albeit abortive, to form a West Indian Federation³⁰ show that the L.C.P.'s suggestions were in tune with the realities of the situation. Besides the Welfare Fund set up for the West Indies under the chairmanship of Sir Frank Stockdale, a more general scheme was envisaged for all the colonies in the metropolitan government's *Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare*³¹ issued in 1940 as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

The Second World War brought to a focus objects of long standing agitation as well as new issues some of which served to intensify the militancy of the L.C.P. It raised in sharp outline such questions as the nature of liberty, the powers of the state, the rights of the individual and the colour problem. With the eruption of hostilities, spokesmen of the British Government made speeches denouncing the wicked policies of Nazi Germany and claiming that the British Empire stood for racial equality.³² It seemed to the L.C.P.

30 The attempt failed not because the idea itself was unrealistic but mainly because of the disagreement among the West Indian politicians concerned. For details see C.L.R. James, *Federation, "We Failed Miserably": How and Why*, Trinidad, n.d.

31 Cmd. 6175.

32 See for e.g. the colonial secretary's speech in the House of Commons, *Debates*, November 30, 1939.

that the time had come once more to draw that government's attention to its own racial policies and if possible to get these fine speeches crystallised into action.

A target that immediately came under fresh fire was the policy on recruitment into the colonial medical service. On 14 December 1939, a deputation armed with a memorandum as well as a copy of the current number of the *British Medical Journal* which contained an advertisement stating that applicants must be of European origin called on Malcolm MacDonald, the Colonial Secretary.³³ Among the members of the delegation were the famous West Indian economist W. Arthur Lewis, then a lecturer at the London School of Economics; J. H. Christian, a barrister from the Gold Coast; Charles E. Collet from Seychelles, who was secretary of the L.C.P.; and Dr H. Dingwall from British Guiana, the vice-president of the L.C.P. MacDonald appreciated the opportunity of hearing the grievances of the organisation and promised to consider whether any general restatement of policy regarding the engagement of coloured people in the unified colonial services should be made.

MacDonald was soon succeeded by Lord Lloyd, who in turn was replaced by Lord Moyne. Yet nothing seemed to be happening. Indeed, a subsequent advertisement repeated the condition that applicants to the colonial medical service must be of European stock. Consequently, Harold Moody wrote to Lord Moyne reminding him of the promise made by MacDonald. This letter opened a long correspondence between the two men.³⁴ Moyne denied that there was any barrier to the appointment of any inhabitant of a colony whether European or non-European, adding that a substantial number of the members of these services was non-European.³⁵ Moody referred the colonial secretary to an issue of an unnamed paper "just to hand" complaining that some of the advertisements coming from His Majesty's dockyard were very offensive to coloured people.³⁶ In a separate letter to Moyne, Moody further referred him to a passage in the *Nigerian Eastern Mail* for 22 April 1940 expressing the hope that "one or other of our elected Legco. (Legislative Council) Members will not fail to ask at the next session of the Council, why in view of the Government's promise re the appointment of Africans to higher posts, an African was not elevated to the Bench when this vacancy occurred."³⁷ The newspaper was referring to the transfer from Uganda of Mr C. C. Francis to fill the post of puisne judge in Nigeria. The colonial secretary explained that this post was among those normally filled by selecting the most suitable candidate from the colonial legal service.³⁸ Though direct appointments from the local bar to judicial posts in a dependency could be and were sometimes made when circumstances justified this cause, Moyne argued that it would not be in the public interest to regard this as the normal procedure. Moody in his answer said that early in the year the attention of the L.C.P. had been drawn to a notice posted on a board of an unnamed British university inviting applications for the colonial civil service. On making further inquiries the L.C.P. discovered that the advertisement was based not on a circular but on an ordinary letter enclosing a memorandum entitled "General Information Regarding Colonial Appointments". This printed document was issued by the Colonial Office in March 1939. Moody thought that page sixty four of the document amply proved the unwillingness of the colonial

33 *News Notes*, January 1940; *News Notes*, August 1941, pp. 100-1.

34 Their correspondence was published as "Papers and Correspondence Relating to Appointments to the Colonial Service", *News Notes*, August 1941, pp. 101-119.

35 Moyne to Moody, 4 April 1941.

36 Moody to Moyne, 24 April 1941.

37 Moody to Moyne, 26 April 1941.

38 Moyne to Moody, 5 May 1941.

secretary to consider applications from persons not of European extraction. In view of this document Moody neither saw how Moyne could deny the existence of the regulation nor understood what purpose such a denial would serve.³⁹ Moyne countered with the argument that under those regulations, he and his predecessors had specifically reserved to themselves the right to admit to the membership of any of the unified colonial services any one born or ordinarily resident in any of the dependencies irrespective of colour or race. Though the policy laid down by the regulations were well established, Moyne felt that they could be simplified so as to make their meaning clearer to persons unfamiliar with the organisation of the colonial civil service. He had therefore approved a revised form of words a copy of which he enclosed for Moody's information. The revised form which applied to the unified colonial services as a whole stated that a candidate must be "a British subject or a British protected person, and (a) is of European descent, or (b) was born, or is ordinarily resident in a Colony, Protectorate, or Mandated Territory, or is a child of a person so born or resident."⁴⁰ Though Moody agreed with the colonial secretary that the regulations needed to be changed, he considered the colonial secretary's amendments unsatisfactory. Since the position remained unclear, Moody demanded from the colonial secretary "a final letter announcing that all distinction between European and non-European is now to disappear."⁴¹ To this Moyne replied that the regulation already provided for the admission to membership of the unified services of persons born or ordinarily resident in a colony, protectorate or mandated territory irrespective of race and that the regulation had now been revised so as to remove any doubt which might have been thought to exist as to their effect. Moreover, in the regulation the opportunity had been seized to extend eligibility to the children of persons born or ordinarily resident in one of those territories.⁴²

Commenting on the correspondence between Moody and Moyne, Arthur Lewis stressed that whatever might be the shortcomings of the French colonial system they did not include a colour bar.⁴³ In the French Empire a subject might rise to the highest post depending on his abilities. Hence the appointment of a black governor was regarded as a matter of course. Lewis was here referring to the French Guianese Félix Eboué, who was made governor-general of French Equatorial Africa during the Second World War. In the British Empire, he went on, there could be no black governor, because the maintenance of the so-called white man's prestige was considered to be an essential prop of the imperial regime. Black people were not allowed, except when it could not be helped, to hold administrative posts of distinction and responsibility. The L.C.P., Arthur Lewis finally warned, would not rest until this discrimination was ended.

The publication of the Moody-Moyne Correspondence in the organ of the L.C.P. provoked further comments in the British press.⁴⁴ Sympathetic observations also came from such personalities as Dr. Temple, Archbishop of York and Mr D. N. Pritt, the well-known left-wing lawyer.⁴⁵ These press and personal comments show that the circulation

39 Moody to Moyne, 21 May 1941

40 Moyne to Moody, 30 May 1941

41 Moody to Moyne, 12 June 1941

42 Moyne to Moody, 20 June 1941

43 *News Notes*, August 1941, pp. 117-119

44 *The Manchester Guardian*, 1 August 1941, p. 2; *Western Mail* (Cardiff), 1 August 1941, p. 2; *The Yorkshire and Leeds Mercury*, 1 August 1941, p. 3; *West Africa*, 2 August 1941, p. 741 and *The New Statesman and Nation*, 16 August 1941, p. 150.

45 *News Notes*, September 1941, pp. 121-122.

of the L.C.P.'s publications was not without effect, and that a number of highly placed persons was following the activities of the association with interest.

More striking than the public interest the correspondence aroused was the fact that Moyne appeared to be going out of his way to thrash the matter out. Coming from a colonial secretary, the number of letters seems unusual and it is clear that Moyne regarded this as an important political issue of a delicate nature. Viewed in the context of the Pan-African movement, the number of letters exchanged represented a measure of the growing strength of the phenomenon. Indeed, a remarkable feature of the Pan-African organisations in general and of the L.C.P. in particular during the War was the frequency with which they communicated with the British authorities. Scarcely had two months elapsed after the correspondence with Moyne than Moody initiated another in protest against the passage in August that year (1941) of the Southern Rhodesia Land Apportionment Act under which most of the fertile lands were reserved for the white settler minority.⁴⁶ In 1942 alone, no less than six sets of correspondence were conducted with the metropolitan government on matters ranging from the Abyssinian Question to constitutional problems in the West Indies.⁴⁷

Inundating the British Colonial Office with letters of protest and criticism was by no means the only way in which the L.C.P. expressed its mounting opposition to the political subjugation of Africans and persons of African origin. Reviews of books on the colonial system formed another medium through which it aired its grievances. One example is W. Arthur Lewis' review of *Africa and British Rule* written by Margery Perham and published in 1941. As Miss Perham explained in the preface, she wrote the book with Africans in mind as an answer to their questions concerning the irregularities associated with British rule in their countries. Her contention may be summarised as follows. Africans were "savages" as the English once were. The high state of "civilisation" which the English now enjoyed took several centuries to evolve and was attained mainly due to the efforts of conquerors like the ancient Romans and the Normans as well as the wise statesmanship of the Tudor Dynasty (1485-1603). The four hundred years from the Norman conquest to the Tudor period witnessed the building of a strong central government and the forging of one nation out of a multiplicity of tribes and potentates. In the sixteenth century the Tudor monarchs destroyed what remained of the power of the feudal nobility. Africans were so backward at the time of their "discovery" by the British that the latter wondered whether the former were not really an inferior biological specimen incapable of advancement. "Subjection was the only way by which, on account of her backwardness, and the nature of Europe's nineteenth century system, Africa could have been brought into the civilised world." It was natural that, like Indians, Africans should desire the full British form of representative parliamentary democracy. "So did the Italians, Germans, Russians and many other people who have now found that it is quite unsuited to their traditions and character." Africans must therefore be content to improve their tribal organisations even though the English had to eliminate tribal governments and unify the country before progress was possible. She defended the colour bar, especially in East and Central Africa,

⁴⁶ *News Notes*, December 1941, pp. 55-63. Moody to moyne, 20 Aug. 1941; Moyne to Moody, 22 Aug. 1941; Cransborne (Dominions Secretary) to Moody, 28 August 1941; Moody to Cransborne, 4 Nov. 1941. See also League of Coloured Peoples, *Eleventh Annual Report*, March 1942.

⁴⁷ League of Coloured Peoples, *Twelfth Annual Report*, March 1943, p. 6. The list of letters includes those written to: Mr. Anthony Eden (Foreign Secretary) on the Abyssinia Affair; Mr Harold Macmillan (Under-Secretary of State for Colonies) on forced labour and flogging in Nigeria as well as the West African medical services and Lord Moyne on the Jamaica Constitution.

with the specious argument that the handful of white settlers needed to be shielded from "barbarism".⁴⁸ In her concluding chapter, "Education and the Future", Perham, in accordance with the belief popular among the conservatives of the time, asserted that Africans "must have foreign rulers, and for a long time to come".⁴⁹ She did not and could not have foreseen the Suez Crisis of 1956, the granting of independence to the Gold Coast the following year, and the consequent "wind of change" that was to sweep over Africa and compel the imperialist powers to unburden themselves of colonies some of which had become liabilities rather than assets.

Despite Perham's sparkling style, Arthur Lewis detected that she had in fact avoided answering the questions Africans were asking and that her book altogether amounted to an apologia for imperialism. Lewis, writing very much from the viewpoint of conditions in Eastern and Southern Africa or the West Indies, argued that as a boy an African discovered that his school was a shambles compared with that reserved for his white counterpart.⁵⁰ As he grew up he realised how inadequate were the lands on which his people depended for their livelihood and learnt how they had been driven into infertile "native reserves" to make room for white settlers. He found his father a tenant on an European farm, compelled by law like a medieval serf, to work for at least three months on this farm in lieu of rent. As a young man, he went away from his village to work in mines, and discovered that however competent he showed himself to be, a colour bar whether enforced by law as in South Africa or by custom as in the Rhodesias prevented him from acquiring a skilled job. He discovered too that if he attempted to organise any protest he was branded a communist agitator and imprisoned. It did not take him long to see that if he had accidentally been born of white parents in Africa, all doors would have been open to him. Africans were seeking to know the reason for these irregularities which plainly contradicted the avowed altruistic motives of the imperialists. Rejecting Perham's rationalisation that European subjugation of Africa was a historical necessity destined to last "for a long time to come", Arthur Lewis pointed out that the exploitation of Africans could never be justified on the *a priori* ground that they were "inferior" and "barbarous". Accepting the existence of African "cultural backwardness", he argued that this went hand in hand with her economic backwardness. Confusing industrialisation with "civilisation", Arthur Lewis asserted that to civilise the continent, its human (black and white) and material resources must be utilised. Neither the present haphazard development in Africa by European shareholders, nor the measures envisaged in the *Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare* could bring "civilisation" to "savage" Africa except as a slow and uncertain by-product of private profit. And if this was all the development the colonies were likely to get under British rule, then Perham must be right in saying that Africa was bound to remain backward for many generations. In that case, Africans would still be more right to question whether this uncertain fringe benefit was worth the price they were paying. The time had come to critically examine not only the aims but also the methods of imperial rule. Before the colonial civil service could become an adequate instrument of a "civilising mission", its aims and

48 In two articles on "The Colonial Empire" [The Times (London), 13-14 March 1942, p. 5], Margery Perham, writing against the background of British reverses in Asia, changed her position and attacked the policy of separate development as well as the practice of preventing the entry of educated "natives" into the administrative service.

49 She expressed a similar view in her article "The British Problem in Africa", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. XXIX, July 1951.

50 W. Arthur Lewis' review was printed in full in *News Notes*, September 1941, pp. 125-130.

traditions would require a sweeping revision. Lewis maintained that instead of speculating on the supposed inferiority of Africans and condoning racial prejudice, Margery Perham should have addressed herself to the task of how to sweep away the abuses of imperial rule. Finally, he dismissed her book as mere "propaganda for the British cause".⁵¹

Arthur Lewis' review provoked a reply from Miss M. M. Green of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.⁵² Green thought that those who shared Arthur Lewis' desire for a solution of the problems of Africans under British rule must be puzzled and unhappy about his assessment of Perham's book. Arthur Lewis, she went on, wrote as though "it were a time bomb dropped by an enemy rather than a constructive piece of work by one of the most sincere and able of the champions of African advancement". An examination of the book chapter by chapter led Green to a different interpretation and to the surprising conclusion that Arthur Lewis had not read the book at all. In his answer, Arthur Lewis said that since Green apparently had never heard of the numerous disabilities the Africans were made to suffer including the alienation of their lands, Green naturally liked work which flattered her pride as a member of the governing race and ignored what to subject peoples were the unpleasant facts they came up against every day.⁵³

The tenor of Arthur Lewis' review reflected the belief, widely held at the time, that the end of the War would usher in a new order in which imperialism and racism would be replaced by liberty and equality. It was an expectation stimulated at the outset of the War by the declarations of the British authorities and sanctioned by the famous Atlantic Charter. At the heart of the document was the principle that all peoples had the right to determine their political destiny. Whatever were the intentions of the signatories, this principle implied a repudiation of colonialism. The impact of the Atlantic Charter and the Far Eastern crisis also caused a conference summoned by the Fabian Colonial Bureau and held on 15 November 1942 to make far-reaching demands.⁵⁴ Those present at the meeting included the Labour Member of Parliament, Arthur Creech-Jones, who at the end of the War became a colonial secretary; Beoku Betts, President of the W.A.S.U.; and Miss Doris Morant, a member of the L.C.P. Harold Moody was chairman. He stressed the need for a united colonial agreement to strengthen the Atlantic Charter which he rightly criticised as vague. Colonial status was denounced as "a dead conception to be buried for ever", a thesis he later developed in two booklets *Christianity and Race Relations* and *Freedom For All Men* both of which were published in London in 1943. The conference finally adopted a resolution demanding that colonial peoples should not be excluded from the terms of the Atlantic Charter and that a special charter be formulated giving unequivocal guarantees to British dependencies that colonial status shall be abolished immediately.

A charter for coloured peoples was eventually proposed at a conference of the L.C.P. held from 21 to 23 July 1944.⁵⁵ The chief speakers were Dr. H. W. Springer, a former treasurer of the L.C.P., who subsequently became secretary of the Barbados Progressive League; Dr Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell, a Trinidadian economist and member of the L.C.P.; C. W. Greenidge, another Barbadian member of the L.C.P.; Peter Abrahams, a South

51 *ibid.*

52 *News Notes*, October 1941, pp. 7-8

53 *ibid.*

54 *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 November 1942, p. 6

55 *League of Coloured Peoples, Fourteenth Annual Report*, March 1945, p. 11.

African writer and member of the International African Service Bureau; John Carter, secretary of the L.C.P.; Rita Hinden of the Fabian Colonial Bureau; Dr. K. A. Korsah (Gold Coast); Reverend I. Ransome-Kuti (Nigeria) and Dr. A. Taylor-Cummings (Sierra Leone). The last three were visiting members of a Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. At the end of the meeting, a charter for coloured peoples was adopted and circulated to all the diplomatic missions in Britain, many of which promised to give it a sympathetic consideration.⁵⁶ The British colonial secretary stated in a reply dated 31 August (1944) that the British Government was not convinced that the substitution of a uniform charter in place of the policy of individual treatment would serve any useful purpose.⁵⁷

A memorandum on university education was submitted by the L.C.P. to the visiting Commission on Higher Education in West Africa.⁵⁸ It was a document that reflected the cultural ideas of the organisation. In character and purpose, the L.C.P.'s concept of higher education resembled those advocated in the second half of the nineteenth century by J. Africanus Horton and Edward Wilmot Blyden as well as that of J. Casely Hayford outlined in the early twentieth century in his book *Ethiopia Unbound. Studies in race emancipation*.⁵⁹ The L.C.P. desired that the primary aim of education should be for leadership, and for service to and love of country. As much as possible, institutions of higher learning should be manned by Africans whose objective should be to bring out the very best in the life of the country concerned. While profiting from the experience of its counterparts in England, the United States and the Soviet Union, such institutions should nevertheless evolve curricula of their own geared to the needs of the area to be served. Every effort must be made to avoid merely Europeanising the African or training him to undertake only the routine duties and less responsible work of the European officer. In recommending that university education should be made free, the L.C.P. anticipated developments in Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana. Like Edward Blyden, the L.C.P. emphasised the importance of languages. English must be taught in all schools and the bewildering number of African languages reduced to a few workable number of basic languages. Africans should be proficient in at least two. Production of literature in basic African languages should be actively supported by government and philanthropic bodies. Finally, the memorandum urged that the African must be encouraged to be truly himself. Implicit in this concluding statement is the now familiar idea of the "African Personality".

The year (1944) when the L.C.P. presented its memorandum on higher education also witnessed the formation in Manchester of the Pan-African Federation. The following year, the West African National Secretariat was established, chiefly through the initiative of I.T.A. Wallace Johnson and Kwame Nkrumah. In collaboration with the P.A.F., the W.A.N.S. and the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, the L.C.P. despatched a resolution in November 1946 to the United Nations Trusteeship Council.⁶⁰ The resolution urged the Trusteeship Council to reject South Africa's demand to incorporate the mandated territory of South West Africa. The Council was further asked to take over the administration of the mandate, and to expel South Africa from the United Nations Organisation if she failed to abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter in the treatment of all people within her jurisdiction.

⁵⁶ For a text of the Charter see League of Coloured Peoples, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, March 1945.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ *News Notes*, February 1944, pp. 73-74.

⁵⁹ London, 1911.

⁶⁰ *News Notes*, December 1946, pp. 40-41.

With the development of national consciousness in the British West African dependencies and the return of Jomo Kenyatta (1946) and Kwame Nkrumah (1947) to Kenya and the Gold Coast respectively, the Pan-African cause suffered a decline. There emerged in London pressure groups with narrow national bases notably the Nigerian Union, the Gold Coast Students' Union and the Sierra Leone Students' Union. These organisations maintained a considerable measure of independence of one another on the one hand, and of the L.C.P., the W.A.S.U., the I.A.S.B. and the P.A.F. on the other. On 24 April 1947 Harold Moody died suddenly, leaving the cricketer Learie Constantine and Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell as president and secretary respectively of the L.C.P. The organisation continued a precarious existence for another four years when it finally collapsed. Nor did the P.A.F. fare any better than the L.C.P. at this time. The departure of Nkrumah and Kenyatta seemed to have robbed the P.A.F. of much of its former dynamism and impetus. The last numbers of *Pan-Africa* (the organ of the P.A.F.) and the *Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin* (published by the I.A.S.B.) appeared in April 1948 and September 1948 respectively and for over a decade there was no common Pan-African journal. It was not until 1957 when the Gold Coast achieved independence that Pan-Africanism re-emerged.

The foregoing discussion and analysis of the activities of the League of Coloured Peoples would seem to lead to the conclusion that that organisation deserves at least as much recognition as the W.A.S.U., the I.A.S.B. and the P.A.F. Its aspirations were as political as, and its membership more high-powered than, those of the W.A.S.U. If it was on the whole less radical in tone than the I.A.S.B. and the P.A.F., it was better organised and more influential than they. Where the organs of the W.A.S.U. and the I.A.S.B. appeared irregularly that of the L.C.P. came out regularly and not surprisingly enjoyed a much wider circulation in England. Of all the Pan-African groups operating in Great Britain in the first half of the twentieth century, none met as frequently or corresponded with the British authorities as often as the L.C.P. Indicative of the importance and influence of the L.C.P. were the seriousness with which the British Government treated it, the keen interest members of the British establishment showed in its activities and the readiness with which the W.A.S.U., the I.A.S.B., the P.A.F. and the W.A.N.S. co-operated with it. The tendency to place the League of Coloured Peoples outside the pale of Pan-Africanism is not justified by the facts and must now be reversed.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF BLACK LABOUR TO AMERICAN PLANTATION AGRICULTURE: A REAPPRAISAL OF A CONTROVERSY

By M. O. IJERE *

THERE IS NO unanimity of views on the place of Afro-American Studies in African Studies. While some Institutes make valiant efforts to include them, there is a studied silence by others on the problems of these "Africans across the seas". Generally, however, the amount of materials available in African Studies Institutes on the history and culture of Blacks in America, Latin America, Canada and the Caribbeans is pitifully paltry.

This is not an indictment on the promoters of African Studies. It is rather a challenge. This article is aimed to stimulate discussions and to plead for a place of honour for Afro-American Studies or Black Studies, as it is now popularly called in African Studies programmes.

The advantages are two-fold. First, the inclusion will broaden the horizon on Black problems and make for their more comparable and sympathetic appraisal. Second, the advanced research techniques being developed in the Americas in the Social Sciences can be utilised in African Studies programmes.

In the following article, the reader is introduced to one of those studies and techniques in historical methodology and economic investigation. The essay traces the efforts made in the last century to define and assess American plantation agriculture under slave labour. What does Southern Agriculture owe to Black Labour? How can this be measured and with what techniques?

Answers to these questions have occupied the minds, first of ante bellum politicians who argued on both sides of the debate for slave emancipation. It is therefore to these writers that we owe the first documentary evidence on the significance of Black Labour.

Second, historians and sociologists came in and took over the controversy. In Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma* and Harrington's *The Other America*, we find modern versions of the earlier discussions. Economists, statisticians and econometricians have in the last two decades joined in the debate, sometimes throwing more light on the problem, at other times making it more confused. We shall limit ourselves to a few representative authors and dominant themes in this never-ending controversy.

I

The 1850 federal census provided the data on which comparisons were based as to the profitability or otherwise of slave labour in America. There was, not surprisingly, no agreement as to the exact definition of the dominant theme: profitability.

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It was difficult to answer the questions: Profitable for whom? For the slave? For the slave owner? For the South? Or for the whole American economy? Related to the planter or slaveholder, profitability deals with slavery as a business or industry. On the other hand, related to the society, we shall be treating slavery as an economic system, where profits earned by individuals are subordinated to the larger problems of economic growth, capital accumulation and the effect of slavery on the whole population.

Similarly, there has been no substantial progress in the last hundred years towards answering once and for all the vexing question: Was slavery profitable? The pro-slavery arguments in the ante bellum period looked at slavery in terms of a system rather than business. It was their task to prove that slavery made the southern economy rich. To argue for individual planters would be tantamount to inviting an abolition of slavery. On the other hand, the anti-slavery group contended that slavery was injurious to the Southern economy. They were not arguing against individual profit, which was accepted generally in the American society, and nothing would have been gained by proving that individual planters stood to gain by the system. In sum, the participants urged the merits of slavery on the basis of its effects on the well-being of the whole population.

An anti-slavery writer, Hinton Rowan Helper of North Carolina, writing in 1859 put their case forcefully thus:

The causes which have impeded the progress and prosperity of the South, which have dwindled our commerce, and other similar pursuits, into the most contemptible insignificance; sunk a large majority of our people in galling poverty and ignorance; rendered a small minority conceited and tyrannical, and driven the rest away from their homes; entailed upon us a humiliating dependence on the Free State; disgraced us in the recesses of our own souls, and brought us under reproach in the eyes of all civilised and enlightened nations, may all be traced to one common source, and there find solution in the most hateful and horrible word, that was ever incorporated into the vocabulary of human economy—*Slavery!*

Helper, using the 1850 census figures argued that Southern agriculture, no less than commerce and industry, lagged behind that of the North because of slavery, he compared the poorer South of the 19th Century with that of the 18th, which he claimed was equal to the North if not superior in all aspects of economic development.

A certain Cassius M. Clay, a Kentucky editor took up the gauntlet, condemning slavery in his *True American* as being responsible for the economic backwardness of the South. Writes Clay:

The twelve hundred millions of capital invested in slaves is a dead loss to the South; the North getting the same number of labourers, doing double the work for the interest on the money; and sometimes by partnerships, or joint operations, or when men work on their own account, without any interest being expended for labour.² Similarly Clay demonstrated that slavery hindered the development of a home market.³

Thus we see that while Helper described the system, Clay tried to explain it. Another writer of Clay's time was Daniel R. Goodloe who raised the same economic arguments as Clay.⁴ George Tuckner, in 1837, stressed the problem of idleness resulting from the degradation of slave labour.⁵ It was, however, the Irish economist, J. E. Cairnes, who made the

1 Hinton Rowan Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South*. New York. 1959. pp. 25.

2 Cassius M. Clay, *Writings*. Horace Greeley, (ed.) New York. 1848. pp. 204-205.

3 Ditto pp. 227.

4 Daniel R. Goodloe, *Inquiry into the Causes which have Retarded the Accumulation of Wealth and Increase of population in the Southern States in which the question of slavery is Considered in a Political—Economic Point of View*. Washington. 1846. passim. Goodloe argued that the antisocial nature of slave labour prevented white skilled immigrants from coming to the South.

5 George Tucher, *The Law of Wages, Profits and Rent, Investigated*. Philadelphia, 1837. pp. 46-48.

earliest detailed economic indictment of the slave system in the ante bellum period.⁶ Cairnes stressed the defects of slavery as a form of labour and capital and delineated the weaknesses of slavery as stemming from three characteristics: "It is given reluctantly; it is unskilful; it is wanting in versatility." These factors, he insisted, led to soil exhaustion and hindered industrial and commercial development.⁷

II

Defenders of slavery, on the other hand, made no direct attempts to refute the economic arguments of the anti-slavery school. They charged Helper, for example, with manipulating his figures to produce desired result.⁸ Slavery was seen by this school as an economic good, transforming ignorant and inferior African savages into productive workers. As Thomas R. Dew wrote:

There is nothing but slavery which can destroy those habits of indolence and sloth, and eradicate the character of improvidence and carelessness, which mark the independent savage.⁹

These sentiments were echoed by Chancellor William Harper who believed that slavery was the only road to civilization for Blacks:

If anything can be predicted as universally true of uncultivated man it is that he will not labour beyond what is absolutely necessary to maintain his existence . . . Since the existence of man upon the earth, with no exception whatever, either of ancient or modern times; every society which has attained civilization, has advanced to it through this process.¹⁰

Albert T. Bledsoe, after a sketch of the horrors of African life argued in like vein that 'no fact is plainer than that the blacks have been elevated and improved by their servitude in this country. We cannot possibly conceive, indeed, how Divine Providence could have placed them in a better school of correction.'¹¹

Defenders of slavery were also of the opinion that it mitigated class conflict. George Fitzhugh, the author of the popular *Cannibals All* stressed the well-being of the slave in whom was united capital and labour, as contrasted with the wage slave of the North with his 'dubious' freedom.

Pro-slavery writers argued that slavery strengthened the nation's economy. Taking the products of the North, slavery "metamorphoses them into cotton, that they may bear

6 J. E. Cairnes. *The Slave Power Its Character, Career, and Probable Designs: Being an attempt to Explain the Real Issues Involved in the American Contest*. 2nd ed. London. 1863. pp. 44.

7 Ibid. pp. 70-72.

8 Cf. Samuel M. Wolfe, *Helper's Impending Crisis Dissected*. Philadelphia. 1860. Elias Perssner. *The American Question in Its National Aspect, Being Also an Incidental to Mr. H. R. Helper's "Compendium of the Impending Crisis of the South"*. New York. 1861 and J. B. D. De Bow, *The Interest in Slavery of the Southern Non-Slaveholder*. Charleston. 1860.

9 Thomas R. Dew. *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature*. 1831-32.

10 W. Harper. "Slavery in the Light of Social Ethics", in E. N. Elliot (ed.), *Cotton Is King and Pro-Slavery Arguments Augustus* Ga. 1860 pp. 551-552.

11 Albert T. Bledsoe, "Liberty and Slavery in the Light of Moral and Political Philosophy" Ibid pp. 413-16. Note the classic verse of W. J. Grayson. *The Hireling and the Slave*. Charleston. 1856. pp. 34-35; and also S. Colwel *The South A Letter from a Friend in the North with Special Reference to the Effects of Disunion upon Slavery*. Philadeghia. 1956. pp. 78-82.

export."¹² Slavery supplied cotton and tobacco to the world, and, as Thomsas Kettel said, Northern profits depended upon Southern wealth.¹³

III

The arguments of the ante bellum disputants were not mutually exclusive although they came to opposite conclusions regarding the profitability of the slave system. This was demonstrated by Ulrich B. Phillips, who in the present century incorporated the two sides of the debate in his economic analysis of the system.¹⁴ He maintained that the slave system was detrimental to the economic development of the South, while at the same time he espoused the arguments of the pro-slavery writers.

Phillips' main contribution is, however, his inclusion of the factor of slavery as a business enterprise. He saw no need to separate the two forms, maintaining that the plantation regime "was less dependent upon slavery than slavery was upon it."¹⁵

He also introduced the question of profitability of slavery to the debate. Phillips contended that there were public and private capital losses in the form of capital outflow for Northern goods, which could not be produced in the South because of slavery, and interest payments on borrowed capital. As prices paid for slaves rose, profits were absorbed. Though the plantation system was often economically beneficial to the South, said Phillips, yet its weakness stemmed from the fact that it was inextricably bound to slavery. If the South were relieved of slavery, Phillips opined, plantation agriculture would be beneficial.¹⁶

The effect of Phillips' writings was to engender a series of state studies on plantation slavery. With the theme of slavery as a business, and not necessarily as an economic system, Rosser H. Taylor adduced evidence to prove that in North Carolina "slaveholding was not generally profitable."¹⁷ In the same way Ralph B. Flanders showed that in Georgia, the majority of planters made but a marginal living.¹⁸ Similarly Charles S. Sydnor demonstrated that in Mississippi free labour was cheaper than slave labour.¹⁹ To these writers slavery was definitely unprofitable.

12 David Christy, *Cotton Is King*. New York. 1856. pp. 78-82

13 T. Kettel, *Southern Wealth & Northern profits*. passim

14 Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Decadence of the Plantation System". *American Academy of Political and Social Science. Annals* XXXV. January, 1910. pp. 37-38; and "The Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts." *American Historical Review*. XI July 1906. pp. 803-804.

15 *Ibid.*

16 Phillips, Ulrich B. "The Economics of the Plantation", in *South Atlantic Quarterly* II. July, 1903, pp. 231-36. See also the same author: "Conservatism and Progress in the Cotton Belt", in *South Atlantic Quarterly* III. January, 1904, pp. 1-10. Ditto "Plantations with Slave Labour and Free", in *American Historical Review* XXX. July, 1925. pp. 738-53.

Ditto, "The Slave Labour Problems in the Charleston District", in *Political Science Quarterly*, XXII Sept. 1907, pp. 416-39.

17 Taylor Rosser. *Slaveholding in North Carolina: An Economic View*. Chapel Hill, 1926. pp. 94-98.

18 Flaners. Raph B., *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*, Chapel Hill. 1933. pp. 221-30.

19 Sydnor, Charles S., *Slavery in Mississippi*. New York. 1933. pp. 196-200. Other writers were Charles G. Davis: *The Cotton Kingdom in Alabama*. Montgomery. 1939. pp. 180; To James D. Hill. The Notable profits attained in some plantations were due to "peculiar advantages in location, fertility of soil or individual administrative ability", rather than because of slavery. See J. B. Hill. "Some Economic Aspects of Slavery, 1850-1860", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVI, April 1927. pp. 161-77; and Charles W. Ramsdell, "The National Limits of Slavery Expansion" *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI. September, 1929. pp. 151-71.

IV

We should not leave with the impression that the above views went unchallenged. There were other writers who rejected the "no-profitability—thesis" outright. Alfred H. Stone, a Mississippi planter and historian using Phillips' data came to different conclusions. To Stone it was the Negro and not slavery which was responsible for the retardation of the ante bellum South. According to Stone, the Negro was an inferior being incapable of advancing no matter what his status. In the words of Stone "the Negro was a negro before he was a slave and he remained a negro after he became free. I recall no sound economic argument against slave negro labour per se . . . which is not today equally as sound against free negro per se.²⁰ In his argument the South would have been economically viable if it had used white free labour.

Two writers in the 1930's, namely Robert R. Russel and Lewis C. Gray were more devastating in their attacks on Phillips and his associates. Russel denied the thesis that slavery was responsible for the backwardness of the South. He admitted the backwardness of the region, which according to him, was due to the nature of its natural resources, its climate, topography, location in relation to the industrial North and Europe, means of transportation and the white population.²¹ The South was therefore responsible for its fate, no matter the racial content of its labour.

Gray in his revisionist argument was of the view that slavery was a highly profitable form of business enterprise. He stressed the cheapness and efficiency of slave labour when used for staple production. These arose from the certainty of labour supply; the inputs from men, women and children and the rarity of strikes and lock-outs. Slave owners reaped, in Gray's view, what Marx would term the surplus value of labour. Had slavery not been profitable in the 1850's, insisted Gray, it would not have continued.²²

Phillips' book-keeping methods were subjected to critical scrutiny by Thomas P. Govan.²³ According to Govan, the central problem in determining profitability was to decide whether planters made money on their investment. He criticised his opposers on the grounds that they failed to consider all possible sources of profit in making their calculations, considering as an expense an item which should have been considered as partly the profit. Govan mentioned the items which were ignored by his opponents: services of household slaves; food and other provisions grown on the plantation appropriated by the owner, and increases in the value of land slaves.

Govan also charged that interest on investment which Sydnor and others classified as an expense, was actually an item of profit, this being in keeping with classical economics which considers profit as made up of interest on investment, payment for supervision and for risk. Slave-ownership would, therefore, emerge as a highly profitable business if these adjustments in book-keeping methods are made.

Robert W. Smith, another writer, approached the book-keeping problem rather differently. He insisted that it is a mistake to regard capital investment on the basis of

20 Stone, Alfred H., "Some Problems of Southern History", *American Historical Review*. XVI, July 1908. pp. 791. Ditto. "The Negro and Agricultural Development", *American Academy of Political and Social Science. Annals*. XXXV. Jan. 1910. pp. 13.

21 Russel, Robert R., "The General Effects of Slavery upon Southern Economic Progress." *Journal of Southern History*. IV, February, 1938. pp. 54.

22 See Gray, Lewis C., *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2 Vols.) Washington and New York. 1933-41. pp. 448; 462; 470-74.

23 Govan, Thomas P., "Was Plantation Slavery Profitable", *Journal of Southern History*. VIII. November, 1942. pp. 513-35.

current prices on slaves as this is made uncertain by fluctuations. Rather, it is the capital actually invested in slaves that should be the criterion. If this is done, it will emerge, Smith stressed, that "a very good return seems to have been paid to the majority of the owners."²⁴

V

More recently, we have witnessed more systematised and all-inclusive arguments revising earlier writings on plantation slavery. One of those writers is Kenneth M. Stamp. In his *The Peculiar Institution*, Stamp disagreed with Phillips on most aspects of slavery especially on the economic.

In contrast to Phillips' pre-occupation with the problem of slavery as an economic system, Stamp saw it as a business. He asked the question: Allowing for the risks of a *laissez-faire* economy, did the average ante bellum slaveholder, over the years, earn a reasonably satisfactory return from his investment? To this Stamp gave an unequivocal affirmative answer. He drew attention to what was often ignored, namely the hidden sources of profit like food produced on the plantation, sale of excess slaves, their natural increases and appreciation of land values resulting from improvements. There was no evidence therefore, concluded Stamp that slavery was unprofitable, decadent or would have decayed but for the war.

In 1958 two Harvard economists stepped into the controversy. They were Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer.²⁵ Both, applying a rigorous economic model of the Southern agriculture in the period 1830-1860 and with a Keynesian capital-value formula computed the return on slave investment. They showed that returns on cotton production varied from 2.2 per cent on low-yield land to 13.0 percent on fertile land, while the majority of ante bellum cotton operations yielded 4.5 to 8 per cent. Conrad and Meyer considered profits on the raising and selling of slaves separately, which in turn came to 7.1 per cent—8.1 per cent. Both writers maintained that slavery was not only a profitable business enterprise in itself but equally so when compared with alternative opportunities of using factors of production on good or poor lands.

They saw nothing destructive about the effects of slavery on the whole of the Southern economy. In other words, slavery did not hamper Southern economic growth. Whatever capital that was available was applied to agriculture because, according to them, this was the most prudent thing to do. The South's economic problem, in their view, arose as a result of the nature of agriculture and because of slavery. Their argument in essence is that slavery is not, from the strict economic standpoint, a deterrent to industrial development and that its elimination may take more than the workings of "inexorable economic forces".

24 Smith, Robert W., "Was Plantation Slavery Unprofitable in the Ante-Bellum South", *Agricultural History* XX, January, 1946, pp. 62-64.

25 Conrad, Alfred H. and Meyer, John R., "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante Bellum South", *Journal of Political Economy*, LXVI, April 1958, pp. 86 See also their major work on the subject; *The Economics of Slavery*. Chicago: Aldrine Publishing Co. 1964. Supplementary studies on their side of argument are: F. L. Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*. New York Mason Bros., 1861. pp. 100-110; (ed.) A. A. Knopfit: M. B. Hammond, *The cotton Industry*. New York. 1897. pp. 82; *United States Patent Office Report (Agriculture)*. 1852. Washington D. C. 1853. pp. 374. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*. (Washington D.C.) 1918. and W. H. Collins, *The Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States*. New York. 1904, Chap. III.

Conrad and Meyer have made another contribution to the study which should be mentioned here. It is their use of the techniques of the "New" Economic History, namely quantification, economic theory and econometrics to generate and test the fit of hypotheses to data. Their essay is an application of numerical and econometric analysis to explain plantation agriculture in the South. With clarity and expertise the authors define the slave system and set up two-commodity, two-region trading system, namely, the production of agricultural staples on one side and slave-breeding on the other, with the latter serving as an agent for the production of "intermediate goods", a form of income-creating activity for slave-owners. By using all available data to measure the rate of return on capital invested in slaves, the authors established the efficiency of the slave-based economy.

A formidable attack was launched on the Conrad-Meyer thesis, however, by Douglas F. Dowd of Cornell University. Dowd objected to the philosophical presuppositions used by Conrad and Meyer in approaching their problems. Second, he took exception to the broader implications of their study for Southern history, for slavery and for an understanding of economic development generally. In effect, Dowd was not against the data or economic principles employed by Conrad and Meyer, but their attempt to explain the whole economic development of the South by the economic factor alone.

While Conrad and Meyer insisted that they were, in fact, not dealing with the psychological or political, in short the non-economic aspects of slavery, one would wonder to what extent their conclusions can be regarded as typical and useful for understanding Southern history. To answer this we ask ourselves whether the two writers, by adopting their line of analysis were asking the right questions. But then we come up against another dilemma as to what the "right" questions about slavery are.

Yasukishi Yasuba of Kyoto University took exception to Conrad and Meyer's definition of the terms—profitability and viability.²⁷ He sees both as largely synonymous. Similarly he disagreed with Stampf for making no distinction between the accountant's concept of profitability from the economist's. The value of Yasuba's article lies in the techniques used and their theoretical rationale. As to the argument Yasuba agrees with Conrad and Meyer that the slave-labour economy of the South was economically viable.

Conrad and Meyer continued to be the guiding spirit in the controversy on the profitability of slavery. Stanley M. Elkins commented on their substituting economic concepts of profit for accounting methods.²⁸ In the same way, another writer, Paul W. Gates leaning on Conrad & Meyer's analysis concluded that slavery was profitable.²⁹

It was, however, Edward Saraydar, who, while agreeing with the Conrad-Meyer thesis advanced the argument by way of precision.³⁰ By claiming to have discovered more exact additional data, Saraydar demonstrated that Conrad and Meyer's conclusions were either erroneous or confusing. Again Saraydar's is not a big departure from the original debate, but is useful for throwing more light on the complexity of the problem.

26 Dowd, Douglas F., "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante Bellum South: A Comment", *Journal of Political Economics* LXVI. October, 1958, pp. 440-42.

27 Yasuba, Yasukichi, "The Profitability and Viability of Plantation Slavery in the United States", *The Economics Studies Quarterly*, XII. Sept. 1961, pp. 60-67. Compare this article with that by Robert Evans, Jr. on the Viability of Slavery. "The Economics of American Negro Slavery, 1830-60". *Aspects of Labour Economics*. National Bureau of Economic Research. Princeton University Press pp. 221-227.

28 Elkins, Stanley M., *Slavery*. Chicago, 1959, pp. 234.

29 Gates, Paul W., *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture 1815-1860*, pp. 154-55.

30 Saraydar, Edward, "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante Bellum South". *Journal of Political Economy*, April 1958, pp. 95-130. Cf. with Richard Sutch. "The Profitability of Ante Bellum Slavery—Revisited", *The Southern Economic Journal*, April 1964, pp. 325-332.

While Yasuba, Evans and Saraydar were notable for their efforts to follow the Conrad and Meyer analysis by checking results of alternative methods and the re-examination of the quality of data, they still did not negate the conclusion reached by Conrad and Meyer that slave-labour agriculture was profitable. It was left to Eugene D. Genovese to continue the debate dropped by Douglas Dowd, namely: to establish that the slave system though profitable affected the South adversely.³¹

Determining the effects of slavery on economic development was, from the economic point of view more difficult to do than estimating a rate of return on capital. Economic analysis alone could not furnish the tools for it, nor had it been taken up since Cairnes and Phillips were pushed into the background. With Genovese's article, however, the traditional issues on absorption of capital by investment in slaves, the inherent inefficiency of slave labour and the inhibiting effect of slavery on the development of manufactures reappeared to the surface.

Genovese, in his article, rejects the contention of Conrad and Meyers that slavery can be discussed purely from an economic standpoint. It is not so much the economic profitability of slavery that should engage our attention, contends Genovese, as to find out how and why it retarded the Southern economy. It was his view that what lay at the root of Southern backwardness was its limited home market, which was not large enough for the products of agriculture, and which in turn retarded the development of industry. The South was therefore sandwiched in a quasi-colonial economy dependent on the North.

Genovese attempted to synthesise the factor of staple production, economies of scale, income distribution, the interplay of economics, power, ideology and political control. This, he seems to have succeeded in doing in his essay already referred to. Here we should note the criticism of Robert Fogel³² however and his counter-factual and theoretical assumptions underlying Genovese's case but which Fogel claimed were not yet proved.

The last authority on the economics of slavery which we shall cite is Stanley L. Engerman.³³ Engerman's treatise is mainly an analysis of the central issues, in this century-old debate, an appraisal of those points settled and unsettled, and a plan of research for the future. He delineates the deficiencies in the various methods employed and proffers suggestions like in his calculation of per capita income and rates of economic growth in the South. In his view the really important questions have yet to be asked, and the last word on the subject has not been said.

Summary and conclusions

Our survey of the main writings and controversies on the American plantation agriculture and slavery reveal the following strands:

- (1) there is lack of unanimity as to what is central in the debate;
- (2) two factors—slave system and slavery as a business emerge as the dominant themes;

31. Genovese, Eugene D. "The Significance of the Slave Plantation for Southern Economic Development", *The Journal of Southern History*. XXVIII. No. 4, Nov. 1962, pp. 422-437.

32. Fogel, Robert, "The Specification Problem in Economic History", *Journal of Economic History*. Vol. XXVII, No. 3, Sept. 1967.

33. Engerman, Stanley L., "The Effects of Slavery upon the Southern Economy: A Review of the Recent Debate", *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*. Vol. 4, No. 2, 1962, pp. 71-97.

- (3) while the Phillips—Genovese school of thought employ economic and non-economic arguments, Conrad and Meyers insist on the dominance of economic factor alone;
- (4) in recent times we find the application of modern techniques of statistics, econometrics and economic theory to an understanding of the role of slavery in Southern agriculture.

With the use of these last methods more than any other, the contribution of slave labour becomes clearer and more convincing. Especially is this so in the last few years with articles on the methods of computing productivity and profitability.³⁴ The contribution of slave labour to American plantation agriculture must, in the view of the writer, be looked at from its overall impact. The measure of importance of slave labour can be assessed by the number of slaves continuously transported to America which historians have variously put between 6-100 million.³⁵

Another measure, yet unquantified, is the energy and zest with which Southern planters held on and maintained the system of slavery—the horrors of the “middle passage”, the slave auction blocks and the profuse debates and writings against slave emancipation. Not to be ignored is the leisure and scientific speculation which slavery made possible.

Third, the organisation of slave labour was calculated to ensure their highest productivity. Here we note the two work systems—gang and task; the extensive supervision and division of labour which were general features of plantations, and the lack of unionization which minimized labour turnover; reducing the efficiency of slave labour is the lack of security of person due to the legal status of slave; the involuntary nature of labour with consequent sabotage and working below capacity; the lack of education and training reducing slaves to mere automatons and the poor quality of housing and medical facilities accorded the Blacks.

In the matter of profitability, a proper assessment should take into account financial and non-financial returns. After all, slaves created utilities for the slaveholding class, some of which, like the domestic services of slaves and their families and food and other provisions grown on owner's plantation, are difficult to assess in monetary terms. These must be added to the sale of staple and the appreciation in value of land due to improvements and natural increase in slaves. When this has been done, it goes without saying that slave labour was a profitable business at least to the planters.

As to the effects of slave labour on agriculture and industry, we should not isolate the defects of the plantation system itself from the overall impact on the economy. As a monoculture, plantation agriculture, in the absence of attempts to restore fertility, led to excessive cultivation and the consequent exhaustion of the soil. With limited liquid capital and poor knowledge of scientific farming, there was little attempt to improve the quality of the soil. In the same way, the abundance of land rendered soil improvement superfluous.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the growth of the Southern economy rested on slavery. As Melden forcefully put it: “Before the Civil War, slave labour was the foundation

34 Examples are James D. Foust and Dale E. Swan, “Productivity and Profitability of Ante Bellum Slave Labour: A Micro-Approach”, *Agricultural History*. The University of California Press. XLIX No. 1. (January 1970), pp. 39-62.

35 Compare the 100 million of Du Bois (W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro*. New York. Henry Holt and Company, pp. 155) with Dike's 6 million (K. O. Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta*. Oxford Union Press, 1956.

of wealth in the South. Its semi-feudal civilization could not have existed without the patient, silent toiler on the great plantations. If cotton was king, its domain rested upon the swarthy shoulders of this black Atlas.³⁶

The economic contribution of slave labour was not limited to the South. The North was equally affected. Slave labour offered possibilities for capital formation to Northern industrialists in Southern agriculture. They were able to set up businesses in the South and advance credit to planters through merchants and banks financed by the North. Gradually they controlled the flow of basic resources of the South, making it depend on the North for its continued existence.

Furthermore, Southern wealth was drained by the North through the purchase of the products of manufactures, utensils, furniture and luxuries. As Woodman aptly put it:

Instead of keeping our money in circulation at home, by patronising our own mechanics, manufacturers and labourers, we send it all to the North, and there it remains; it never falls into our hands again.³⁷

It is extending the argument too far to blame slave labour for the decay of Southern agriculture. When the plantation system collapsed, the causes must be seen to be due less to slave labour per se, as to the many factors surrounding the system which could not hold together any longer. Soil exhaustion was one decisive factor, lack of capital was another—and market fluctuations yet another. Then came the inability of the South to diversify its economy as a result of the plantation system or to introduce innovations. These factors, coupled with the competition from the North and the rising antagonism against slaveholding with the political factor of slave expansion into the West, combined to strike the death blow at the plantation system. Its decay, however, does not obscure the valuable contributions of those workers whose sweat, blood and tears supported the greatest agricultural experiment based on slavery known to man.

36 Melden, C. M., *From Slave to Citizen* (1921), pp. 200 quoted by W. J. King, *The Negro in American Life*. New York. 1926.

37 Woodman, H. P., *Slavery and the Southern Economy*. New York. Harcourt Brace and World. 1966, pp. 201.

VILLAGE EROSION AT OZUITEM, EAST CENTRAL STATE OF NIGERIA*

By G. E. K. OFOMATA

Introduction:

SOIL EROSION is a well-known phenomenon in the former Eastern Nigeria and assumes alarming proportions in the East Central State. There is also an appreciable amount of writing on the subject but such works as exist usually focus attention on the whole of Eastern Nigeria or on vast sections of it.

Bende Division of the East Central State presents a peculiar soil erosion problem that merits a detailed study but which has not hitherto been given due attention. This is the phenomenon of "village erosion". The operative mechanism in its development is water action—combined sheet and gully erosion—but it is considered more appropriate to refer to it as "village erosion" because there is a high degree of correlation between the erosion scars of the area and the existence of villages in the sectors where the erosion phenomenon occurs. The features are repeated throughout Bende Division at Uzuakoli, Ozuitem, Ozuabam, Bende and other neighbouring settlements (villages), and are characterised by the fact that they take root in the sands and soft, friable sandstones of the Bende-Ameki Formation of the Miocene, get entrenched in the Red Earths (or their hardened varieties) beneath the surface and establish themselves as gullies (locally known as "oghughu") through the aid of one stream or the other. These features are more spectacular at Ozuitem and it is this case of Ozuitem which the present paper seeks to analyse. We shall first examine the causes of the erosion, then its consequences and, finally, suggest measures aimed at its effective control.

Causes of Village Erosion at Ozuitem:

In general, soil erosion results from two factors—physical (geologic) or human (anthropic) (Ofomata, 1965) The physical factors of erosion in Ozuitem are mainly lithology, topography and climate. Bende Division situates on the Bende-Ameki formation of the Miocene Period. The formation is made up of coarse sandstones, white to greenish clayey sandstones, grey-green argillaceous sandstones, shales, sandy shales, mudstones and thin limestones. Lithologically, Ozuitem lies on friable, coarse sandstones which yield easily to the action of rain water and runoff. Topographically, the area is a dissected, undulating, lowlying plateau whose constituent, fairly rounded hillocks slope gradually to the valleys of the upper, right-hand tributaries of the Cross River (See Fig. 1).

The climate is that of the northern sectors of the Southern Rainforest of Nigeria, with a mean annual rainfall lying between 80 and 100 inches (2,000 to 2,500 mm) and a climax vegetation of light forest. But what is important to soil erosion is not just the total (amount

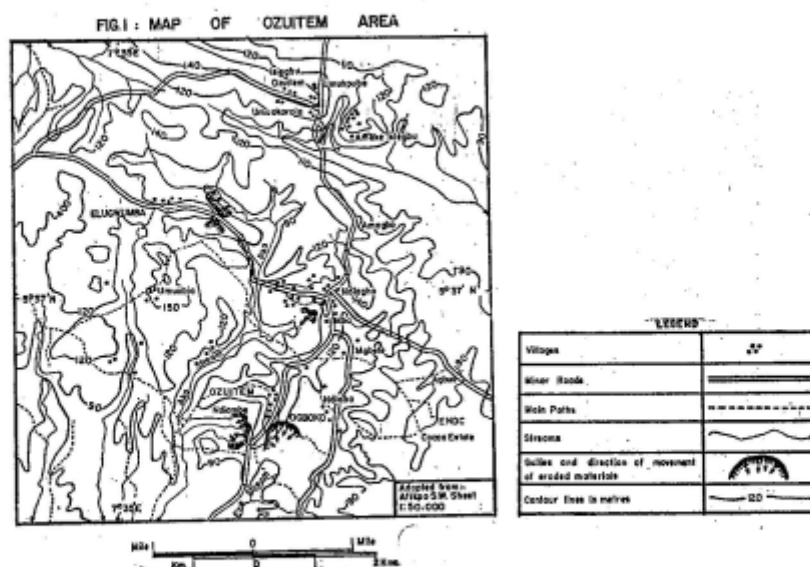
*The author wishes to acknowledge the contribution of the following 1971/72 final-year students of the Department of Geography, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, who took part in the fieldwork of April, 1972, which led to the compilation of Fig. 2: Miss W. O. Okpalanma, Messrs I. C. Egbuta, F. C. Okafor, P. S. O. Omoigui and A. A. Ude; also Mr. Patrick Adije of Umuokogbue family sub-unit in Amufi, Elugwumba village, who was an able field guide during his many field trips to the area.

of) annual rainfall, but rather the nature and intensity of the falls. Generally, the rains come in the form of intensive, violent showers of short duration, especially at the beginning and end of the rainy season. While rain may fall continuously for two, three or more hours, one observes that most of it comes during the first 40 minutes of the period of fall. They are the type of rainfall which causes so much damage in a relatively short period of time, especially where the soil is bare or only partially covered by vegetation which could have protected it from the erosive impact of the rain. Such violent showers constitute an active agent of geologic erosion. They also tend to favour a rate of infiltration which is just sufficient to lubricate the underlying strata and provoke some mass movement of soil. In general, therefore, we have here a combination of physical conditions conducive to the inception and rapid development of soil erosion.

The human factors are connected with man's interference with the natural vegetation which is now generally made up mostly of low bush, still capable of holding the friable sandy soil in place and protecting it against sheet wash. Whenever these growths are removed to set up homes in the villages, erosion steps in as the physical conditions are favourable. Among the things that trigger it off are the siting of the villages; alignment of houses in the villages and the influence of adjoining streams.

Site of Villages:

Villages in Ozuitem, as in most other parts of Bende Division, are usually sited on low, dome-like hillocks which slope on every side, often at angles of 10 degrees and over, and frequently towards a stream (Fig. 1). This is an unfortunate choice of location for settlements in an area of such topographic disability composed, as we have noted above, of extremely coarse and friable sandstone formation, of very weak lithological compartment to water action, where gulying is active even on slopes as low as three degrees only (Ofomata, 1967). This fact of inappropriate siting of villages in the area is very important to the question of village erosion and is reinforced by the related question of the alignment of houses in the villages.



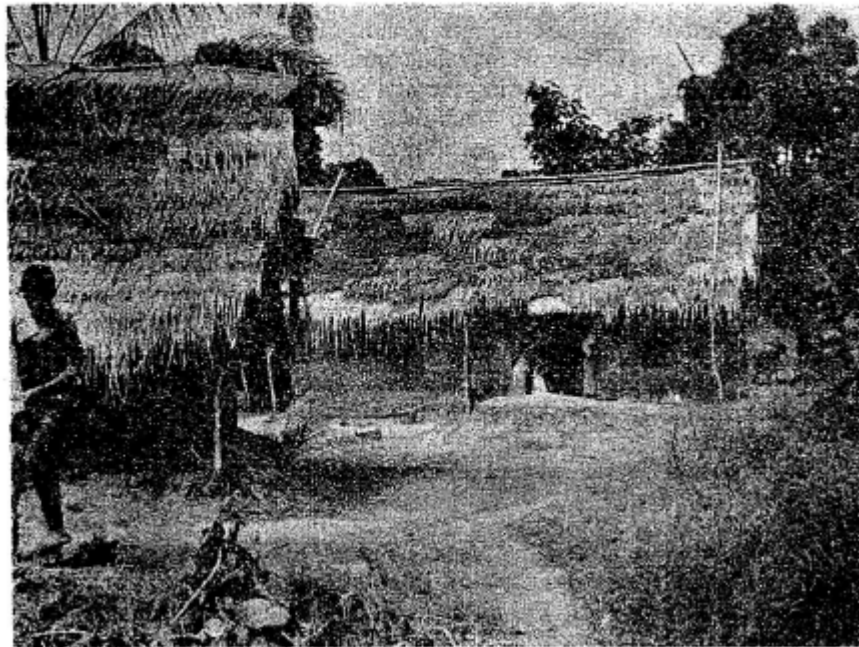


Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3



Plate 4



Plate 5



Plate 6



Plate 7



Plate 8

Alignment of Houses in the Villages

In most of the villages, the houses, generally small rectangular mud houses with-raffia roofs, (Plate 1) are not only very close together, but also aligned with one another and parallel to the general slope of the ground, with the result that some sort of a "central corridor" is created between two rows of houses and in line with the slope (Plate 2). As the rain falls, water dropping from opposite roofs collects in these "corridors" with the result that runoff is instantaneously concentrated. The "corridor" (flood channel) soon becomes a runnel and, soon after, a small gully which develops at a very fast rate on these unconsolidated sandy formations.

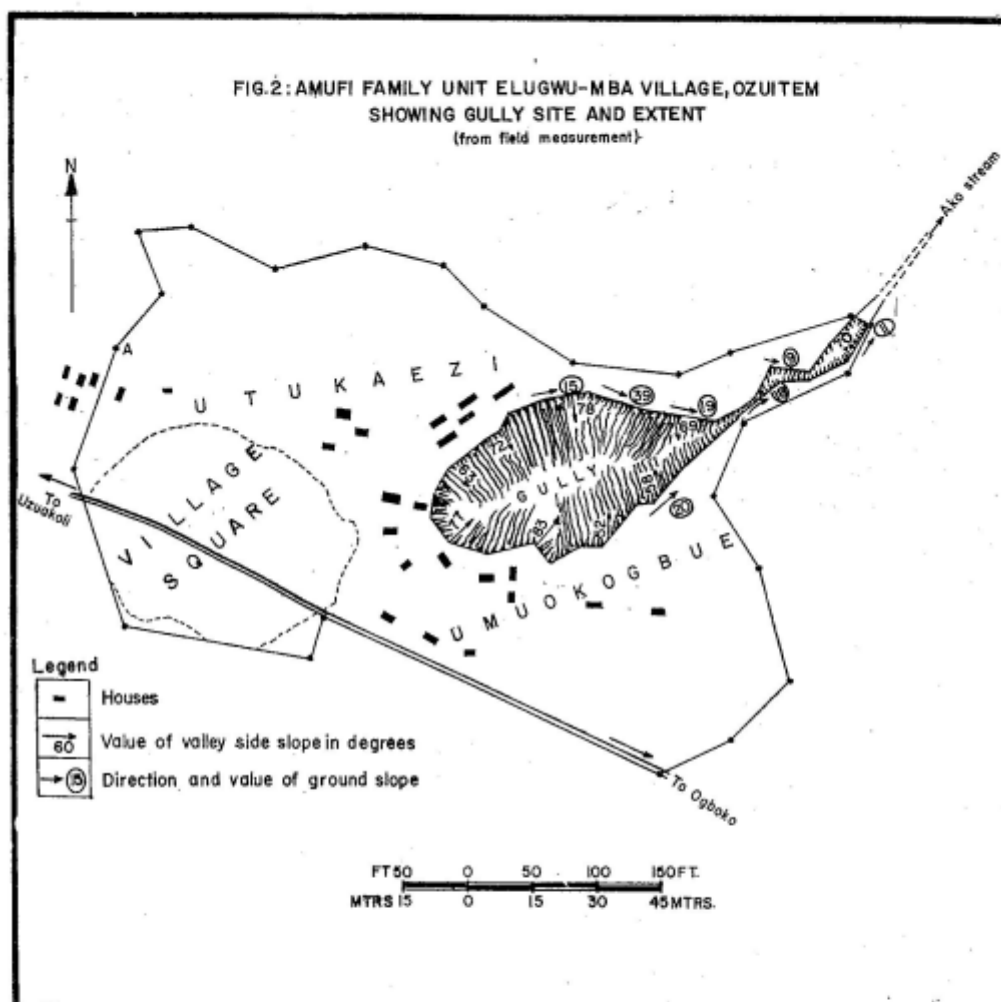
Invariably, these flood channels—artificial corridors—lead to streams which continually generate the erosion. For instance, the Elugwumba gully leads to the Ako Stream; the Ndiambe gully also leads to the Ako Stream; Elunta gully (Ogboko quarter) leads to the Nje Stream and Ndiokala gully (also in Ogboko quarter) leads to the Ene Stream (See Fig. 1).

Consequences of the Village Erosion

Apart from the general decrease in soil fertility (following increased sheet wash) and diminution of cultivable land as gullies cut backwards, village erosion in Ozuitem constitutes a great danger to life and property. An elder of the village confirmed to the writer that over one hundred houses have been lost to the gullies "within the last ten years". It is not relevant to go into the details of ascertaining the degree of accuracy in this report. What is important is the fact that a number of houses has been lost to the gullies and that another sizeable number has been equally evacuated by their occupants on the approach of the ever-growing gullies (Plate 3). Also, a good number of houses faces an imminent danger of being engulfed by the features (Plate 4). As old houses are lost to the gullies or abandoned by their occupants, settlement moves further up the slopes only to be threatened soon after by the advancing gullies. The entire process continued without any visible prospects of an end.

A detailed study was made of the Elugwumba village as an example of the villages of Ozuitem that are badly affected by the type of erosion under study (see Fig. 2). Elugwumba village is made up of five family units: Umulokwa, Umuofole, Ndigu, Agboelugu and Amufi. Amufi family unit is the one that is currently menaced by erosion. It consists of two family sub-units—Utukaezi and Umuokogbue (Fig. 2), and it is the latter which is mostly affected by erosion. As at April, 1972, 11.5% of the land area readily available to the Amufi family unit had been devastated by erosion. This physical loss of land does not take into account the perennial loss of soil fertility, following sheet wash, nor does it consider sections of the family land outside the immediate settlement zone. For instance, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile further northeast of Fig. 2, towards Ako Stream, a vast area of farm land was recently damaged by flood waters from the main gully, (Plates 5 and 6). In fact, that section of the channel connecting the Elugwumba gully with the Ako Stream is undergoing a phase of rejuvenation, with a freshly initiated gully working itself backwards, in the direction of the village (Plates 7 and 8).

Apart from the physical loss of cultivable land and soil fertility is thus this additional disquieting loss of cultivated crops. Furthermore, the products of gullying—mostly coarse to medium sand—are carried downstream and deposited in a manner in which they are further detrimental to human activities. These sandy products are in the main used to cover otherwise fertile and cultivable land in a part of the flood plain of the Ako Stream.



Remedies

A number of curative and preventive measures are suggested in the belief that all concerned will appreciate the exact nature of the danger posed by this phenomenon and take early action to combat it effectively.

On the curative side, a number of simple, but effective, soil conservation measures are recommended. The attempt should be geared towards preventing any runoff water (especially concentrated runoff) from reaching the gullies, as well as on stabilising the slopes. A combination of ridging, bund construction, and the introduction of side-drains leading to soak-away pits (sumps) is probably the answer to this problem. To reduce the effects of sheet wash, effort should be directed towards reducing the extent of bare soil in the area by planting such bare surfaces with grasses such as bahama grass and shrubs such as "Acioa barteri". Other local varieties of grasses and trees could be used. As a matter of

fact, a number of these measures had been taken in the past but do not appear to have made any useful contribution towards stemming the advance of the gully. On the contrary, most of the bamboo trees previously planted as a means to stabilising the slopes are now growing rather luxuriantly within the floor of the gully. It appears that the gully succeeds in one way or another to circumvent these checks in its way and a more consistent effort seems inevitable if the gully is to be adequately tackled.

On the preventive side, in addition to the simple curative measures recommended, it is imperative that most, if not all, of the villages which now face serious erosion problems will have to move to alternative sites and completely leave the present sites which are highly susceptible to soil erosion to rest. There is still sufficient land to facilitate this move if only the communities are to co-operate with one another. For instance, in Elugwumba, the piece of land near the village Church and School, an adjoining section of which is used for cocoa and kola nut cultivation, is very suitable. It is a near-level area without the topographic disadvantages of the present settlement and the movement of the people to this part of the village will not affect the cocoa and kola nut plantations in any adverse manner. But there is the rather touchy problem of land ownership. The piece of land in question belongs to other family sub-units with the result that the Umuokogbue family sub-unit can only make use of the land or part thereof through a bilateral arrangement with the rightful owners. No such arrangement is foreseen as the proprietors are in no mood to part with any bit of the land. They fear that the erosion which menaces Umuokogbue today may turn to them tomorrow and are, as it were, holding their available piece of land in readiness for any such emergency.

Under these circumstances, the only way open to the Umuokogbue family unit, if they have to move, is to leave their present location entirely and move to an area about a quarter of a mile away where they have proprietary rights. But this alternative area has even worse physical disabilities than their present settlement. Besides, there is the traditional feeling of reluctance to move from an area one's family has inhabited for a considerable length of time. This inherent attachment to one's village of birth is so compelling as to make any alternative measure more preferable to a possible movement of the people to a new location.

This question of movement is thus not one that will appeal to the villagers now but it would be in their interest if the erosion phenomenon were to continue to develop at its present rate. Were the rate of expansion to increase or even remain as at present, the people would be better advised to move in good time and save their precious land from being completely devastated, or they may have the choice of staying on for sometime until the gullies catch up with them. They will then be forced to move after allowing the land to waste.

Whether the people continue to stay in their present locations or, preferably, move to a more suitable site, they must have to improve on the manner in which their houses are sited in the villages. The houses should no longer be erected close to one another nor the rows of houses aligned with one another. Above all, individual houses and rows of houses should not on any account be aligned with the slope but be built at an angle to it. This practice will eliminate the artificial corridors (flood channels) and will constitute a step in the right direction in the effort to combat the incidence of soil erosion in the villages very effectively. It may turn out that this suggestion will prove a more acceptable measure in view of the obvious difficulties associated with a possible movement to a new site.

Conclusion

Village erosion at Ozuitem is only one case among so many similar occurrences in the East Central State of Nigeria. There is need for urgent action to control and effectively combat the incidence of this phenomenon not only in Ozuitem but also in other parts of the State which is primarily agricultural and whose population density, already the highest in the whole of Africa, continues to grow at an ever increasing rate. Now is the time to intensify soil conservation measures through out the State in order to put a halt to further devastation of increasingly scarce land and guarantee a future for millions of our fellow countrymen.

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Village Erosion at Ozuitem, East Central State of Nigeria.

LIST OF PLATES

- Typical rectangular mud houses with raffia roof—at Elugwumba village.
- Artificial corridor between rows of houses.
- House abandoned following gully action.
- House threatened by approaching gully.
- Damaged farm land at Elugwumba. Farm cultivated to yams, maize, cassava and vegetables.
- Reactivation (rejuvenation) of Elugwumba gully in the vicinity of Ako stream. Note damaged farm land.

A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE ON THE QUESTION OF DISTANCES IN FARM PARCELLIZATION

By M. U. IGBOZURIKE

Introduction

THE FRAGMENTATION of farmland is commonly regarded as a primary socio-economic difficulty facing agriculture in Africa and other developing regions of the world. And while there has been no lack of one-sentence or one-paragraph discussions of the problem, usually as part of the broader issue of land tenure (for instance, Uchendu: 1970; Parsons, Penn, and Raup: 1956; and Penn: 1964), extended treatment of the topic is rarely encountered in literature. Examples are Binns (1950), Igbozurike (1970), and Chisholm (1962). The last author discusses the question of distances and farm parcellization and relates production to distance, saying:

At the present time, perhaps the most widespread single cause of large distances is the fragmentation of holdings . . . It is quite apparent that the problem of distance is sufficiently great for there to be a response in the patterns of land use on farms and around villages in all parts of the world, as a common phenomenon (pp. 50-75).

It is this matter of distances which constitutes the theme of the present paper.

MCD, ACD, and LCD

For the sake of argument, as many as three types of commuting distances are involved in farm fragmentation: the maximum (MCD), the least (LCD), and the actual (ACD) stretch covered by the farmer. Theoretically relevant as the MCD may be, in general no cultivator seeks it, though it may be inevitable on his farm, as will be seen later. Since most people follow the path of least economic stress or, more correctly, feel they do, it may be assumed that the LCD will normally coincide with the ACD. However, this normalcy includes a number of exceptions.

Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between these three commuting patterns. In Mode 1 the farmer is free to travel from one parcel to the other and eventually back to his house without having to retrace his locus. This is the minimum distance ($a + b + c$) he can hope to cover between his plots: ACD coincides with LCD. In Mode 2, the relative parcel disposition is unchanged, but for various reasons the farmer must return or approach home each time before heading for his other fields. These reasons include difficult terrain, absence of negotiable or tolerable roads, lack of "wisdom", and none-too-friendly neighbours. In this pattern, $a_1 + b_1 + c_1$ is both the ACD and the MCD. This is opposed to a hypothetical LCD, equal to the $a + b + c$ of Mode 1, which non-acquaintance with the geographical realities of Mode 2 setting might suggest. There is nothing permanently immutable about Mode 2 and, therefore, about the relationship between its MCD and LCD, or indeed in that between the LCD of Mode 1 and its MCD. People do change their minds with regard to their neighbours; roads appear and disappear given sufficient time; and farm parcels do shift in terms of ownership and, thus, relative location. Anyway, as things

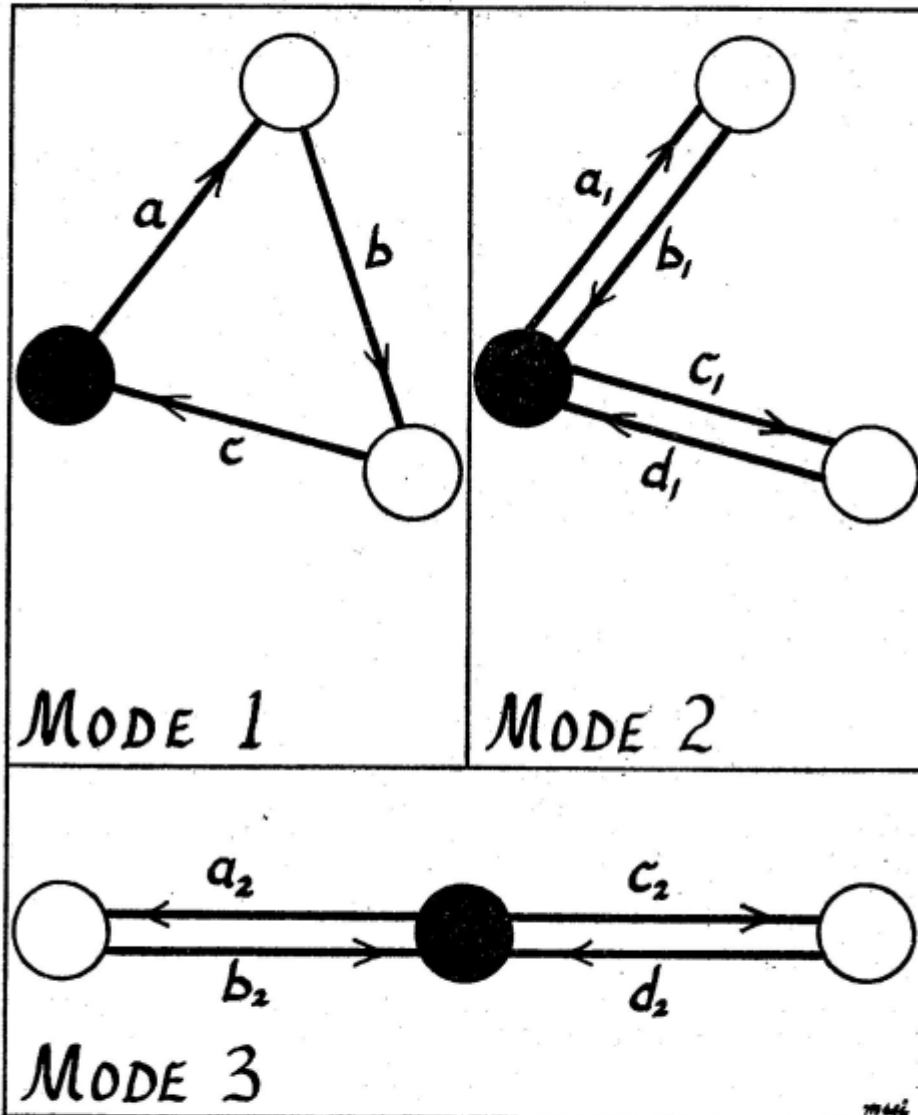


Fig. 1. Relationship Between Different Commuting Patterns in Farm Parcel-ization. The shaded circles are the farm fragments on which the farmer's houses are located and the rest are "other" farm lots. The lines are axes of movement, with the arrowheads indicating specific directions taken by the farmer.

stand in Mode 3, the cultivator has no choice in the distance issue, as long as he maintains this linear arrangement of his house and other plots. His predicament remains unaltered whether his homestead is sited on one end or the other of the straight line axis.

Upper Limit to Distance

With the foregoing variations in commuting pattern on the fragmented farm in mind, the question of an upper limit of distance will now be briefly examined. It is neither difficult nor invalid to imagine that when fragmenters are asked to state the maximum total distance they care to cover, visiting and working all their fields on the same day, there are almost as many different answers as there are respondents. But suppose one theorizes, or empirically establishes, that general distance ceilings in fragmentation in a region of Africa are ten kilometres for a man on foot or on a donkey, fifteen for a bicyclist, and twenty for a car-owner, how binding are these statistical delineations? If the ten-kilometre barrier holds for the average African farmer "on the hoof", whose age is well into the forties, is it applicable to his twenty-five-year-old counterparts (considered in isolation)? Should the man growing a permanent tree crop which calls for one monthly visit be put in the same category as one whose fields require daily trips? What of the man who is able to persuade nearby relatives to oversee or tend his distant parcels? Where do they fit in those agricultural deviants that have serviceable transport, but reserve it for taxi jobs, church days, and shopping excursions to Kampala, Lagos, or Abidjan? What happens when a farmer operates a segmented holding out of choice rather than under pressure of necessity? Even if cumulated distances are unchanged and total farm size remains identical, does it not make a difference whether the farm consists of two parcels or of eight plots?

The foregoing and many other possible questions suggest the difficulty of setting up precise academic, legislative, or in fact any other limits to distance in farm segmentation. It seems realistic to hypothesize that normally a cultivator will not try to obtain land specifically for farming purposes where large distances are clearly a restrictive factor in his operations or where he cannot adjust the scale and tempo of his activities to suit the magnitude of distance. Stated differently, it will be astonishing to find many farmers claiming or admitting that the present distances between the plot containing their house and their furthest holding are excessive, though at the same time most or all will prefer a total "absence" of distance.

Theoretical Location of the Farm House

A corollary to the issue of distance has to do with identifying the spot on which a perceptive farmer should live relative to all his parcels, so as to reduce the total distance and time spent in getting from one parcel to the other. One of a number of centralizing or centrographic techniques may be employed in this identification (Hart: 1954, pp. 48-59; Court and Porter: 1964, pp. 400-406; Bachi: 1962; and Svatlovsky and Eells: 1937, pp. 240-254). Applying the concept of the mean centre (\bar{C}_m) or the median centre (\bar{C}_m)—depending on how large the number of farms sampled is or whether the entire population is analyzed—and using the equation

$$\bar{b} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N b_i}{N} \quad \text{and} \quad \bar{c} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N c_i}{N} ,$$

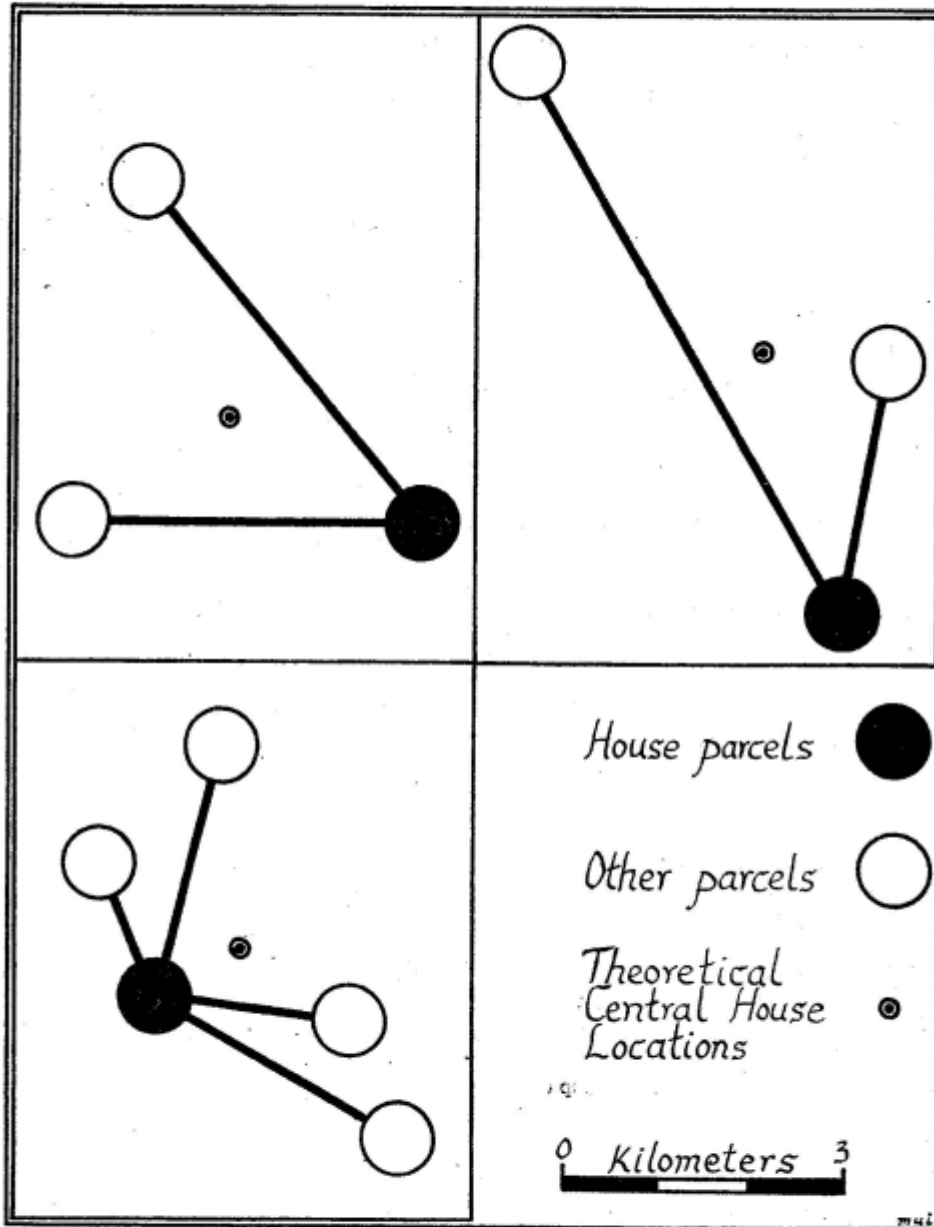


Fig.2. Distribution of Plots and Theoretical Central House Locations on Three Fragmented Farms.

where b_i and c_i are the b and c coordinates of the i th farm fragment and N is the total number of parcels, the hypothetical house locations shown in Figure 2 are obtained. (Figure 2 is a planimetric portrayal of the distribution of land fragments belonging to three farmers, two of them owning three parcels each and the third man owning five.) These foci are the points of minimum aggregate travel on the farms. The compactness or otherwise of the dispersion patterns of the plots may be visualized from the map (in the particular examples given in Figure 2), or else the mean centres/median centres derived above may be used to compute standard distances (Root Mean Square Distance Deviations) given by the equation

$$D_s = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^N (b_i - \bar{b})^2 + \sum_{i=1}^N (c_i - \bar{c})^2}{N}}$$

It is seen that in theory the farmers would be best off if they would move their residences to the respective locations shown in Figure 2. Obviously, many questions can be raised here: (1) Will the farmers move, even if the economics sounds "good"? (2) Suppose the ideals spot falls in the middle of an inaccessible part of a generally farmed region? (3) What if the land is already occupied, or is unusable? (n) ... ?

Final Remarks

This paper has suggested and illustrated a quantitative and theoretical dimension which could be profitably employed in analyzing one of the most serious handicaps of African agriculture, the problem of farmland fragmentation.

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TOWARDS A NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY IN NIGERIAN EDUCATION*

By EBO UBAHAKWE

I. Introduction

The language situation in Nigerian education as of now may be summarized thus: Nigeria—a nation of 55 million people with an estimated number of two hundred¹ indigenous languages—has some ten foreign languages studied in her institutions of higher learning but in such a way that:

1. There is no uniform language policy at the national level.
2. The more promising youths of the nation study the non-indigenous languages while the less intelligent ones study the Nigerian languages.
3. Nigerian languages, for all practical purposes, are studied only in the schools that are situated in the locality in which the language is spoken as a first language.
4. There are basic contradictions between the recognised roles of the different languages (foreign and indigenous) in terms of Nigerian needs and the corresponding varying degrees of emphasis placed on these languages in actual practice.
5. The Nigerian youths' performance in English language (the nation's second language) is on a definite decline at a time there is no substitute language rising to take its place.

Many writers or commentators² on language policy in Nigerian education have been pre-occupied with either the dangers and horrors of choosing an indigenous official national language in a multilingual situation or with the cautions that should be exercised in such a choice. This kind of pre-occupation with horrors and cautions is a disguised timidity (or inhibitions worse than this), in facing an important national problem that requires confidence in the future of the nation and foresight in planning and execution.

It would be misleading to focus attention on the problems of choosing an official national language (foreign or indigenous before ever the question of a national language policy is settled. The choice of a lingua franca, official language, official national language, a second language, and foreign language(s)³ is just an aspect, and in some sense a minor aspect, of a national language policy of any nation. This paper therefore is not concerned with choosing an official national language (be it indigenous or foreign) for Nigeria but with the importance of establishing, with all convenient speed, a national language policy in Nigerian education.

*This paper is part of a major research on language policy in Nigerian education for which the West African Linguistic Society provided some research grant.

1 English Language Teaching in Nigeria: A report of a Special Study co-sponsored by the National Universities Commission and the Federal Ministry of Education, 1966., p. 59.

2 See for example a Conference Report "Choice of a National Language: Factors and Consequences" of the celebrated Lever-hulme Conference on Universities and the Language Problems of Tropical Africa, held at the University College, Ibadan, 1961-62.

3 Definitions of these terms are after Heinz Kloss, "Notes concerning a Language—nation Typology" in Fishman et al (eds). *Language Problems of Developing Nations* (John Wiley & Sons, 1968) p. 698.

I shall therefore first document the haphazard nature of language study in Nigerian education and draw attention to the educational dangers in such a situation. Secondly I shall suggest guide-lines for developing a meaningful national language policy.

II. Lack of Uniform Policy

Although by Decree 31, December 1, 1971, the Federal Government established the Nigerian Educational Research Council to promote and co-ordinate educational research programmes throughout the country, and although the same Government is planning a language Centre first recommended in a report of special study⁴ as an English language Centre, it is still difficult to determine the official Federal Government attitude towards language study in Nigerian education. If we could be clear on this all important issue, even to any degree of satisfaction, this investigation would have been unnecessary. The nearest thing to an official government policy statement on language study in Nigerian education comes from documents like:

- (a) the recommendation of a commission set up by the colonial government in 1920—the famous Phelps-Stokes Commission, which (the Commission, by the way, was thinking of Africa at large) recommended that African languages, as well as English, should be used in education with the content and method of teaching in all subjects adapted to African conditions;
- (b) government stipulations that the language to be used in the parliament or court should be English, with a proviso that motions in parliaments or memoranda could be presented in the indigenous languages (popularly referred to as vernacular) excepting that such memoranda or motions in vernaculars must be accompanied with a certified English translation.

Beyond these general hints or stipulations the different education units, such as the voluntary agencies, taught the English language for obvious practical reasons and again for similar reasons taught in "vernacular" in the beginning classes in the primary schools. Thereafter, it was left to the individual post-primary institution to add any other foreign language and to retain or eliminate the "vernacular" as it considered appropriate to its needs and resources.

In sum, we can safely say that as of now, the language policy or rather the language practice in Nigerian education is determined by the interaction of the independent actions and prejudices of the individual post-primary institutions, the Universities and the West African Examinations Council, with the Universities as the senior partner. The Federal and most of the State Governments of the country which should provide clear guide-lines on these matters are cautious almost to a fault in working out a definite language policy.

III. Nigerian Languages Vis-A-Vis Foreign Languages

Table I shows the number of secondary schools or centres that presented candidates for the December 1970 West African School Certificate Examination. It also shows the languages which were offered in the examination and the number of candidates for each language.

⁴ English Language Teaching in Nigeria. *op. cit.* p. 23.

TABLE I

Total Candidates 29,855	English	French	Latin	Arabic	Efik	Igbo	Hausa	Yoruba
Total No. of Schools for each Language	567	301	39	15	22	156	27	205
Total Candidates for each Language	29,855	3,206	178	48	312	5,879	611	7,169
Percentage of Candidates for each Language out of 29,855 Candidates	100%	10.7%	0.6%	0.2%	1%	19.7%	2%	24%

Before interpreting this table we should adjust the figures, in the case of Nigerian languages, to accommodate the fact that the number of candidates offering a particular indigenous language is a function, not only of the total population that speaks it but also of the total number of students in the schools located in the area that speaks the language. This adjustment is made in table II below:

TABLE II

Total candidates for each Nigerian Language (A)	Efik	Igbo	Hausa	Yoruba
	312	5,879	611	7,169
Total candidates in schools located in each Language area (B)	1,289	12,507	2,049	10,579
Percentage of A out of B	24.2	42	29.8	67.8

From tables I and II it would appear that the popularity of languages in Nigeria at the secondary school level is in the descending order of: (1) English (2) Yoruba (3) Igbo (4) French (5) Hausa (6) Efik (7) Latin (8) Arabic. This popularity ranking requires qualification, because although Yoruba and Igbo rank higher than French, Latin and Arabic, it should be noted that the study of French and Latin in particular (and to a less extent Arabic) is wide-spread in the country whereas the study of Yoruba and Igbo, like every other indigenous language, is restricted to the area of the country that speaks each language. One observation from this is that the non-indigenous languages have a national outlook in terms of their spread and the degree of their relative popularity than the indigenous languages. This observation has an important implication for a national language policy because it raises the controversial issue of the relative value of indigenous languages vis-a-vis the non-indigenous languages (especially English language) in the development of national unity and national consciousness in Nigeria. One school⁵ of thought holds, for example, that although the English language was used in the forties and fifties by Nigerian nationalists to arouse political consciousness in the country, and although the English language is

5 Ubahakwe, Ebo: "Criteria for Language Policy Decisions in Nigerian Education". Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1965.

the most suitable language in Nigeria for achieving the high degree of uniformity necessary for the efficient running of the government machinery in an age of complex political and administrative organizations, the English language is unsuitable for and therefore incapable of generating, among Nigerians a sense of belonging and the emotional identification necessary for national consciousness.⁶

In relation to the national language policy, there is another important side to the study of indigenous languages *vis-a-vis* the non-indigenous languages in Nigeria. And that is: the more promising youths of Nigeria study the foreign languages while the less intelligent ones study the Nigerian languages. This observation is based on a comparison of language preferences of students who came out in Division I or better and those who obtained a Division III Certificate or worse, in the December, 1970 school certificate result. These facts as they relate to French and the Nigerian languages are presented in table III below:

TABLE III

Languages	Division I+			Division III—		
	(A)	(B)	% A: B	(A)	(B)	% A: B
French	463	1,443	32.1%	1,687	11,611	14.5%
Efik	2	41	4.9%	284	817	34.8%
Igbo	225	700	32.1%	3,478	6,649	52.3%
Hausa	10	51	19.6%	584	1,249	46.8%
Yoruba	181	490	36.9%	6,016	7,552	79.7%

Note: A = Total number of candidates for each language.
B = Total number of candidates in the schools that offered each language.

A look at the percentage column for Division I+ and Division III— shows that a much higher percentage (32.1%) of the better students studied French while a correspondingly low percentage of the poorer students (14.5%) attempted French. Looking at the same columns for each of the four Nigerian languages, it could be observed that the popularity was reversed. That is, a much higher percentage of the poorer students as compared to the more intelligent ones studied the indigenous languages. This very situation of polarizing the indigenous and non-indigenous languages and matching them with a corresponding polarization of promising and non-promising youths requires that the language policy makers should make sure that this is a desirable trend and not just a by-product of a haphazard language practice in a multi-lingual nation.

IV. Policy-Makers and Necessary Criteria

I have made references to the national language policy-makers without first asking who these policy-makers are. One can say that the Federal Executive Council is the policy-maker in all matters of national concern including a language policy. The facts so far presented, however, indicate that there is no operating machinery at the Federal level which attempts to co-ordinate the language practices in the schools, colleges and universities. Assuming that the powers and functions of the Nigerian Educational Research Council and the proposed language Centre are expanded to cover these duties, we need to have

⁶ Emerson, Rupert: *From Empire to Nation*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1963 p. 104.

objective criteria for establishing the language needs of the country. Such criteria could be based on the projected national objectives such as are usually set out in national development plans. The second National Development Plan, 1970-74, for example, listed the following as the principal national objectives:

- (1) a united, strong and self-reliant nation
- (2) a great and dynamic economy
- (3) a just and egalitarian society
- (4) a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens
- (5) a free and democratic society.

The 1970-74 Development Plan preface these objectives with the observation that:

To enable the new nation to march forward in progress, it is necessary for the country to accept and work for the realisation of a set of national objectives. Every individual and every segment of the country and all persons in positions of trust must henceforth be guided in their utterances and actions by these national objectives . . . It is appropriate for the Government and people of the country to seek to give concrete meaning to these objectives and ensure their full realisation at all times.⁷

Since formal education is perhaps the foremost instrument for realizing these national objectives, and since language is crucial for effective education, the selection of languages to be included in the curriculum and the way these languages are to be taught and studied should be geared towards the national priorities and the achievement of national objectives. Put differently, the study of a language, like other subjects in the school or college curriculum, should be undertaken on account of its usefulness to the country that bears the cost of keeping the language on the curriculum. The basic assumption being that a country at a particular stage of development with very scarce resources cannot conveniently entertain the luxurious idea of "art for art's sake."

As at December 1971, Arabic, English, French, German, Greek, Latin, Nigerian languages (4), Portuguese, Russian and Spanish were taught in Nigerian universities. In a questionnaire sent to University Professors and lecturers in the Departments/Institutes of Education and Modern Languages at the Ahmadu Bello, Ibadan, Ife, Lagos and Nsukka Universities, I requested them to match these languages with any one of ten alternative justifications for teaching the languages in Nigerian institutions. The ten justifications from which the respondents selected the most important reason for each language were:

- (a) availability of resources
- (b) contribution towards technological development
- (c) contribution towards cultural development
- (d) contribution towards national unity
- (e) contribution towards international understanding
- (f) satisfying academic pursuit
- (g) sentiment
- (h) service course to other departments or interested persons
- (i) tradition or prestige
- (j) other reasons

The responses are presented in table IV.

⁷ Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Second National Development Plan 1970-74* Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1970 p. 32.

TABLE IV

Language	Most Popular Role	%	Second Most Popular Role	%
1. Arabic	C. Cultural development	29.3	E. International understanding	21.3
2. English	D. National Unity	27.5	B. Technological development	16.3
	E. International understanding	27.5		
3. French	E. International understanding	76.4	C. Cultural development	11.4
4. German	E. International understanding	35.4	B. Technological development	33.9
5. Greek	F. Academic satisfaction	38.6	C. Cultural development	15.8
6. Latin	F. Academic satisfaction	43.1	I. Prestige Study	15.8
7. Nigerian Languages	D. National Unity	52	I. Prestige Study	20.6
8. Portuguese	E. International understanding	50	C. Cultural development	32
9. Russian	E. International understanding	47	H. Service Course	18
10. Spanish	E. International understanding	48.2	B. Technological development	32.4
			F. Academic satisfaction	19.6

V. Language Priorities in Nigeria

With the data from the preceding section we may now prepare a list of language priorities for Nigerian education. To this end, the ten roles assigned to the different languages may be grouped into three in a descending order of importance in which they meet the stated national objectives.

Group I. D. Contribution towards national unity/understanding

B. Contribution towards technological development

Group II C. Contribution towards cultural development

E. Contribution towards international understanding

Group III The remaining six roles: A, F, G, H, J, I.

In preparing this role priorities, guidance was provided not only by the stated national objectives but also by the developmental priorities for the current development programme which stated that:

In the 1970-74 Plan period, the highest order of national priorities is accorded to agriculture, industry, transportation, and man-power development. This means in effect that Government will allocate a great part of the resources to these sectors of the economy in order to generate the necessary impetus for growth. In the second order of priority rating are social services and utilities such as electricity, communication and water supplies . . . Except Defence and Security which are in a class by themselves, the other services will be regarded as belonging to the third order of priority.⁸

To obtain the language priority list, the roles were quantified and their values weighted to reflect their order of importance as well as their occurrence in either the first or second

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 35.

position of popularity. Thus, all roles in Group I have 3 points each, those in Group II, 2 points each and those in Group III, 1 point each when they occur as the most popular choice of our respondents. These points are halved when the roles occur as the second most popular choice (Table VI).

TABLE VI

Role i.e. Contribution Towards:	Value as the Most Popular Choice	Value as the Second Most Popular Choice
Group I B. technology D. national unity	3	1½
Group II C. cultural development E. international understanding	2	1
Group III A, F, G, H, I & J	1	½

Using table VI to convert table IV to raw scores we obtain the following values for each language currently taught in Nigerian institutions. (Table VII)

TABLE VII

Language	Value as the Most Popular Choice	Value as the Second Most Popular Choice	Total
1. English	D = 3 E = 2	B = 1½	6½
2. Nigerian languages	D = 3	C = 1	4
3. German	E = 2	B = 1½	3½
4. Russian	E = 2	B = 1½	3½
5. French	E = 2	C = 1	3
6. Arabic	C = 2	E = 1	3
7. Portuguese	E = 2	H = ½	2½
8. Spanish	E = 2	F = ½	2½
9. Greek	F = 1	C = 1	2
10. Latin	F = 1	I = ½	1½

Thus, in the opinion of our respondents and using the priorities and weighting arrangements already argued, the languages studied in Nigerian institutions as at December, 1971, line up in the following order of importance in which they meet the national objectives:

1. English
2. Nigerian Languages
3. German/Russian
4. French/Arabic
5. Greek/Portuguese/Spanish
6. Latin

VI. Contradictions between Theory and Practice

One can at once notice the contradictions between the recognised roles of the different languages in terms of Nigeria's needs and the corresponding degrees of emphasis placed on these languages in actual practice. The most obvious contradictions are as follows, taking the languages in the order listed above.

(1) *English*: In terms of Nigerian needs and priorities our respondents placed English well above the other languages (table VII). Although this placement coincides with the official importance attached to English in Nigerian curriculum (being the second language of the country) in actual practice the importance is on a definite decline. This downward trend is reflected in the performance⁹ of Nigerian secondary school candidates. The point of decline has been dated as 1963 when a pass in the English language ceased to be compulsory for the award of the West African School Certificate. By 1972 reports and complaints are coming from the Universities that the undergraduates are unable to use the language effectively in such relatively simple communication situations as reporting laboratory experiments. The complaints come, it should be noted, after the undergraduates have had, in addition to the minimum credit in English in the School Certificate, a further freshman course in the use of English. This decline in the use of English as described here may not represent a sharp drop but we have certainly come a long way in the trend especially when it is remembered that the undergraduates are top-performers compared with their counterparts (the masses) outside the universities.

The danger here is that if the downward trend continues and perhaps steeply at a time there is no substitute language rising (however slowly) to fulfil the basic functions of English in Nigeria we would sooner or later, be confronted with a linguistic vacuum.

Significantly, the downward trend in the students' performance in English is in consonance with the startling discovery that opinions are hopelessly divided among Nigerian educators concerning the chief role English plays in Nigeria. Twenty seven per cent (27.5%) of the respondents think that English contributes towards national unity; another 27.5% feels that its greatest value to Nigeria lies in helping towards international understanding (table IV); sixteen per cent (16.3%) believes that its major contribution is towards technological development; as many as ten per cent (10%) can find no better justification for teaching English to Nigerians than that there happen to be books and staff available for the exercise, and, as far as nine per cent (8.75%) of the University professors and lecturers are concerned, the English language best contribution to Nigeria is the academic satisfaction it provides. By way of contrast, there is solid majority agreement (76%) on what French does for Nigeria, and substantial agreement on the chief role of Nigerian languages, 52%; Portuguese, 50%; Spanish, 48%; Russian, 47%; and Latin, 43% (table IV).

(2) *Nigerian Languages*: Although the Nigerian languages are recognized as serving a very important need of the country, these languages, as of now, are neglected in fact despised. We have already noted (table III) that where there is an option the more promising future leaders of Nigeria would rather study a foreign language than the indigenous one whereas the reverse is the case with the less intelligent youths. This awkward situation is further buttressed by the fact that even at the Nigerian Universities where one should expect reason to prevail over sentiment, Nigerian tax payers' money (or at least loan borrowed on their behalf) is spent more on low priority languages like Greek, Latin, Spanish than on Nigerian languages. Thus more students study Latin at the honours

⁹ *English Language Teaching in Nigeria. op. cit.*, p. 42.

level than all the five indigenous languages put together. Also as many members of the teaching staff are engaged for Greek, Portuguese and Spanish each (and in some cases more) than for the five indigenous languages put together. In fact at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, in which Igbo was grudgingly retained as an elective, a Department of Philosophy and Classics has been set up in less than a year of its proposal. A Senior Lecturer is heading the new Department and some students have already registered for courses there. By way of contrast, it is somewhat striking that the same University was not thinking seriously of establishing a Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages until those who came for a seminar only about a year ago recommended it. On the history of this Department the Acting Vice-Chancellor said:

Another important recommendation of that seminar was its call to the University of Nigeria to establish a full-fledged Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages which, it is hoped, would facilitate the study and development of indigenous languages. **THIS UNIVERSITY TOOK THE RECOMMENDATION VERY SERIOUSLY** (bold face mine). In fact I am glad to report that necessary provisions have been made in the current budget for the establishment of a Department of Linguistics and African Languages, which, if we can find the necessary qualified personnel, should be headed by a full Professor supported by Senior Lecturers, Lecturers and if need be Junior Fellows.¹⁰

We hope the advertisements have gone out and that the University will not insist on the procurement of a full professor, senior lecturers and lecturers as a pre-condition for the establishment of the department.

(3) **German and Russians** Although German and Russian are of greater relevance to Nigerian needs, they are given low status in our educational system in comparison to French which at present is the next most popular language after English. Germany and Russia are among the modern nations which are in the forefront of modern science and technology, Nigeria's developmental top priorities. In fact, next to English, German and Russian hold the largest stock of scientific and technical literature.¹¹

An explanation for the popularity of French in Nigeria is interesting and revealing. French in Nigerian educational institutions, for all practical purposes, is a Post-Independence development. The reasons are many among which is the Pan-African movement and CCTA/CSA Reports and Recommendations of the Meeting of Specialists on the Teaching of a Second European Language (Yaounde, November 1961) CCTA, Lagos, 1961 which urged:

That the second European language should be considered not only as a means of communication between English-speaking and French-speaking countries in Africa, but also as an international language with a wide purpose which, jointly with the first European language, would enable Africa to communicate with other countries throughout the world...¹²

This recommendation was echoed ten years later by Nigeria's Federal Adviser on Education when he said:

10 Welcome address by Professor Modilim Achufusi, Acting Vice-Chancellor, during a Seminar on "Igbo Language for Igbo Tutors in Secondary Schools and Teacher Training Colleges" held at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. August 9, 1972., p. 2.

11 *Scientific and Technical Translations and other Aspects of the Language Problem*, Geneva: UNESCO 1957. By this date the publications in German and French ranked third after English and Russian but, since then German has outstripped French in Scientific and technical stock.

12 Quoted in *French Curriculum Development in Anglophone Africa: A Symposium and Guide*, C. M. B. Brann ed. Ibadan: Institute of Education, 1970, p. 139.

choosing an official language or official national language for the country as a lot of the popular writings on the subject would suggest.¹⁸ A national language policy would have to answer in very clear and precise terms such questions as (a) what is the minimum number of languages a Nigerian child should learn as a Nigerian citizen? (b) what are the guidelines for selecting such languages for example, how do we relate some of the languages to the child's career? (c) what are the stages of introduction of such languages what language should the child begin with and which next and at what level in his educational career?

With questions such as these answered, it would be easier to handle the problem of selecting a national official language(s). Some opinions¹⁹ have been expressed in answer to some, not all, of the basic issues raised above.

It sounds quite realistic to expect that for any effective promotion of national unity and understanding and in the interest of fast economic development of the country, every Nigerian should be able to communicate with reasonable ease at least in the following languages:

- (1) The first language (i.e. mother tongue) of the Nigerian child.
- (2) The second language of the country, which is the English language.
- (3) A Nigerian language other than the child's first language.

Thus every Nigerian citizen by the time he is eligible to vote and to be voted for should, BY FORMAL EDUCATION, be trilingual. That is, if the citizen speaks Efik as the first language, for example, he should be at reasonable ease speaking English and another Nigerian language to be determined by the educational facilities around him. Voting right has been used advisedly as a landmark for achieving trilingualism rather than, say, the end of the secondary school education. There are certainly other criteria but we have assumed that those allowed to exercise voting rights possess minimum qualification for effective citizenship. In the Nigerian context an enhanced capacity to understand and to be understood in the language dear to one another is a very important asset.

Now to the second question of guide-lines for the selection of languages to be taught in the Nigerian educational system. The selection of the first language (indigenous) and the second language (English) for the Nigerian child is pre-determined by birth! The indigenous second language of the Nigerian child will have to be carefully worked out by the authorities of the Education Board or agency operating in the area in which the child lives. It is not to be expected that this is going to be a simple task: it involves decisions based on political considerations, social mobility, economic and educational factors etc. It is precisely because these problems are present that national planning is being advocated.

A Nigerian who speaks the three languages mentioned above should not be required to learn a fourth language excepting out of his own volition or his life career absolutely demands it. A Roman Catholic priest may learn his Latin and a Moslem his Arabic because these are the languages of their respective religions. One aiming at diplomatic or commercial career would have to choose a foreign language (e.g. French, Swahili, etc.) most appropriate to his career and to the area in which he is going to practise his career.

18 Cp. "A language in Common", "Anglophonic" in West Africa, June 18 and May, 1971 respectively; Daily Times editorials and comments October 4, 1970, July 24 and 27, 1971.

19 See Awobuluyi, A. Oladele "Towards a National Language" *Ibadan* (October, 1966), p. 16. Banjo, Ayo, "A Historical view of the English Language in Nigeria" *Ibadan* (July 1970), p. 65. Armstrong, Robert G. "Vernacular Languages and Cultures in Modern Africa", John Spencer ed. *Language in Africa* (Cambridge, 1963) p. 70.

Other specialists such as skilled technicians and scientists need not learn German or Russian (certainly not Greek, Portuguese and Italian or even French) unless their specialization so demands, as it is likely to be for some of them.

In the way advocated here, language study in Nigerian education becomes utilitarian, purposeful and economical. Foreign language study is then limited to the relatively very few minority who need them for their career or professional or religious vocation. If my approach to the language problems appears to be rather inward looking, my explanation is that at the moment Nigeria must take deliberate steps to educate her citizens to be first Nigerians, proud of their citizenship, then professionals serving the needs of the country, and then and only then citizens of the world, respected by an respecting other members of the world community.

Learning a language is often difficult. It takes a child as long as five to six years to acquire reasonable competence in his first language in spite of the presence of a compelling necessity to communicate and the immense encouragement provided by the parents and peers. It is progressively difficult to learn to speak a second, third or fourth language at a time much of the motivations present in the learning situations of the first language are greatly reduced. This brings us to the third question of stages and pace of introduction of the languages in the curriculum.

We may take it for granted that educationists and psychologists are agreed that learning is quicker and more effective when it is carried out in the first language of the child. The demands of the modern world however are such that it is no longer enough or even possible, especially in the developing and multilingual nations, for a child to have all the education he badly needs in his mother tongue. Having accepted bilingualism or even multilingualism as a necessity in the education of a modern child, the problem turns on the question of sequencing and spacing the languages to be taught. The problem here centres on the danger of confusing the child by introducing the languages in the wrong order or too many at a time as a result of inadequate spacing. All these would delay or frustrate the child's mental development and learning capabilities.

To provide answers, which are supported by empirical studies, is part of the essential base-line studies which are absolutely necessary in the planning of a language policy of any nation. In the Nigerian context, one can at once see the great importance of the six-year primary school project on Yoruba language undertaken by the University of Ife and supported by the Ford Foundation. Not minding what a distinguished professor,²⁰ (writing from his room in far away Sierra Leone) thinks of the Ife project, the Curriculum Development Centre at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka with fund from Carnegie Corporation is already at the point of mounting a project complementary to the Ife one, aimed at providing empirical evidence for sequencing of languages and their rate of introduction at the primary and secondary school levels.

VIII. Conclusion

By way of conclusion, two important political observations must be made, first at the national level and secondly at the international level in order to underscore the theme of this paper. Firstly, without the overt action or interest of the Federal Government, the present state-structure in Nigeria has all the loopholes to encourage divergent state policies on language practice in the country.

20 Onabamiro, Sanya. "Down with Language Nationalism!" *Daily Times*, October 17, 1970.

The State-structure on the other hand could be a great asset in the development of a coherent language practice in Nigeria. One illustration will be enough indication of the double-edged potentials of the state arrangement. The Mid-West State Government, not long ago, declared her desire to teach Hausa in her secondary schools—an indigenous language that is spoken, not in the Mid-West but in the Northern States. From point of view of national understanding and in the interest of national unity this is a foresighted policy. But no matter how good the idea, such a state linguistic policy cannot take off without the necessary co-operation between the states concerned. Suppose the states pursue divergent linguistic policies then an invaluable opportunity for co-operation at an intimate level between the states will be lost thereby yielding place to the more artificial, divisive factors. Secondly, a co-ordinated language policy is not only more functional and economical especially for an undeveloped (or is it developing) nation with multi-state structure. But it is also a more effective device for controlling linguistic strategies at the international level. In East Africa, for example, the French government offered Uganda a gift of University provided the language of instruction is French while in West Africa, the Italian government, anxious to help in the reconstruction of the war devastated University of Nigeria, Nsukka, offered her enough staff (for a specified period) to teach Italian if only the University would add Italian to the curriculum.

The Federal Government on whom rests the initiative on this matter may be at a loss where to begin tackling this problem. Some people may be more at ease sweeping the matter under the carpet; others would rather wish that it be left alone "for the time being" while the majority of Nigerian educators who confuse the establishment of a national language policy with the selection of an indigenous national language will be scarred stiff pointing to their favourite case of bloody riots in India. No one, it hardly need be said, is suggesting that the Federal Government should set up a special committee to draw up a decree on the indigenisation of official language(s) in Nigeria! What is urged in this paper is that something should be done to control the haphazard nature of language practice in the country. The Government does not need to set up a new machinery for this purpose in order to carry out the necessary groundwork in baseline studies essential for any meaningful national language policy in Nigerian education. It can operate through the already established Nigerian Educational Research Council, the proposed language Centre and the existing facilities in Nigerian Universities. The need for a national language policy in Nigeria is urgent, the process is long and the time to begin is NOW!

SOCIAL VALUES HERITAGE OF THE IGBO

By ADA A. MERE

TO BE STABLE, a society must have certain values which the majority of its members affirm. One of the earliest syndromes of social disorganization is the emergence of series of unresolved conflicts resulting from the loss of faith in values and ideology once commonly shared. It is not my aim in this paper to evaluate William Goode's assertion "that much of the African industrialized and urbanized population is living in a state of social disorganization."¹ On the contrary my objective is to systematically identify some of the common values of the Igbo-speaking peoples and attempt to analyse them rationally. For, as Cuber and Harper state, "Being able automatically to identify values as data places a person one step along the way toward doing something about his or his society's specific values."² Repeated examination of values is valuable even if such analysis merely reveals the bases of our choice of behaviour and reaction.

In carrying out this exercise one is immediately confronted with questions similar to those raised by Liston Pope when writing on Traditional values in Transition—"values for people in which social environment?" Rural, urban or suburban? Rich, or the lowest and no income groups?³ In this instance, attention will be focused on the common core, that is, some of those values that are generally and broadly recognizable in Igbo Culture. M. M. Green alluded to these common values when she wrote, "We have said that these innumerable small units, the village groups, are held together by no central or coordinating authority. But one of them is linked, not by political but by social ties to the units round it."⁴ Of course the main import in Green's emphasis seems to be an intelligence note for the then, colonial office. Victor Uchendu's *Igbo of Southeast Nigeria* gives a rather broader expose of the Igbo functioning within his social environment by pointing out some of Igbo social values.⁵ In other words, there is some literature on the beliefs and attitudes of the Igbo. But the realm that concerns us—that is a systematic analysis of existing knowledge of social values seems not to have been dealt with at length. There may not be a total acceptance or even a consensus as to the importance of the following social values, but, in general terms, the existence of these values in Igbo culture cannot be denied.

In Igbo culture, family life values stand out prominently. Belief in polygynous and monogamous marriages is well established. Polygynous marriages in traditional Igbo setting have to be viewed in connection with the high value placed on children in the family; the need to secure the many hands necessary for traditional agriculture and the fact that characteristically, such marriages, unlike Western marriages, are not exclusively the affair of the spouses involved. Rather, it is a contractual relationship involving the families of the spouses, and the interaction is predominantly with the entire extended families of both parties. Polygyny for the traditional Igbo is a status symbol.

Polygyny while achieving a number of positive objectives like providing additional outlets for sexual and other needs for the man, and while giving more women the opportunity for marriage, carries in its train a number of undesired effects. These include the unhealthy rivalries among the wives and children, and a closer mother-child than father-mother patterns of relationship, and the inevitable status degradation for some of the wives.

In Igbo families fathers are traditionally accepted as authoritarian while correspondingly mothers or wives almost naturally accept their position as subordinates although functionally they enjoy economic independence. In the homes they are industrious, submissive and acquiescent to their husbands' wills. By custom they also respect the views of their husbands' brothers and sisters.

Child bearing and rearing in traditional Igbo family values are of first rate importance among the roles associated with women. The number of children and the quality of these children determine her socio-economic status. But because she is stereotyped as physically weak, fickle-minded, highly emotional and because she, traditionally, is involved in patrilocal marriage and does not perpetuate family name, her status in the Igbo traditional society is low.

The rationale for belief in patriarchal families would be found in the fact that the woman leaves her home for her husband's home. Therefore she is in effect a kind of stranger. By her husband she is given a farmland out of which she makes wealth which of course is her husband's. In addition to the above, the male leadership in the traditional Igbo family stems from the fact that he is physically stronger and therefore better equipped to protect the family. It is the man who pays the bride price which strengthens his primary position in the home.

It is clear that Igbo culture has successfully conditioned women to their socially subordinate role. It has apparently left no room for conflict, particularly where the marital union bears fruit.

Traditionally, children are highly valued. They have to continue the ancestral line in order to retain the family's ownership of whatever property belongs to it. The reality of family extinction cannot be ducked where children are not forthcoming. Such a situation is socially abominable. On the part of any Igbo parents, having children wards off the anxiety of growing old and the fear of loss of property to underserving fellows. Increase in the number of children in the Igbo society is not only a significant sign of continuing posterity but also a sign of an assured strength for the Igbo say *Igwe bu ike* (multitude is strength). The burden of children's education and maintenance is not a deterrent to the desire for many children in an Igbo society.

Traditionally, Igbo society is one in which the majority of the people are engaged, seasonally in similar types of activities: farming, building, road construction and maintenance. These activities involve tremendous manual labour, and often require many hands. It is therefore reasonable and natural for them to cooperate for survival. Interdependence was more pervasive than that. Every relationship, be it marital, parent-child, host-guest, call for mutual obligations.

The principle of mutuality therefore, serves adequately in Igbo traditional society. The society's relationships are personal and dynamic so that each party to a relationship serves as a check and balance. That is, each person manipulates the relationship to achieve his own end. The sense of mutual obligation leads to an identification with the wishes and aspirations of others and a feeling of mutual protection. It calls for philanthropic orientation in the Igbo who is better placed. The presence of a deep feeling of good neighbourliness that is an integral part of good citizenship was apparent even to the most casual observer. Generally, the individual in a crises situation knows certainly that he can count on others for support. So that anomie⁶ has no place in traditional Igbo culture.

Intuitively all human societies strive toward stability and social order. In Igbo society the family has always been the most fundamental, the primary social institution which for reasons of sheer survival had to be sustained. Cultures also have consciously devised

methods of sustaining their essential institutions. In this regard, Igbo people therefore place an undeniably high value on family loyalty, and unity in the face of odds. This strengthens family ties. The general belief is that even if your close relation is wrong you shield him in public and admonish him later in private. It is considered a serious deviation to betray or publicly bear witness against your kinsmen. It is believed that the spirit of the ancestors (*umu-nne*) will avenge such act. This value operated effectively since people lived in close proximity.

To the Igbo, land is of paramount importance, and this is so because agriculture is still the primary occupation. Life's sustenance comes from the land. Land to the Igbo means a secure place to live and produce food and wealth; something to be proud of; to defend and die for. Land is also the abode of the ancestral spirits who are continually venerated. Land permeates all spheres of existence. So great is the importance attached to land that it was generally not marketable for profit, and generally commonly owned. Even when through economic necessity it becomes necessary to pledge land, there was often the proviso that the land was redeemable later. This attitude to land helped keep kin groups together and checked excessive mobility.

Alongside this view on land is the high value which an Igbo places on his place of birth and the locality in which he grew up. In fact, so high is his valuation of his village home that often some village-bred individuals are incapable of full and satisfying life outside the village.

M. M. Green and other expatriate writers refer to the absence of central organization in traditional Igbo government. The units were not unwieldy and therefore permitted direct democracy. Every male adult had an opportunity to contribute his own views on the issues discussed. Leadership in government was the direct function of elders and various age-grades. This responsibility vested on elders is based on the understanding that experience and age have seasoned and matured the elders; and an elder enjoys this privilege as long as he commands the confidence of his people through his behaviour demonstrated in seeing to their welfare.

The traditional Igbo valuation of education is demonstrated by the fact that the learned individual is usually held in high esteem and accorded a preferential status. But this belief was not always practicalized. But with the realization of the economic and social values of education, people voluntarily contributed to the education of promising sons of the village in order to have representation in the realms of government. Parents made untold sacrifices to ensure that their children acquired learning for which they had not the opportunity.

The religious values of the Igbo show a strong belief in the concept of a supreme being and minor deities. Religion serves a social function. It is functional, a means of interaction and achieving understanding with the forces of nature that seemed uncontrollable, incomprehensible and awesome to them. Hence important elements in nature which exerted influence in the lives of people were vested with godly attributes. *Ala*—earth goddess; *Ota miri*—river god; *Anyanwu*—sun god: these gods are communicated with and they serve as the intermediaries between men and the supreme being.

The gods are expected to be just in their dealings with men. They offer security, protection and service and they are in turn worshipped and sacrificed to. Religion offers the traditional Igbo a feeling of involvement with the all powerful forces of nature that regulate his existence—the land, sea, sky, rain and sun. His ability to commune with these forces is for him a measure of security and the thought that he can in some way relate to and play a role in one of the major processes that determine his fate in life. With reference to the Igbo inclination to belief in magic, it has to be noted that in the absence of scientific knowledge,

feelings of insecurity, events good and bad were easily given occult explanations and the result was what in modern judgement would be considered irrational behaviour.

Traditionally the Igbo attach great importance to good moral living. In most aspects of social relationships, innocence of act and intention has to be vindicated. In marriage contracts, in-laws vow not to participate in anti-social behaviour toward each other. Relations undertaking business contract vow not to cheat each other. Hosts taste food presented to their visitors in demonstration of the absence of poison. The constant vindication of innocence in all aspects of social function results in the placement of a high premium on good moral and civil behaviour. In a society where people are in constant contact with each other, where relationships are on a personal intimate basis; a society which provides a system of checks and balances in behaviour, the culture of such a society generally builds into its fabric a system of sanctions that limits overt deviant behaviour. Also built into the Igbo way of life is the concept of status. Status is either achieved through personal effort or ascribed. Title holding, age, wealth and *diala* and *non-diala* are status determinants in Igbo society.

In looking at the things that traditional Igbo society value, it has to be mentioned that ceremonies are considered important. The Yam festivals—*Iriji Ohury*, the sacrifices and innumerable rituals to the various deities all point to this. The climate which is conducive to much open air life, and possibly the Igbo people's natural love of gaiety and music all throw some light on the importance of ceremonies. There is also an anxiety relieving, a relaxing and a refreshing effect in the individual, in addition to being an avenue of positive channelling of aggression.

Implicitly, it is clear that Igbo traditional values are on the whole shaped by Igbo traditional social institutions and environment, while at the same time they are a means of sustaining them. It seems that the society through a fairly conscious process, systematically sought to meet the needs created for individuals within the community in the bid to arrive at social stability and harmonious living. The social structure was such that the individuals were provided with the necessary mechanisms to function accordingly. The product of this social system could be aptly described, using Guy Hunter's words:

“... In their own lies certainly one treasure which could easily be lost in the haste of progress—the spontaneous relish of life itself, of leisure, human contact, the will relaxed, and the senses and spirit open to receive and give.”⁷

But the Igbo are today functioning in a setting of mixed values—traditional Igbo and foreign values. Contact with the West; urbanization and industrialization introduced new values and the resultant changes in social structure and institutions are felt everywhere, though to varying degrees.

In the rural areas the change is not yet as pervasive as in the urban areas and many of the social institutions which sustain traditional values are in many areas intact and vital. Whereas in some rural areas the introduction of christianity was an essential force in destroying polygyny, everywhere the family (polygynous or monogamous) still fulfils all of its traditional functions. So also does traditional religion. Where also in some rural areas migration to the towns affected the premium placed on family loyalty and independence, in other areas families remained little affected till the mass population movement of the past civil war made its impact on these values.

As has been indicated, in the rural areas, the absorption of change has been gradual and its impact less disruptive. Together with the slow rate of change is the somewhat

unconscious process of affirming a foreign value alongside its traditional and often conflicting counterpart. This is exemplified in the practice of accepting christianity along with belief in traditional religious rituals and sacrifices. A foreign observer would see this as an affirmation of two conflicting values and full commitment to none leading to personal disorganization. But to the traditional Igbo, this resort to divergent values simultaneously is a psychic defence against the insecurities resulting from embracing a foreign value and the institutions that reflect it.

What seems to be the strategy of the rural Igbo in the face of clash of values is that as he comes into full realization that he is incapable of staying the hands of change he recounts the resultant disruption with a feeling of resignation ladden though with anxiety and despair. When, for instance, the ruralite discusses the decline of the overriding authority of the elders and parents over the young, he blames the forces of change for this predicament but does not yet seem to feel pressured into a discernible pattern of response.

The clash of values is more pervasive in the urban areas, "As is true everywhere, in view of the heterogeneous character of the population in towns, and of the innumerable and conflicting claims urban societies press on their members."⁸ The urban Igbo, if he is educated, invariably his education is Western and carries with it the import of Western values. His daily living is a mixture of new and old values. Where ultimately employed in government establishment or in industry the organizational set up, the hierarchical system he encounters reflects Western values and standards of competitiveness, a success and achievement oriented individualism, a code of behaviour to which the Igbo has to adjust; and his adjustment is unique even if only in the sense that it naturally reflects his own original values orientation. For instance, the impersonal nature of obligations in employee-employer relationship is suited more to the 'inner directed' personality of David Riessman whose inner resources provide the appropriate moral code of job conduct more than to the traditionally directed person who is the product of a system where each party manipulates relationships to his personal advantage and balance is thereby maintained. Without an external force within the industrial system strong enough to check Igbo manipulation of his relationship with industry he can go beyond bounds, he can extract so much from the relationship that he impoverishes or exploits the system. Also the great importance the traditional Igbo attaches to family loyalty is often reflected in the selective process of employment whereby that fact of being closely related to the person in authority rather than merit, often becomes the criterion for employment. Their result is often the wrong choice for a job and frustration for the qualified person.

In another sphere, urban living with its heavy strain on the financial means of workers may force the individual to relinquish his material obligations to his less favoured family members. If he does, he is ladden with guilt feelings and conflicts. If on the other hand, he assumes the traditional responsibility his culture assigns to him he may find himself in financial difficulty, as exclusive quarters meant to accommodate a nuclear family may start teeming with relations. Also his feeling of pressure and personal deprivation could make him become anxious and sometimes hostile.

Another social phenomenon that is a product of this clash of values and also a vindication of Robert Merton's theory of inadequate means to achieving positive goals is the contradiction between what is professed and what is in fact done.

Corruption and tribalism are at times practised by individuals who are quite aware of and who profess the opposite values. Some people who preach the gospel of closing the gap between the "haves" and the "have nots" could be the most virulent opponents of social legislation designed to improve the socio-economic conditions of the masses. Some

preachers of good moral behaviour could in their private life be the worst offenders. One can preach the values of integrity; honest living; but one's values of "get-rich quick" which are more personally satisfying, together with all the other components of his personality, predominate and dictate his choice of action. This can continue to be the situation only as long as the conflicts thus created can be contained by the society.

Also, individuals are quick to justify and rationalize their values and thus adhere doggedly to them. The overtly immoral individual is quick to rationalize his pattern of behaviour by suggesting that such behaviour is now in vogue and that the individual of high moral probity is a rare animal to find anywhere, and that more and more people are behaving like himself. The corrupt and dishonest senior official quickly asks, "who is straightforward, nowadays?" and answers—"Nobody!", to support his act.

Values, right or wrong, can be so fanatically held that people have been known to die for what they believe. The factual story of a soldier who at the end of the Nigerian civil war ignored all evidence of the end of conflict, refused to remove the Biafra Army uniform and insisted on dying and did die a "Biafran" as a matter of personal principle, a cause in which he believed through and through is a case in point. Yet, inspite of the tenacious nature of values there is preponderance of evidence to the effect that various groups make elaborate efforts to imbue others with their values and ideology and they do so sometimes successfully. The point therefore is that values are a matter of belief and conditioning or indoctrination, and the real question then is whether the Igbo with his original values orientation can be systematically guided to adopting a set of values, a stabilizing ideology unique to his own personality and social environment, a mixture of old and new values. An analysis of the Igbo social functioning during the last crisis could provide a basis for making the above judgement. One of the social factors that led to the involvement of the Igbo in the crisis was his feeling that justice was trammelled, that he represents one of the ethnic groups that contributed to the making of Nigeria and now he was unwelcome in parts of a country he helped to build. Further, the ideology that wield together and sustained the masses of the Igbo throughout the period of the civil war was his determination to fight or die for his fatherland, his traditional treasure. The masses dealt with the social disasters of the war in a method that was uniquely Igbo. So that for many months of the war the family structure absorbed the social casualties, the homeless, the needy, the abandoned. And until the end of the crises, as the territory that was Biafran continued to shrink, every unaffected home was open for refuge. War impoverished families still contributed food for the fighting boys though much of the food did not get to the persons for whom they were intended. In order to survive there was a transition of roles within the families, among husbands, wives and children, newly developed forms of trading, professional begging and prostituting for relief and money were assumed with great ease. To survive, food items never considered edible pre-war, new methods of preparation and innovations in agriculture were quickly introduced. Also in the bid for survival, ammunition was manufactured out of local materials. In each sphere of life where there was a crisis, men thought out a way of coping with it.

The Biafran experience amply demonstrated the fact that faced with a conflict that threatens his survival or the very basis of his cultural beliefs the Igbo is capable of using his resources to deal positively with the situation if guided. In an effort to forget the harrowing experiences and losses of the last war it may be quite easy to lose sight of the positive contributions the Biafran experience could make to the national problem of analysing and synthesizing the Nigerian cultural heritage. For therein lies part of Nigeria's great social strength. Clearly portrayed in the performances of the Igbo was the fact that lying dormant

in the Igbo was a tremendous amount of positive adaptive capacity to stress. The fantastically ingenious and innovative responses of the Igbo to the situation in which they found themselves was uniquely Igbo, different from many other responses to war situations in recorded history, it was a product of the Igbo culture, belief, customs, communal resources and solidarity, and a reflection of the Igbo's attempt to strike a balance between the traditional norms, their colonial heritage and modern changes. The pragmatic methods of solving socio-economic problems through maximal use of local resources were among the primary lessons of the Biafran performance. There was also the fact that a minority that is powerful and not as committed to a cause as the masses can upset the apple cart.

The task then is as follows, and this is also true in a broader sense for Nigeria, establishing a set of values and ideals that strengthens the traditional institution where it is found necessary and substituting new organisations where old institutions have broken down or are out-moded or inadequate, and using the media of the various societal institutions, the family, the school, the church and local organisations to teach the Igbo the values that are high-lighted. There has to be clearly enunciated norms and codes of behaviour. Being fed with a daily dose of these values and ideals incorporated also into all spheres of social life; cushioned in a family life that provides adequately for the material and emotional needs and essential mechanisms for adaptation to novel life situations so that the next generation will grow secure and fully identified with the essential societal values.

Sayings and Names Reflecting Igbo Social Values

On Marriage

1. Eferè enweghị nwanyị buè Ochọ-nga-ọ ga-efu Nga o ruru ya chiri.
(A bachelor is like the wanderer who sleeps anywhere).

On Women

2. Di nwanyị bu chi ya
(A woman's husband is her god).
Oha ụmụ-nwanyị bu oha agbarigha.
(A woman's summit is a meeting of immature minds).

On Children

3. Nwa bụ eze; Nwa bụ ụba.
(A child bestows kingship; A child is wealth).

On Obedience

4. Nwata bulie Nna ya elu Ọgodo awụchie ya anya.
(The child who throws his father up gets blinded by his wrapper) (the father's).

On Inter-dependence

5. Aka-nri kwọọ aka ekpe, aka-ekpe akwọọ aka nri
(The right hand washes the left hand and the left hand washes the right).
O metu anya O metu imi
(When the eye cries the nose cries).

On the village

6. Ngam ka m nma
(My home is preferred).

On Family Loyalty

7. A chupuọ ariri ama, uta anoro n'ulo.
(Drive insults out to the road and later at home affix blame).

On Land

8. Ala ubi, ala ome-ire
(God of the farm, god the effective).

On Democracy

9. E zuo ezuo kwaba nwadi-ala n'onunu, Ogaghi awa afa.
(If by consensus a person in his maternal or paternal original home is pushed into a ditch it does not cause a conflict).

On Education

10. Onye mutakariri ibe ya ihe Mekariri ya ihe
(The person who acquires education supercedes the other).

On Religion

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 11. Obasi di n'elu na-ekwu | — | The supreme being dictates |
| Chi oma | — | God the good |
| Chi na-emere | — | The supreme being gives |
| Chineke onye okike | — | The supreme being creates. |

On Good morals

12. A tuo ominiri rachaa unnere, Mgbugbo ya ga eseriri n'elu.
(If you dive into the river and eat a banana its peel will float).

IGBO NOMINALS*

By E. 'NQLUE EMENANJO

THIS PAPER does not attempt to discuss Igbo nominals in detail. It simply tries to define and to sub-classify Igbo nominals with a set of criteria rather different from those already employed by Green and Igwe (1963) and by Carnochan (1967) for their 'nominals'.

1. A Definition of Igbo Nominals

The Igbo nominal is here defined as any word which can function (i) alone in a minimal nominal phrase. (The nominal phrase itself occurs in either of the blanks in the testing frame below) and (ii) as head of any two-word nominal phrase.

The testing frame is:

* _____ V _____ *

where * is a sentence boundary,

and V is a Verbal, i.e. a verb or an auxiliary complex (i.e. an auxiliary plus a participle).

NP (minimal)	VERBAL	NP (minimal)	
1. Unù	dì	nwayò.	'You (pl) have the qualities of gentleness.'
2. Unù	nà-èje	nwayò.	'You (pl) are going gently/with gentleness.'
3. Ònye	jè	ozì.	'Who has gone on the errand?'
4. Òlù	nà-àga	òsìsò.	'The work is going on quickly/with speed.'
5. Ò	kwù	gegelegem.	'He is standing straight and erect.'
6. Chikē	dànyà	kpàwùùm.	'Chike fell into the stream with a splash.'
7. Ànyị	chọ	ya.	'We want him.'
8. ùnù	gà-àchọ	gịnị.	'You (pl) will look for what?'
9. Gịnị	rì	nnē.	'What has the qualities of being many?'
10. Ò	fụ	unù.	'He saw you (pl).'
11. Ìse	jù	àjụ.	'Five refused a refusal.'
12. Àda	chọ	ìse.	'Ada wants five.'
13. Ụnọ	dì	ogonogo.	'The house has the qualities of height/length.'
14. Ìse	kwù	ogonogo.	'Five are standing lengthwise.'

*This is a revised version of an original paper read at the Linguistics Seminar, University of Ibadan, Ibadan. Examples in this paper are given in the Onitsha Town dialect of Igbo. Tones are marked thus: high tones unmarked, Low tone, — Step tone.

(The verbals in (2), (4) and (8) are auxiliary complexes while those in the others are verbs. The nominals in the examples above cover most of the major types of nominals possible in the language).

The definition given above for Igbo nominals seems to be more comprehensive and economical than that of either Green and Igwe or of Carnochan. Green and Igwe's 'nominals—nouns, pronouns, numerals—are distinguished by a wide range of syntactical behaviour, much of which is common to all of them and by much tonal inflexion.' Carnochan's 'nouns, numerals adjectives and interrogatives are grouped together under the heading of Nominals. 'They are differentiated from each other partly on syntactic criteria involving the "place" an item may have in a nominal phrase, of, for instance, two places, one for the first word and one for the second.'

If one were to rely solely on the criteria employed by Green and Igwe, one would leave words like *onye* in (3) and *gĩnĩ* in (8) and (9) out of the nominal class. For interrogatives—as we shall class the words later—are left out of Green and Igwe's nominals. If one were to rely only on Carnochan's criterion of 'place' in a nominal phrase one would not consider verb-bound words like *osĩsọ* in (4); *gegelegem* in (5); *kpàwùùm* in (6); *nnē* in (9); and *àjù* in (11) as nominals.

I concede, however, that some of the criteria employed by Green and Igwe and by Carnochan are useful for sub-classifying but not for defining Igbo nominals.

Secondly, the frame used here for defining nominals makes it possible for us to see that many Igbo words which describe states e.g. *gegelegem* in (5); qualities e.g. *nwayò* in (1); *ogonogo* in (12); and manner e.g. *nwayò* in (2); *osĩsọ* in (5); *kpàwùùm* in (6) and *ogonogo* in (11) are clearly nominals. It is important to note that because such words gloss as 'adjectives' and 'adverbs' in English these words have been regarded as 'adjectives' by Ward (1935) and 'adjectives and adverbs' by Igwe (1971). Special mention has to be made of nominals like *gegelegem* in (5) and *kpàwùùm* in (6), which I shall hereafter refer to as ideophones. Igwe (1971) treats them as 'adverbs' while Carnochan treats them as a rather marginal word class which he calls 'Interjections'. Igbo ideophones are nominals as Green and Igwe have rightly observed. Igbo ideophones are an essential part of the language. Unlike what I am informed happens in some languages where ideophones stand aloof in a sentence, Igbo ideophones are well integrated into sentences.

Thirdly, the framework used here for defining nominals makes it easy for us to see that verb-bound words like *nnē* in (9) and *àjù* in (ii) are nominals. One fact which nominals like these bring out is that at the deep level the Igbo verbal is inherently transitive. This means that at the deep level the verbal always takes on object. This object may, however, be deleted at the surface level. Where, at the deep level, there is no direct object the verbal may be followed by a nominal which is cognate with the verbal as in (11). A nominal of this type is called a cognate noun object. The verb-ri 'have the qualities of' is one of the Igbo verbs which does not have a cognate object. Verbs which do not have cognate noun objects do, however, have special noun objects. Thus-ri takes *nnē* 'bigness, much, many' as a special noun object. This object is as restricted to this verb as each cognate noun object is to its verb.

Finally, with the framework used here for nominals, we can conveniently isolate the nominal modifiers in the language without resorting to the 'associative construction', and where this fails, to ad hoc criteria like 'analogies in usage and in semantic features' as Welmers and Welmers (1969) do. Unlike nominals, nominal modifiers do not function in a minimal nominal phrase.

2. A Sub-Classification of Igbo Nominals

The framework used above can help us to isolate nominals as well as nominal modifiers. But it cannot help us to sub-classify them. To sub-classify nominals we need other

criteria. It is in this regard that we will find some of the criteria used by Green and Igwe Carnochan, and Welmers and Welmers useful.

Particularly useful is the 'associative construction' which is the phrase Welmers and Welmers use for what Green and Igwe call 'genitival relationship', Carnochan calls 'genitive relation' and Voorhoeve et al (1969) call the 'completive phrase'. The associative construction is a particular type of nominal phrase made up of two constituents, each of which is a noun. In the construction, the first noun is the head and the second a modifier. In this construction either one or both of the nouns may be marked, overtly or covertly, depending on their inherent tones and on their positions in the construction. We shall only refer to those cases of overt marking which are relevant to our discussions here.

- (i) if the first noun ends in a High low tone pattern and the following noun has a LH. pattern the final low tone of the first noun is raised to a step and the initial low tone of the second noun is also raised to a step: e.g. ụnọ 'house'; òke 'rat': ụnọ òke 'house of rat'
- (ii) if the first noun ends with two final low tones and the second noun has a LL . . . pattern the last low tone of the first noun is raised to high: e.g. ànị 'land'; ịgbò 'Igbo': ànị ịgbò 'Igboland'
- (iii) if the second noun has two inherent high tones the second high is realized as a step: e.g. anụ 'meat'; ewu 'goat': anụ ewū 'goat meat'.
- (iv) if the first noun ends with two final low tones and the second noun has a LH . . . pattern, the second low of the first noun is raised to high while the initial low of the second noun is raised to step: e.g. ànị 'land'; òke 'rat': ànị òke 'land of rats'

By referring to (i) above we can see that in the phrase: ụnọ 'house'; ịtọ 'three': ụnọ ịtọ 'The third house', there are tone changes characteristic of the associative.

But in the phrase:

ụnọ 'house' ịtọ 'three': ụnọ ịtọ 'three houses'

there are no morphotonemic changes characteristic of the associative.

This suggests that the nominal ịtọ 'three' belongs to a sub-class different from òke 'rat' in (i). For while òke always changes its tones, ịtọ changes under certain conditions only. Thus while òke is a noun, ịtọ can be said to be a Numeral. It is a fact of Igbo grammar that Numerals retain their initial low tones in certain conditions after a final low tone.

Now, by referring to the associative construction we can show that the numbers òfu 'one'; ọgụ 'twenty' and nnụ 'four hundred' are nouns not numerals. These numbers precede their nouns unlike numerals which follow their nouns. By referring to (iii) above we can see that the second noun undergoes tonal changes characteristic of the associative. e.g. òfu 'one'; ewu 'goat': òfu ewū 'one goat' ọgụ 'twenty'; ewu 'goat': ọgụ ewū 'a score of goats'; nnụ (a unit of) four hundred: ewu 'goat': nnụ ewū (a unit of) four hundred goats'.

By referring to the associative construction, we can confirm that those words which are always used with modifiers, are nouns. These words include ñkè 'that of'/connected with'; onye 'person of/connected with'; ndị 'those of/connected with: persons of/connected with'; oke, 'greatness/hugeness of' and ezi 'worth/essence of'.

e.g. ñkè 'that of/connected with'	ànị 'land': ñke ànị 'that connected with land'
onye 'person connected with'	ọlụ 'work': onye ọlụ 'person connected work'
ndị 'person connected with'	ndị ọlụ 'persons connected with work'
oke 'greatness/hugeness of'	ife 'thing': oke ife 'greatness of a thing'
ezi 'worth of/essence of'	okwu 'word'; ezi okwū 'essence of word, truth'

In the above example, the first word is the head while the second is the modifier. This bears out the contention that any word which can function as the head of a two word NP is a nominal.

With the associative construction we can show that some of the ideophones belong in the noun sub-class of nominals. e.g. gidigidi 'stampede'; òke 'rat': gidigidi òke 'stampede of rats.' An ideophone like the above can be said to be among the 'free' ideophones for these can occur in other positions than immediately after the verbal. As for the other ideophones which cannot occur except after the verbal, we can call these 'bound' ideophones. Since 'bound' ideophones cannot be used outside the verb phrase, we have no way of testing them. But, we can take them to be nouns, on the basis of analogy.

With the associative construction, we can also see that some of the cognate words belong in the noun sub-class of nominals. e.g. ùsọ 'sweetness' as used in – sọ usọ 'have the qualities of sweetness' ùsọ 'sweetness', nni 'food': ùsọ nni 'sweetness of food'. A cognate word like ùsọ can be said to be a 'free' cognate noun, since this can be used outside the verb phrase. But there are other cognate words which can be used only immediately after the verbal. We can call these 'bound' cognate noun objects. We have no way of testing 'bound' cognate noun objects. But we can regard them as nouns, on the basis of analogy.

With the associative construction we can see that nominals like ogonogo are nouns: e.g. ogonogo 'length/height'; okwu 'word' ogonogo okwū 'length of discussion.'

From the above discussion, we can see that the associative construction is really useful for isolating some nouns and the numerals, among the nominals. The associative cannot be used for isolating other sub-classes of nominals. We need other criteria for this purpose.

For nominals like ònye in (3) and ginj in (9) we can see that these can be used, among other things, to introduce questions. Such nominals can be called Interrogatives.

For nominals like unù in (1), ọ in (5), ànyị in (7), compare (1) with (15) unù dị nwayọ 'Do you (pl) have the qualities of gentleness?' Compare (5) with (16) ọ kwù gegelegem 'Is he standing straight and erect?' Compare (7) with (17) ànyị chọ ya 'Do we want him?'

It will be noticed that the affirmative sentences (1), (5) and (7) differ from the interrogative sentences (15), (16) and (17) in one way only—the presence of low tones on the first word in the sentence. Words of this type are to be hereafter referred to as Subject Pronouns. It is a feature of Igbo syntax that Subject Pronouns with low tones are used, like interrogatives, to introduce questions in the language. Questions can, however, contain a low tone pronoun and an interrogative. See (8).

It must be said that there are other pronouns which do not behave like subject Pronouns. There are, for example, the Object Pronouns ya in (7) and unù in (10). Object pronouns have the same morphemes as the Subject Pronouns, in some persons e.g. unù 'You (pl)' is the same for the Subject and Object of the 2nd plural. But for some persons like 3rd, Singular, we have a subject form ọ in (5) different from an Object form ya in (7). Now, since in all occasions of their usage, Subject and Object pronouns are in complementary distribution, we can regard the Object forms as belonging in the same sub-class of nominals as the Subject Pronouns. We can then call this sub-class: Pronouns.

Conclusion

The four sub-classes of nominals recognised in this analysis are:

- (i) Pronouns
- (ii) Interrogatives

- (iii) Numerals
(iv) Nouns

Pronouns and Interrogatives belong in a closed class while nouns belong to a very open class indeed. Nouns have a wide variety of uses and can occupy various slots in a nominal or verb phrase. In the verb phrase it is nouns that occupy the adverbial slot:

e.g. (18) $\text{\textcircled{O}} \text{\textcircled{j}}\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{u}} \text{\textcircled{C}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{e}} \text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{z}}\text{\textcircled{i}} \text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{y}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ 'He slowly went on an errand for Chike.'

$\text{NP}_1 \text{ NP}_2 \text{ NP}_3$

In the above, NP_1 is used as the indirect object, NP_2 is used as the direct object, while NP_3 is used as a manner adverbial. There are no adverbs in Igbo. In this conclusion we agree with Schon (1861) and Carrell (1969) that 'there is no lexical category of adverbs in Igbo represented by free forms. Adverbs (i.e. adverbial notions) of time, place and manner are expressed with nouns, noun phrases, prepositional phrases and embedded constructions.' Just as nouns are used for expressing adverbial notions, so too nouns are mostly used for expressing adjectival ideas. A lot of the words which like, *ogonogo*, have been regarded as adjectives are really nouns. But while there are no adverbs, there are a few nominal modifiers that may be conveniently called 'adjectives'. We would not want, like Carnochan, to treat adjectives as a sub-class of nominals, since adjectives cannot be used in a minimal nominal phrase or as head of a two-word NP. Unlike nouns, some of them do not change their tones as second elements in noun + adjective phrase, e.g. $\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ 'house'; $\text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ 'good': $\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}} \text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ 'good house'

$\text{\textcircled{*}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}} \text{\textcircled{o}}\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$

but $\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}}$ 'house'; $\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ 'food': $\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{o}} \text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ 'house for food'

Green and Igwe's nominals are sub-classified into Nouns, numerals and pronouns. Carnochan's nominals are sub-classified into Nouns, numerals, pronouns, interrogatives, and adjectives.

Ours are sub-classified into Nouns, numerals, pronouns and interrogatives.

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BOOK REVIEW

By E 'NQLUE EMENANJO

Book: *Poetic Heritage: Igbo Traditional Verse.*
Editors: Dr. Romanus Egudu and Dr. Donatus Nwoga.
Publishers: Nwankwo-Ifejika and Co. (Publishers) Ltd, Enugu.
Price: ₦2.50 net.

I associate myself completely with the complimentary remarks that have already been made by Chike Ezimora ("The Daily Times" Thursday, June 1st. 1972) and Uchegbulem Okorie ("The Renaissance", Sunday June 4th. 1972). Ezimora and Okorie have touched upon some of the salient features of the cultural content of this very important work.

In this short review, I wish to look at *Poetic Heritage* from another perspective. Unlike the two above-mentioned reviews, which, as I have said, concern themselves with content, this review will focus attention on certain aspects of presentation or style. Specifically, I shall concern myself with the following linguistics-orientated points:

- (i) transcription
- (ii) word division and spelling
- (iii) tone marks.

With regard to (i), it must be recognised that there are two forms at the disposal of a transcriber (or writer)—the 'spoken' form and the 'full' form. The spoken form is usually shorter than the 'full' form in view of the fact that the former is affected by vowel assimilation, vowel elision and consonant reduction, among other features characteristic of spoken Igbo. For example, the full form and the spoken form of the Igbo phrase which glosses as 'or' in English, are *mà ò bù* and *mòòò* respectively. The derivation of the spoken form from the full form may be roughly shown as follows:

mà ò bù mò ò bù mò ò ù mòòò
 (a) (b) (c) (d)

In stage (a) we have the full form; in stage (b) we have progressive vowel assimilation i.e. the first vowel to occur before a juncture becomes the same in quality as the vowel immediately following; in stage (c) there is the loss of the consonant 'b' and in stage (d) the surface or spoken form, we notice that there is further progressive vowel assimilation. Now, against this background, which of the two forms—full or spoken—is to be transcribed (or written)? It seems to me that the answer to this question will depend to some extent on the use to which the transcribed (or written) text is to be put. But in a work like *Poetic Heritage* which is addressed to 'general readers but more specifically, scholars, teachers, and students of African literature', it seems that it is the full form which should be transcribed. Thus, we should have:

mà ò bù 'or' **mòbù* (p. 26); p. 38).
ọ̀ bùkwànyù 'it really is' **òkwànú* (p. 48)
 (n)wa òkorọ̀ ọ̀bịà 'youngman' **wokoro ọ̀bịà* (p. 98).
kà o medụ̀ ànàā 'that he should do what' **kà ome d'ána* (p. 120)
 (Note * = 'and not')

As far as word division and spelling are concerned, it must be said that some of the inadequacies, short-comings and, at times, muddle in *Poetic Heritage* are traceable to the existing Q̄nwu Orthography (1961). It is true that this compromise Q̄nwu Orthography has brought some order and sanity to the present state of written Igbo. But it must be admitted that the Q̄nwu Orthography provides no explicit guidelines on word division, tone marks and the spelling of a wide range of phenomena. This oversight or omission (or is it lack of understanding of the true nature of this tone language?) on the part of the designers of this Orthography has contributed in no small measure to the terrible confusion and the sorry state of affairs which one finds in many an Igbo text written by inspired and well-meaning Igbos, who, unfortunately, have no very reliable guidance on how their language should be intelligently written. With particular reference to *Poetic Heritage* there are spelling inconsistencies, distortions and mistakes in the following areas:

(i) The syllabic nasal. Should the Igbo word for 'beauty' be spelt mmā or nmā? If one follows the now popular practice of writing m before labials and n before other sounds, then we would have mmā and not nmā (p. 50).

(ii) The "split" form of the 1st person singular pronoun. e/a . . . m. The vowel part should be written together with the verb (stem) while the syllabic nasal (part) is written separately. Thus we should have:

- abù ì "I am" *a bù ì (p. 32)
- ashìlì ì "I say" *ashìlì ì (p. 40)
- agàlà ì "I am going" *agàlà ì (p. 102)

(iii) The 3rd person singular subject pronoun o/o. This should be written separately from the verb (stem). Hence we should have:

- o bù 'It is' *obù (p. 36; (p. 56)
- o sị ì 'He told me' *osị ì (p. 98)
- o wù 'It is' *owù (p. 100)
- o bùtè 'she brought' obùtè (p. 104)
- o nà-ewù 'this is notorious' onàewù' (p. 104)

(iv) The 1st person singular object pronoun m. This should be written separately from the verb stem. Thus we should have:

- o k̄ōwaala ì 'He has explained to me' *ok̄ōwāala ì (p. 94)
- o nyè ì 'He gave me' *onyè ì (p. 108)
- o kpà ì 'he touched me' *okpà ì (p. 108)

(v) The pronominal or possessive phrase. The noun and the pronoun (or pronominal modifier) should be written separately as two different words. They should not be hyphenated either. Thus we should have:

- òke yā 'His rat' òke-yā (p. 78)
- nwanne ì 'My brother' *nwanne ì (p. 82)
- dì ì 'my husband' *dì ì (p. 96)
- h̄kè m 'My own' *h̄kè m (p. 136)

(vi) The Impersonal pronoun. e/a. This should be written separately from the verb stem. Thus we should have:

- a shì 'It is thought' *ashì (p. 60)
- e jì malụ 'People know by' *ejì malụ (p. 64)
- a nà-ètìlì 'It is beaten' *anà-ètìlì (p. 92).

(vii) The auxiliary-complex i.e. the auxiliary and the so-called participle. Both of those elements are to be joined by a hyphen when the subject is not the "split" form of the 1st person singular subject pronoun or when the auxiliary does not have the negative suffix.

onye nā-alachaghī udàlā

'one who has not eaten the udala fruit *onye nā alachaghī udàlā (p. 60).

ya gà-àlụ 'he will marry' *ya gà àlu (p. 94)

m anāghī èlikọ 'I won't eat' *m anāghī-èlikọ (p. 82)

ọ nā-ewù 'It is notorious' ọnā ewù (pp. 104-106).

(vii) The co-ordinating conjunction nā 'and'. This is always written nā. Thus we should have:

èzi nā ụnọ 'outside and inside' *ezin ụnọ (p. 54)

i.e. 'household'

Igwē nā Ànị 'Sky and Earth' *Igwe n'Ànị (p. 62)

ya nā esu 'It and the millipede' *ya n'esu (p. 70).

(viii) The preposition na 'in, on,' This is written n' before a vowel and nà/na before other sounds. (This preposition is realized in certain environments in some dialects as la. In the written form, however, we should have na and not la) Thus we should have:

n'ekwu 'on a tripod' *ne'ekwu (p. 98)

n'ekwu 'beside the hearth' *le ekwu (p. 96)

n'ara 'on the breast' *na ara (p. 110)

n'ukwù 'on the waist' *na ukwù (p. 110)

The co-ordinating conjunction nā 'and' the preposition na/nà, n' 'in, on', and the subordinating conjunction nā 'that' should not be confused in writing. Thus we should have:

Tèwela m̄ egwu nā egwu dī m̄ ụtọ *L'egwu . . . (p. 94)

'Just go on dancing for the dance is to my taste'

ndị nwaànyị nā-àsụ 'the women are pounding' *l'asụ (p. 96)

(ọ) nā-èti Bòngò 'it is playing Bongo (ọ) *n'eti Bongo (p. 116).

(ix) The conjunction nā in the phrase translated into English as "because". This should be written separately from the other words. Thus we should have:

mākà nā 'because (that) *mākàna (p. 54).

(x) The conjunctions kà 'so that'; and kà 'just like' should always be written kà and kà respectively. Thus we should have:

binié kà ànyị 'rise so that we' *binie k'anyị (p. 120)

ọnwụ àbụa m kà edè *k'ede (p. 136).

'Death has ripped me up like cocoyam'

(xi) The cognate object. This should always be written separately from its verb. Thus we should have:

e ghè èghè 'It is not done' *egheghe (p. 90)

a nā ana 'It is not gone' *anana (p. 90)

e bè èbè 'It is not ended' *ebebe (p. 90)

a gwū agwū 'It is not finished' *agwūagwū (p. 90)

(xii) Polysyllabic or 'complex' nouns. These are nouns which are made up of different elements. Some of these elements may be dependent or independent. Polysyllabic nouns have all sorts of morphemic shapes: some of these are clear cases of reduplication or of partial reduplication. Whether dependent or independent, all the elements of a complex noun are to be written together as one word. They should never be hyphenated. Thus we should have: (Proper names etc. are examples of 'complex' nouns).

Ejīmòwhọ 'The one who holds the sacred, 'Ejim-ọwhọ (p. 54).

kpakịlịkpakịlị 'magic paraphernalia *kpakịlị-kpakịlị (p. 62)

gadagidi 'really great' *gada gidị (p. 28)

àkwùnàkwù(nà) 'prostitute', *àkwunàkwu (pp. 104-6)

(xiii) Complex verb (stems). A complex verb is one which has more than one element in its stem. All the elements in a complex verb stem (be those elements other simple verb stems or suffixes) are to be written together. Thus we should have:

- ò dighĩkwa 'It is not' *ò digh kwa (p. 98)
- ò zũnyè 'he bought for' *ò zũ nye (p. 108)
- ò medũ '(that) he should do' *òme dũ (p. 120)

(xiv) The negative suffix. The form used in some dialects of Igbo is now written -ghĩ/-ghi. Thus we should have:

- dighĩ is not' *digh (p. 98)
- agaghĩ 'will not' *agaghi' (p. 104)

(xv) The harmonizing open vowel suffix. This suffix which is used in certain construction e.g. in the Imperative, and Serial constructions, should be written together with the verb (stem), without a hyphen. Thus we should have:

- nèe 'take, hold' *ne-e (p. 54)
- gèenũ 'listen' *ge nu (p. 104)
- wèe 'and then' *we-e (p. 84)

(xvi) 'New unitary concepts'. When two or more otherwise independent nouns are used together to express a concept which glosses in English as one word, both nouns are to be written separately, never as one word, or a hyphenated word. The fact that such a concept is translated into English by one word does not matter. (The present practice of spelling proper names should not be carried over wholesale into transcription or the writing of a highly specialized thing like poetry). Thus we should have:

- Chukwu Òkikè (God, the Creator) *Chukwu-Okike (p. 54)
- anya ojí 'Kola radicle' i.e. 'eye of kola' *anya-ojí (p. 56)
- ezi okwũ 'truth' i.e. 'the best of words' *ezi-okwũ (p. 60)
- nnà nnà 'forefathers' i.e. the father of fathers' *nna-nna (p. 64).
- 'beef (and) pork' i.e. the meat of cow and the meat of pig' anũ efĩ (nà) anũ ezi *anũ-efĩ (nà) -anũ-ezi, (p. 68).
- azũ gbangbam 'sardine' i.e. 'tinned fish' *azugbangbam (p. 120).

The above does not pretend to be an exhaustive list of spelling errors (or so they look!) in *Poetic Heritage*. There is the question of the spelling of foreign words. How should these be spelt? As they are in the source language or in their assimilated forms? Whichever way we decide, I think that the important thing is that we are consistent in using the form favoured. The practice of writing some words in their assimilated forms and others as they are in the source language, in this case English, is a bit unsatisfactory. Where completely assimilated forms are available there should be no apology for using them e.g. ambròda (p. 50). Where there are no completely assimilated forms there is no reason why words should not be assimilated using the analogy of words already assimilated and with due respect to the phonological possibilities in the language. There is no reason why 'Father' (p. 102-103) should not be Fàda on the analogy of Màmà, Pàpà etc. 'Assimilation' is used principally in a phonological context to refer to the processes by which a non-Igbo word becomes habituated and used as an Igbo word. It should not be confused with vowel assimilation referred to earlier.

There is also, no reason why "double" consonants should be allowed in mississi (p. 98); marrieji (p. 98) kissie (p. 104), and marrita (p. 118). Double consonants are not permissible in Igbo word structure. If we listen to an un-anglicized Igbo pronounce such words we notice that a vowel is always pronounced in places where otherwise there is a consonant cluster in English. Thus in typical native Igbo speech we would have ambüròdà (p. 50);

misisi (p. 98); martèji (p. 98) kiisi (p. 104) and màrità (p. 118), just as we have masità (p. 96) *masta. Next, we would like to mention a few minor spelling mistakes—which seem typographical. For example, the absence of the dotting of vowels in ashì (p. 60). There is also the spelling of 'bush' as affia (p. 30); (p. 84) and 'market' as affia. The word that is spelt 'reaped' should be 'ripped' See, Qnwu abüa m kà edè (p. 137).

So much for word division and spelling. Now, let us look at the question of tone marks. Tones are not marked in *Poetic Heritage*. This is unfortunate and unforgivable. For without tone marks, (no matter how marked so long as there is a convention to explain the notation employed) a good half only of the book—the 'translations'—is meaningful to any non-Igbo user of this book. As the text is, even many an Igbo stumble or read the book with staccato rhythm, or work from the translation to the vernacular in order to put the correct tones on the words. This should not be the case if there were tone marks. It is interesting to note that the co-editors 'recommend that the reader . . . should try to pronounce, even if inaccurately, the Igbo originals and thereby get some of the experience of the sounds of poetry.' (p. 9) So well and good if the readership envisaged is a closed Igbo one. I have continued to wonder how the co-editors expect non-Igbo readers to practicalize their recommendation when they provide them with no tone marks and an explanatory convention. A recommendation like the above reveals something like lack of understanding about the role of tones in the mechanics of a (complex) tone language like Igbo. If an Igbo word is pronounced 'even if inaccurately', at best it is ambiguous, at the worst and often so, it is meaningless noise.

The absence of tone marks robs *Poetic Heritage* of the quintessence of the language which brings it into existence. The absence of tone marks not only limits the audience of the book, it also, unfortunately, limits the use to which vernacular section can be put by non-Igbo scholars, teachers and students of African literature. With tone marks this work would have been an invaluable contribution to African linguistics as well as African literature. For it would have been interesting to see the function and effect of tone in Igbo literature. It would have been particularly interesting to see whether the features of 'tonal counterpoint', tonal distortion, and play on tones are present in Igbo poetry as these have been found in the poetry-traditional and modern-of say, the Yorubas. What the absence of tone marks shows in *Poetic Heritage* is that while tone marks may be dispensed with or optionally or minimally marked in some genres of writing meant for some types of audiences, e.g. prose designed for an Igbo reading public, in specialized works like poetry, dictionaries and grammars, tones must be fully marked, no matter the audience one has in mind.

One final comment: the co-editors point out in the preface that the 'poems are collected from a variety of locations ranging from Udi in Northern Igboland to Owerri and Ngwa areas in the South'. Such a panoramic pan-Igbo sweep is fine, praiseworthy and courageous. But I think it would have added to the merit of this book if the location of each poem had been indicated somehow, either through using parenthesis or through foot notes. If such were done, this book would have been an invaluable document that could be used by Igbo dialectologists in particular and African linguists in general. Now, with reference to choosing poems from or writing poems in different dialects, I think it is a bit inconsistent and unsatisfactory, if not unrealistic, to mix dialect forms in one poem. In the poem on 'Prostitution' (pp. 104-106) the negative suffix is given in two dialectal forms:

-rọ and -ghi/ -ghì 'not'.

Again I think it would have been worthwhile if nasalization and aspiration were indicated in poems taken from some dialects like Owerri and Qlọ where such phonological features

are distinctive. It may well be that in such dialects aspiration and nasalization can be played upon with attendant semantic differentiation.

Lest there be any misconceptions about the hard linguistic stand taken in this review, I hasten to add that the views expressed here have been motivated by goodwill, realism and the desire to see that Igbo, and especially Igbo poetry, is well written, just as is the case in other major Nigerian languages. My rather uncompromising views are not meant to belittle the courageous and pioneering efforts of the learned co-editors who otherwise are reputable scholars, nor is this review an attempt to detract from the worth and importance of a book which already has been accepted in the Nigerian Translation Series of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

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